



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

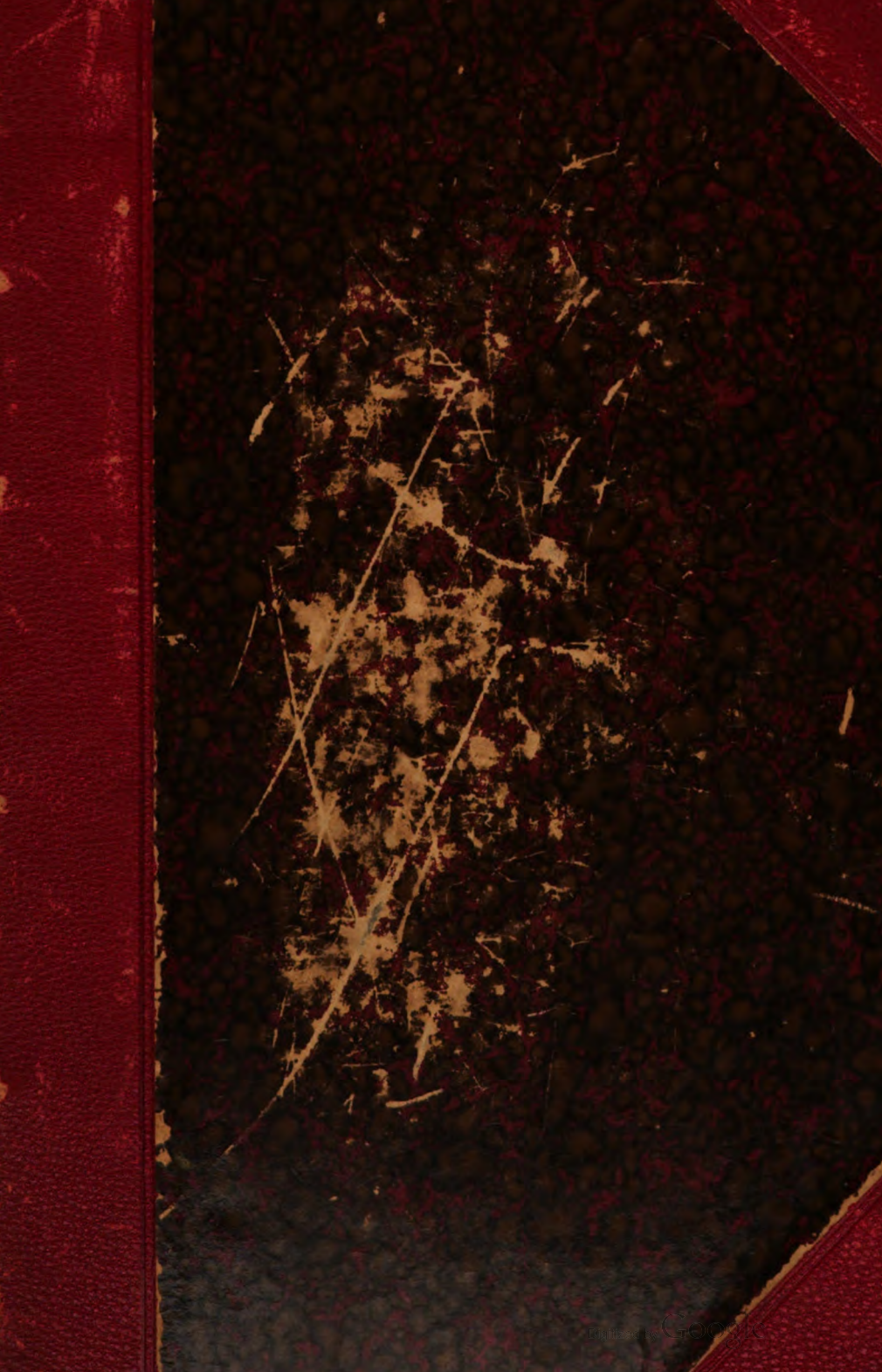
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



TPJUD 24721(15)

od
872

Pl. May 1904



Library of the Divinity School

Bought with money

GIVEN BY

THE SOCIETY

FOR PROMOTING

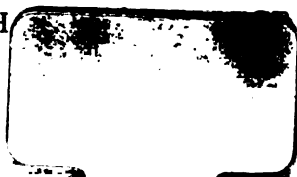
THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

Received Dec. 1902 - 2 Sept 1903

TRANSFERRED

TO

H



86

**THE JEWISH
QUARTERLY REVIEW**

VOL. XV



The Jewish Quarterly Review

EDITED BY

I. ABRAHAMS AND C. G. MONTEFIORE

VOLUME XV

London

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED

NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1903

^Δ
7th Jun 245.221(15).

~~1 Dec. 1902~~ - 2 Sept. 1903

Discarded by
Andover-Harvard Theological Library



Trans. 1st Nov. 1904.

OXFORD

HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

CONTENTS

	PAGE
ABRAHAM'S LESSON IN TOLERANCE. By G. A. KOHUT	104
ARABIC PORTION OF THE CAIRO GENIZAH AT CAM- BRIDGE (<i>with eight facsimiles</i>). By Dr. H. HIRSCH- FELD pp. 167, 677	
— By Prof. I. GOLDZIEHER	526
ARISTEAS, TRANSLATION OF THE LETTER OF. By H. ST. J. THACKERAY	337
AUTO DE FÉ AND JEW (<i>with facsimile</i>). (<i>Concluded.</i>) ✓ By E. N. ADLER	413
"BACON'S GREEK AND HEBREW GRAMMARS" (NOLAN AND HIRSCH'S). By Dr. L. D. BARNETT	334
BEN SIRA, THE WISDOM OF. By the Rev. Dr. C. TAYLOR:	
I.	440
II.	604
BEN SIRA: PRIMITIVE EXEGESIS AS A FACTOR IN THE CORRUPTION OF SCRIPTURE ILLUSTRATED FROM THE VERSIONS OF BEN SIRA. By J. H. A. HAET	627
BLAU, PROFESSOR, ON THE BIBLE AS A BOOK. By E. N. ADLER	715
CAMBRIDGE (GENIZA). See ARABIC	
<u>EA; YAHVEH; DYAAUS; ZEYΣ; JUPITER.</u> By Prof. A. H. KEANE	559
ENGLAND, THE JEWS OF, IN THE THIRTEENTH CEN- TURY. By J. M. Rigg	5

	PAGE
HAPAX LEGOMENA IM ALTEN TESTAMENT. By Dr. A. S. YAHUDA	698
HEBRÄISCHE דב IN EINER VERKANNTEN BEDEUTUNG. By Dr. I. FRIEDLÄNDER	102
HEBREW-PERSIAN MSS. OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, THE. By Dr. M. SELIGSOHN	278
JAḤJÂ ŠÂLIḤ'S TIKLÂL, EINE ANGEBLICHE ERGÄN- ZUNG ZU. By Prof. W. BACHER	330
JEWISH LITERATURE? IS THERE A. By Rev. S. LEVY	583
JÜDISCH-ARABISCHES BÜCHER - VERZEICHNIS, EIN ALTES. By Dr. SAMUEL POZNAŃSKI	76
JÜDISCHE LITERATUR DES MITTELALTERS, ALLGE- MEINE EINLEITUNG IN DIE. By Prof. M. STEIN- SCHNEIDER	302
LOST TRIBES, THE, AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE SEARCH FOR THEM ON THE RETURN OF THE JEWS TO ENGLAND. By ALBERT M. HYAMSON ...	640
MONTEFIORE LIBRARY, DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS OF. By Dr. H. HIRSCHFELD	135
— INDEX... ..	531
NEO-HEBRAIC LANGUAGE AND ITS LITERATURE, THE. By Prof. J. D. WIJNKOOP... ..	23
NEUERSCHLOSSENES CAPITEL DER JÜDISCHEN GE- SCHICHTE. By Prof. W. BACHER	79
POETRY:	
"IN THE SWEAT SHOP." Translated from the Yiddish of MORRIS ROSENFELDT. By the Rev. Dr. HENRY BERKOWITZ	409
THE JEWISH MAY. Translated by HELENA FRANK... ..	1
SIMCHAS TORAH. Translated from the Yiddish of J. L. GORDON. By ALICE LUCAS and HELENA FRANK	275

POETRY (*continued*):

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE HEBREW. By NINA SALAMAN	36
PORTUGAL, THE JEWS IN, FROM 1773-1902. By CARDOZO DE BETHENCOURT	251, 529
PORTUGIESISCH - JÜDISCHEN LITERATUR. By Dr. M. KAYSERLING	112 ✓
REFORM MOVEMENT IN JUDAISM, THE BEGINNINGS OF THE. By the Rev. Dr. DAVID PHILIPSON... ..	475
SAADYANA XII. By Prof. I. GOLDZIEHER	73
SAMARITAN-HEBREW PENTATEUCH, AN EARLY COPY OF THE. By the Rev. GEORGE MARGOLIOUTH	632
SPANISH INQUISITION (1622-1721), THE JEWS AND THE. By Prof. R. J. H. GOTTHEIL	182
ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ IN PSALM SALOMO'S, II, 6. By Prof. A. BÜCHLER	115
STAATSWAGEN DES PATRIARCHEN. (קרנות של בית רב). By Prof. W. BACHER	100
SÜSSKIND OF TRIMBERG. By A. M. FRIEDENBERG	60
TALMUD, METHODS OF TEACHING THE, IN THE PAST AND IN THE PRESENT. By Prof. LUDWIG BLAU... ..	121
TEN COMMANDMENTS, THE HEBREW PAPYRUS OF THE (<i>with facsimile</i>). By F. C. BURKITT	392
TETRA(?)GRAMMATON, THE. By J. H. LEVY	97
ZAHL π, ZUR GESCHICHTE DER. By Dr. ELIAS FINK	522

CONTRIBUTORS TO VOLUME XV

- | | |
|--|--|
| ADLER, E. N., 413, 715. | HYAMSON, ALBERT M., 640. |
| BACHER, Prof. W., 79, 100, 330. | KAYSERLING, Dr. M., 112. |
| BARNETT, Dr. L. D., 334. | KEANE, Prof. A. H., 559. |
| BERKOWITZ, the Rev. Dr. HENRY,
409. | KOHUT, G. A., 104. |
| BETHENCOURT, CARDOZO DE,
251, 529. | LEVY, J. H., 97. |
| BLAU, Prof. LUDWIG, 121. | LEVY, Rev. S., 583. |
| BÜCHLER, Prof. A., 115. | LUCAS, ALICE, 275. |
| BURKITT, F. C., 392. | MARGOLIOUTH, Rev. GEORGE,
632. |
| PINK, Dr. ELIAS, 522. | PHILIPSON, the Rev. Dr. DAVID,
475. |
| FRANK, Miss HELENA, 1, 275. | POZNAŃSKI, Dr. SAMUEL, 76. |
| FRIEDENBERG, A. M., 60. | RIGG, J. M., 5. |
| FRIEDLÄNDER, Dr. I., 102. | SALAMAN, NINA, 56. |
| GOLDZIEHER, Prof. I., 73, 526. | SELIGSOHN, Dr. M., 278. |
| GOTTHEIL, Prof. RICHARD J. H.,
182. | STEINSCHNEIDER, Prof. M., 302. |
| HART, J. H. A., 627. | TAYLOR, the Rev. Dr. C., 440, 604. |
| HIRSCHFELD, Dr. H., 135, 167,
531, 677. | THACKERAY, H. St. J., 337. |
| | WIJNKOOP, Prof. J. D., 23. |
| | YAHUDA, Dr. A. S., 698. |

The Jewish Quarterly Review.

EDITED BY

I. ABRAHAMS AND C. G. MONTEFIORE.

VOL. XV.

OCTOBER, 1902.

No. 57.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
POETRY.—THE JEWISH MAY. Translated by HELENA FRANK ...	1
THE JEWS OF ENGLAND IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By J. M. RIGG	5
THE NEO-HEBRAIC LANGUAGE AND ITS LITERATURE. By Prof. J. D. WILKHOOP	23
POETRY.—TRANSLATIONS FROM THE HEBREW. By NINA SALAMAN	56
SÜSSKIND OF TRIMBERG. By A. M. FRIEDENBERG	60
ZU SAADYANA XLI. By Prof. I. GOLDZIEHER	73
EIN ALTES JÜDISCH-ARABISCHES BÜCHER-VERZEICHNIS. By Dr. SAMUEL POZNAŃSKI	76
EIN NEUERSCHLOSSENES CAPITEL DER JÜDISCHEN GE- SCHICHTE. By Prof. W. BACHER	79
THE TETRA(?)GRAMMATON. By J. H. LEVY	97
DIE STAATSWAGEN DES PATRIARCHEN. (קרנות של בית רבי). By Prof. W. BACHER	100
DAS HEBRÄISCHE דָּפָר IN EINER VERKANNTEN BEDEUTUNG. By Dr. I. FRIEDLÄNDER	102
ABRAHAM'S LESSON IN TOLERANCE. By G. A. KOHUT	104
ZUR PORTUGIESISCH-JÜDISCHEN LITERATUR. By Dr. M. KAYSERLING	112
שְׁפָאִיָּה IN PSALM SALOMO'S, II, 6. By Prof. A. BÜCHLER	115
METHODS OF TEACHING THE TALMUD IN THE PAST AND IN THE PRESENT. By Prof. LUDWIG BLAU	121
DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF HEBREW MSS. OF THE MONTE- FIORE LIBRARY. VIII. By Dr. H. HIRSCHFELD	135

London:

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED.

NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

Price 3s. 6d. Annual Subscription, Post Free, 11s.

MACMILLAN & CO.'S PUBLICATIONS.

THE BIBLE FOR HOME READING,

*EDITED, WITH COMMENTS AND REFLECTIONS FOR THE
USE OF JEWISH PARENTS AND CHILDREN,*

BY

C. G. MONTEFIORE.

Part I. To the Second Visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem.

Second Edition, Crown 8vo, 4s. 6d. net.

Jewish Chronicle.—"By this remarkable work Mr. Claude Montefiore has put the seal on his reputation. He has placed himself securely in the front rank of contemporary teachers of religion. He has produced at once a most original, a most instructive, and a most spiritual treatise, which will long leave its ennobling mark on Jewish religious thought in England. . . . Though the term 'epoch-making' is often misapplied, we do not hesitate to apply it on this occasion. . . . A great book which must inevitably produce a profound sensation and work a salutary effect within and without the Jewish fold."

Jewish World.—"A book that every Jewish father and mother should carefully study and keep as a reference book while training their children in the most important of all subjects of instruction."

*Part II. Containing Selections from the Wisdom Literature,
the Prophets, and the Psalter, together with
Extracts from the Apocrypha.*

Crown 8vo, 5s. 6d. net.

Jewish Chronicle.—"The scholarship, the spiritual insight, the attractive style which distinguished the first part of Mr. Montefiore's *Bible for Home Reading* are displayed in their fullest development in the second part, now happily published. But, good as the older book was, the new is even better. Mr. Montefiore had indeed a great responsibility. How wonderfully he has risen to the occasion, how splendid a use he has made of the opportunity, we shall endeavour to show. But we cannot refrain from saying that this book is the despair of a reviewer. One cannot hope to do justice to such a work when its 800 pages are full to overflowing of learning simply utilized, of moral truths reverently enunciated, of spiritual possibilities forcibly realized, while over all there hovers a charm indefinable, yet easily and inevitably felt by any reader of the book. We will, however, try to indicate some of the excellences of Mr. Montefiore's book, the publication of which is the most important literary event of recent years, so far as the English-speaking Jews are concerned. . . . As masterly as it is spiritual, as scholarly as it is attractive."

MACMILLAN & Co., Ltd., LONDON.

THE JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1902

THE JEWISH MAY.

FROM THE YIDDISH OF MORRIS ROSENFELD¹.

MAY has come from out the showers,
Sun and splendour in her train.
All the grasses and the flowers
Waken up to life again.
Once again the leaves do show,
And the meadow-blossoms blow,
Once again thro' hills and dales
Ring the songs of nightingales.

Wheresoe'er on field or hill-side
With her paint-brush Spring is seen,
In the valley, by the rill-side,
All the earth is decked with green.
Once again the sun beguiles,
Moves the drowsy world to smiles,
See! the sun, with mother-kiss,
Wakes her child to joy and bliss.

¹ By kind permission of Messrs. Small, Maynard & Co., Publishers of
Songs from the Ghetto.

Now each human feeling presses,
Flow'rlike, upward to the light,
Softly, thro' the heart's recesses,
Steal sweet fancies, pure and bright.
Golden dreams, their wings out-shaking,
Now are making
Realms celestial,
All of azure,
New life waking,
Bringing treasure
Out of measure
For the soul's delight and pleasure.

Who then, tell me, old and sad,
Nears us with a heavy tread?
On the sward in verdure clad,
See, he looks, and shakes his head.
Lonely is the strange new-comer,
Wearily he walks and slow,—
His sweet springtime and his summer
Faded long and long ago!

Say, who is it yonder walks
Past the hedge-rows decked anew,
While a fearsome spectre stalks
By his side, the woodland thro'?
'Tis our ancient friend the Jew!
No sweet fancies hover round him,
Nought but terror and distress.
While, revealed

In wounds unhealed,
Wither corpses—old affections,
Ghosts of former recollections,
Buried youth and happiness.

Briar and blossom bow to meet him
In derision round his path;
Gloomily the hemlock greets him,
And the crow screams out in wrath.

Strange the birds, and strange the flowers,
Strange the sunshine seems and dim,
Folk on earth and heav'nly powers,—
Lo, the May is strange to him!

Little flowers, it were meet
If ye made not quite so bold:
Sweet are ye, but oh, far sweeter
Knew he in the days of old!
Oranges by thousands glowing
Filled the groves on either hand,—
All the plants were God's own sowing
In his happy, far-off land!

Ask the cedars on the mountain!
Ask them, for they knew him well!
Myrtles green by Sharon's fountain,
In whose shade he loved to dwell!
Ask the Mount of Olives beauteous,—
Ev'ry tree by ev'ry stream!—
One and all will answer duteous
For the fair and ancient dream . . .

O'er the desert and the pleasance
Gales of Eden softly blew,
And the Lord his loving Presence
Evermore declared anew.

Angel-children at their leisure
Played in thousands round his tent,
Countless thoughts of joy and pleasure
God to his belovèd sent.

There, in bygone days and olden,
From a wondrous harp and golden
Charmed he songs of beauty rare,
Holy, chaste beyond compare.
Never with the ancient sweetness,
Never in their old completeness
Shall they sound: our dream is ended,
On a willow-bough suspended . . .

Gone that dream so fair and fleeting!
Yet, behold: thou dream'st anew!
Hark! a *new* May gives thee greeting
From afar. Dost hear it, Jew?
Weep no more, altho' with sorrows
Wearied e'en to death: I see
Happier years and brighter morrows
Dawning, oh my Jew, for thee!
Hear'st thou not the promise ring
Where, like doves on silver wing,
Thronging cherubs sweetly sing
New-made songs of what shall be?
Hark! your olives shall be shaken,
And your citrons and your limes
Filled with fragrance, God shall waken,
Lead you, as in olden times.
In the pastures by the river
Ye once more your flocks shall tend,
Ye shall live, and live for ever,
Happy lives that know no end.
No more wand'ring, no more sadness;
Peace shall be your lot, and still
Hero-hearts shall throb with gladness
'Neath Moriah's silent hill.
Nevermore of dread afflictions,
Or oppressions need ye tell:
Filled with joy and benedictions
In the old home shall ye dwell.
To the fatherland returning,
Following the homeward path,
Ye shall find the embers burning,
Still, upon the ruined hearth!

HELENA FRANK.

THE JEWS OF ENGLAND IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY¹.

THE subject on which I am to address you is somewhat recondite and abounds in detail of a kind which, I fear, is likely to interest few but the lawyer or the antiquary; but I will endeavour to be as little technical and prolix as possible, and to present what I have to say in a manner as interesting as its nature and my powers permit. Happily, as to the source from which the documents which I have edited are derived, a word or two will amply suffice. Briefly, then, I may say that the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews lay unnoticed for centuries. Indeed, attention was first drawn to them in 1844, when the earliest of them, 3 and 4 Hen. III (1218-19), was edited by Cole in a volume of miscellaneous "Documents" published by the Record Commission. Nothing further was done upon them until 1887, when Dr. Gross embodied the results of a partial survey of the field in an admirable paper read on occasion of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition. During my own researches four new rolls and a fragment have been brought to light, which, added to the forty-seven rolls previously catalogued, make fifty-one rolls, one membrane in all.

During the reign of Henry III there are several large gaps in the series, which on the other hand is practically continuous from the first to the fourteenth year of Edward I (1286). It is extremely provoking that the rolls of the four years immediately preceding the closure of the Court

¹ Read before the Jewish Historical Society of England, April, 1902.

should be missing; but there is always hope in the Record Office, and it is therefore still possible that they, or some of them, may eventually be discovered. The rolls are written in the court-hand of the period, a peculiar kind of shorthand; and the system of abbreviation is carried out with more vigour and less rigour than perhaps in any other documents, which makes their continuous perusal extremely trying to the sight. For the purpose of my book I went through the rolls twice, and I believe that I omitted few, if any, pleas of capital importance. The documents interspersed between the pleas I selected with the view of illustrating, as far as possible, the history of the Jewry, particularly in its relations with the Crown and the Baronage; and, though here, owing to the multiplicity of these documents, I am bound to speak with caution, I may fairly say that I am inclined to doubt whether much of general historical interest remains unedited. It is, of course, from the insight which they afford into the causes which brought about one of the crises in the vicissitudinous history of the Jewish people that these ancient documents derive their principal value. They enable us to appreciate with an accuracy, which would otherwise be impossible, the place occupied by the Jews in the social and political life of the period, and thus serve to amplify and elucidate the fragmentary evidence derived from other archives and the meagre information vouchsafed by the chroniclers.

The period under review is that in which feudalism took definite and final shape, a consummation which could not fail to affect most vitally the fortunes of a people which represented an anterior and markedly dissimilar civilization and order of ideas.

A militant confraternity bound together in the relation of superior and inferior and rigorously exclusive of all who cannot or will not submit to its yoke—such is the essential idea represented by the term feudalism, or the feudal system. It has passed away, and only a few experts

are now familiar with the details of its punctiliously ordered aristocratic *régime*; but it must not be forgotten that with all its rigidity and harshness, its barbarity and brutality, it was right in its time and place. Indeed the northern nations, when they began seriously to grapple with the gigantic task of reorganizing the shattered Roman Empire, could not but have thrown their polity into such a shape, fortifying it at every turn by the highest sanction they knew, the oath by God and the holy Gospels. Had they remained pagan, or had Arianism triumphed and developed into an abstract monotheism like that of Mohammed, they would still have found it necessary to confirm their solemn engagements by oaths. Sacramental tenure, tenure by oath of fealty, would still have been regarded as the only tenure truly worthy of a free man; and military service as the most honourable of all service. The organization of society would thus have been essentially feudal. The tenant would still have sworn his fealty (with or without homage, according as the tenure was or was not military), and thus have become bound to his lord in the relation of vassal to superior, bound, that is to say, to render him certain services, which faithfully performed he was secure in his holding for life, while on his death custom dictated at first by convenience, but gradually acquiring the force of law, would have secured the succession to his next heir. Thus it was not so much religion as the feudal idea itself which excluded the Jew from feudal society, the oath of fealty being merely one of the forms in which that idea embodied itself. However, as the Jew could not conscientiously take it, he could not enter the confraternity, and therefore he could not, broadly speaking, hold an estate of freehold in land. True it is that Henry II granted to Isaac, son of Rabbi Joce and his sons, the manor of Ham, in Essex, to which Isaac by purchase from Earl Ferrars added the neighbouring manor of Thurrock, which his son Joce inherited and eventually sold to Henry de Gray (1199). Isaac, son of

Rabbi Joce, also held in 1166 a half-knight's fee of the Earl of Hertford¹. But these are the only examples which I have been able to discover of the apparent admission of Jews into the English feudal system; and I do not profess to be able to explain them. I can only suggest that Isaac and his sons were high in favour with Henry II, and were in consequence permitted to swear their fealty on the Pentateuch, a concession which was never again made.

As creditors, Jews did from time to time hold not a few English manors by way of security for loans; but this merely meant that they were entitled to take the rents and profits; and as there was then neither action of foreclosure nor Statute of Limitation, they were always liable to be called to account; so that their tenure was not of a kind to ripen by lapse of time into feudal tenure. Excluded thus from the feudal system, and yet dispersed throughout feudal society in communities which possessed great wealth and little means of defending it, the Jews could not but suffer severely and even terribly by the mere, and as it were, mechanical evolution of events.

Some of you, doubtless, know some or one or other of the passes which lead from Switzerland into Italy; and those who do so, can hardly fail to have observed a feature of the landscape which is an apt illustration, as it were a symbol and epitome, of much of the social history of the Middle Ages,—I mean the castles, like that of the Stockalper on the Simplon road or that of the Trivulzi within the San Bernardino, which were evidently built for the purpose of enabling the holders to take toll of the merchants and other travellers who fared to and fro by these passes. Love, war, and the chase were, we know, the main preoccupations of the mediaeval knight; but there was also a more prosaic side to his life, for he like common mortals, had to provide himself with ways

¹ Rymer, *Foedera*, ed. Clark, i. 51. *Rot. Cart.* p. 6. *Lib. Rub. de Scacc.* (Rolls Ser.), p. 410.

and means, and, as he was averse to sordid methods, he did so in a free, independent and aristocratic manner, by levying toll wheresoever and on whomsoever toll was leviable. Probably, no doubt of his right ever crossed his mind; for he was but following the natural bent of a predatory race, which deemed it more honourable to take than to make. Thus on every stranger who craved passage through a feudal lord's territory lay the burden of showing cause why he should not be held to ransom; and the ransom was, of course, proportioned to the wealth of the contributory, a burgher with a well-lined purse, and a long train of richly laden sumpter-mules, being regarded as a veritable Godsend, and treated accordingly. No doubt, even in those days, vague ideas of international comity, religion and humanity counted for something, but nevertheless wherever feudal ideas took deep root and prevailed, the risks to which foreign traders were exposed were extreme; and a race which could claim the benefit of no international comity, and lay outside the pale of the Catholic Church, was delivered over as a prey to the spoiler with no other mitigation of its harsh destiny than his satiety or caprice might dictate.

Nevertheless, on the continent of Europe, the Jews continued to be engaged in trade until the thirteenth century, and in the South, where feudalism took on the whole far less hold than in the North, until a much later date. In England, on the other hand, any trade which they carried on must have been illicit until late in the thirteenth century.

A charter of King John, which cites charters of his father and his father's grandfather¹, expressly authorizes Jews "to receive and buy all things brought to them" with certain exceptions. Observe that the clause does not authorize the Jews to sell anything, but concedes them the right of receiving and purchasing. It is evident, there-

¹ The charter of Henry I is not mentioned as such, but it is unmistakably implied.

fore, that by the common law they had not what lawyers call the *jus commercii*, they had not the elementary right of barter, they were completely cut off from the rest of the community, and nothing less than a royal charter was necessary to enable them to receive and buy what was offered them. This disability was due to the system of guilds which was, so to speak, feudalism applied to trade; and hence when the right of free competition was eventually conceded to the Jews by the statute of 3 Ed. I, 1274-5, the concession proved illusory.

In respect of the crafts, a similar distinction is observable between England and the Continent. Throughout the period under review, the continental Jews seem to have been engaged in not a few important handicrafts. In England there is evidence of the lucrative exercise by them of the craft of the goldsmith; and medicine was open to them. One Joseph Medicus, who was doubtless a Jew, is mentioned in a roll of 1 Rich. I (Great Roll of the Pipe, 1 Rich. I, 1189-90, p. 18). I see, however, no reason to suppose that the English Jews of this period got their living in any considerable numbers either as goldsmiths or as physicians, or in any other art or craft. It is therefore probable that the capital with which the community started in the country was very considerable. As for the means by which it was afterwards developed, they appear very plainly from the records. The charter to which I have referred assumes that their principal occupation was that of money-lenders. It expressly authorizes them to hold "all that they now rightfully hold in lands, fees, gages and purchases," and it grants them certain forensic privileges. Thus they were entitled to give their testimony on the Pentateuch, to be tried by their peers, to purge themselves by their bare oath in cases where Christians were still required to produce compurgators, and while by one clause they, in common with Christians, were required as plaintiffs to support their claim by the oath of two witnesses, another clause allowed the mere writ

in their hands to count as evidence, a privilege not extended to Christians. The charter did not regulate interest in any way, but by Magna Carta its accruer was suspended during the minority of an heir; and during the first half of the thirteenth century *2d.* a pound a week, or 43½ per cent. came to be recognized as the legal maximum.

The scope of the charter is evident. The Crown was in need of a bank on which it could draw with perfect security, that, as long as there was any wealth left in the country, its drafts would be honoured. And this construction is confirmed, if confirmation be necessary, by the words of an ancient statute which expressly enacts that "Jews and all their effects are the King's property, and if any man withhold their money from them, let the King recover it as his own." For this reason the charter exempted the Jews from the ordinary taxation, not because the Crown had any tenderness for them, but simply because it was not to the interest of the Crown to tax its own property.

In short, in England the Crown at a very early date perceived the expediency of rescuing the Jews from the tyranny of the Baronage, and monopolizing the right of holding them to ransom; and the subsequent history of the unfortunate people is little else than a record of ruthless exactions on the part of the Crown and violent outbreaks on the part of the Baronage and the people, who saw in the Jews only minions of the Crown who grew rich at their expense, until the abolition of usury by Edward I left them practically without lawful means of subsistence, and entailed as its inevitable sequel their expulsion from the country in 1290. In truth, a melancholy story, few stories perhaps more so than this which is enshrined in the time-worn, worm-eaten, sometimes hardly decipherable records of the Exchequer of the Jews.

It is, as I have said, my purpose as far as possible to spare you dry details and tedious disquisitions touching matters which can interest only those whose business it is

to trace the origin and development of our legal institutions. I will therefore say briefly, that this Exchequer of the Jews first emerges as a distinct branch of the Great Exchequer towards the close of the reign of Richard I, when the fierce anti-Semitism of the Baronage and populace, evinced by a course of outrage beginning with the coronation and culminating in the massacre of some hundreds of Jews at York in 1190, induced the Crown to take measures for the more effectual protection, if not of the persons at any rate of the property and credit of the Jews. In 1194 it was provided that all bonds given by Christians to Jews should thenceforth be registered by the deposit of a memorial or duplicate in *Archae* established for the purpose in certain towns of Jewry; the chirographers who were charged with the drafting of the bonds and duplicates, as well as with the custody of the latter, being four in number, two Christians and two Jews¹. Nothing was enacted concerning the Jews' starres, or acquittances, but it soon, at any rate, became the rule to enroll these documents in court, and it was held that an unenrolled acquittance was null and void, while an unregistered bond was void in the hands of the Jew but valid in the hand of the Crown. The *Archae* were, of course, open at all times to inspection by the officers of the Crown, and could be closed at any moment by order of the Crown; and they were periodically so closed, whenever it was expedient for the Crown to make a scrutiny of their contents for the purpose, so to speak, of feeling the financial pulse of the Jews by way of preliminary to a talliage.

The right of talliaging the Jews, i.e. of excising a portion of their substance, seems to have been of immemorial antiquity. In the very earliest record of the Exchequer which we possess, the Pipe Bill of the reign of Henry I, occur the names of various Jews as contributories to the royal revenue. We have, however, no evidence of the levy of any collective talliage upon them until

¹ Hoveden (*Rolls Ser.*), iii. 266.

the year 1168, and then the sum does not exceed 5,000 marks. It is, therefore, very surprising to find that only twenty years later no less a sum than £60,000 was raised from the community for the purpose of the Crusade. Doubtless the discovery thus made of the height to which their opulence had grown, had much to do with the outbreak of anti-Semitism which followed, and which in its turn led, as we have seen, to the establishment of the *Archae*, which again was closely followed by the establishment within the Exchequer of a special department for the cognizance of causes between Christians and Jews, the supervision of the *Archae* and the enforcement of the claim of the Crown to talliage or other exactions against the Jews. With cases between Jews and Jews the Jewish Exchequer did not concern itself, with the exception of Pleas of the Crown (homicide, mayhem, deliberate assault, housebreaking, rape, larceny, arson, and treasure trove), in which cases a jury composed exclusively of Jews was sworn. All other cases between Jew and Jew were left to the cognizance of the Jewish tribunals. In cases between Christians and Jews a mixed jury was sworn; and among the earliest justices of the court two were Jews; from which it would seem that the first intention was that the bench as well as the jury should be mixed. This intention was, however, completely abandoned. These two early Jewish justices were the last as well as the first of their race that held judicial office in the Exchequer of the Jews. On the other hand, the Chief Rabbi—I use the term for the sake of convenience, leaving the question of its precise significance to be determined by those who are better qualified to decide such a matter—an officer who held directly and for life of the Crown, and was evidently regarded as the highest authority on questions of Jewish law and usage, sat as assessor to the justices, and had the custody of certain rolls, though what precisely they were we cannot say. Certain also of the subordinate offices were held for a time by Jews: otherwise the staff

of the Court was entirely Christian. The Court ousted the ordinary jurisdiction of the King's Court at Westminster, the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, and all local jurisdictions except those of the sheriff and the wardens or constables of royal castles; and it came gradually to oust the ordinary jurisdiction of the justices in eyre. On the other hand, its jurisdiction was always liable to be superseded by a special commission. After the establishment of this Court, which dates from 1198, the work of talliaging and otherwise mulcting the Jewish community went forward in a very systematic and business-like way.

John raised 4,000 marks from the Jewry as the price of his charter in 1201, and another 4,000 marks a few years later. In 1210, being then in extreme pecuniary straits, he laid the entire community under arrest, and contrived by the most brutal methods to wring from it no less a sum than 66,000 marks. At the same time he seems to have expelled from the kingdom all Jews who could not pay a minimum rate of talliage; and many others went into voluntary exile, from which they did not return until the accession of Henry III. Measures were then taken to encourage their resettlement in the country; they were publicly assured of the King's firm peace, and in certain towns burgesses were sworn to protect them from popular violence; at the same time the men were required to wear a badge, probably to facilitate their recognition by their protectors, and gradually, in breach of their charter, which in other respects was on the whole observed, they were restricted to certain localities. These provisions were, of course, intended to secure the payment of talliage, which was now exacted with less of violence and more of system than in previous reigns. Certain prominent Jews were made responsible for the required amount, which they were authorized to raise by distraint. At the same time they were flattered and caressed in various ways by the Crown, the object being to found

a court faction or, at any rate, interest within the Jewry. The pecuniary straits, to which political jars reduced the King, compelled him to raise his revenue by unconstitutional methods. The Jews early felt the pinch, which became more and more severe as the tension between the King and the baronial party increased. Thus, whereas during the first thirteen years of Henry III's reign, 10,000 marks was the total amount laid upon the Jewry, the talliage for the next decade 1230-40 rose to 18,000 marks, while during the decade 1240-50 it reached the immense total of 80,000 marks. In 1253 a tax of a third was laid upon the community, and the anti-Semitic canons of the Council of Oxford (1222) were revived and reinforced by a royal edict, which was evidently issued with the intention of putting pressure upon the Jewry. The edict threatened with banishment all Jews or Jewesses who did not "serve" the King in some way, proscribed all synagogues built on sites not dedicated to the purpose in the time of King John, and enjoined the worshippers to subdue their voices. At the same time it rendered the Jewish householder liable for parish dues, and forbade him to entertain Christians in any capacity. It further imposed the duty of fasting during Lent upon all Jews and Jewesses, required all male Jews to wear their badges conspicuously, forbade them to enter any church or chapel except for purposes of transit, and to publicly discuss the Christian religion or hinder the work of conversion. Finally it excluded them from all towns except the recognized towns of Jewry, unless they first obtained a special licence from the Crown. There can be no reasonable doubt that this edict was simply intended to harass a community which was in bad odour with the King, because it no longer responded with due elasticity to his pecuniary demands; and this construction is abundantly corroborated by the sequel.

In 1254, Henry being then abroad, a talliage of 10,000 marks was laid upon the community by the Regent, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the King's brother, and a far

harder man than he. The demand was resisted with great spirit by the Chief Rabbi Elias, son of Master Moses, who accepted for himself and his people the banishment threatened by the edict as a lesser evil than continuance in the country on such terms. All in vain, however: the safe-conduct which he craved was refused, and means were found to extort, if not the whole, at any rate a considerable fraction of the required sum. In the following year (1255) the King's demand of an aid of 8,000 marks was met with a peremptory refusal; but still there is no word of banishment; on the contrary, Earl Richard comes to his brother's aid with an advance of 5,000 marks and takes by way of security an assignment of the entire Jewry with all its arrears of talliage. Earl Richard was, as I have said, a hard man; he was also as ambitious as he was hard; he aspired to sway the destinies of the Holy Roman Empire, and, though he eventually failed of his object, he did succeed in carrying his election as King of Romans by corruption. The election took place while the Jewry was in his hand; and it is presumable that he more than realized the amount of his advance. At any rate, the Jews appear to have been so impoverished by his operations that I find no evidence of any considerable contribution made by them to the royal treasury until after the conclusion of the civil war. Shortly before the outbreak of hostilities (July, 1262) they were assigned to Prince Edward, who subdemised them to a firm of Cahorsin usurers; but I have not been able to discover the precise nature or financial result of this transaction.

During the war, and especially after the battle of Lewes, (May 14, 1264), they felt the full force of the ruthless anti-Semitism of the baronial party. A raid upon an Archa was an ordinary incident in the campaign; the bonds, which it was now the rule to retain in lieu of the memorial, were impounded or burned; and Montfort during the brief period of his ascendancy annulled them all by proclamation. Several of the most populous Jewries were also sacked,

and multitudes of Jews were massacred. The restoration of peace was followed at no great interval by measures invalidating the rent-charges in which the Jews had to a large extent invested their money, prohibiting the assignment of their debts without royal licence, and the assignment of interest in any event, and providing for the redemption of all freehold estates in land which they had or might thereafter have in their possession. This policy was carried still further by Edward I, who abolished legal remedies for the recovery of interest, and limited execution for the principal money to a moiety of the debtor's lands and chattels¹. The statute was partially evaded by the Jews, who, being now authorized to trade, frequently veiled usurious transactions under the form of common contracts. They were held mainly responsible for a most disastrous defacement of the coinage which followed hard on the passing of this measure.

In 1278 the whole community was laid under arrest, and in the following year 293 Jews were hanged for coin-clipping. I am sorry to say that after much painful research I have failed to find the record of this case, which was tried by a special commission at Guildhall. I have therefore no opinion to express as to the degree of truth there may have been in the accusation, beyond this, that there was every temptation to the Jews to commit the offence and to the Crown to aggravate their guilt. I have also failed to find the record of the proceedings which followed a subsequent arrest *en masse* of the Jewry, which took place in 1287, and resulted in its amercement in £12,000. In 1290 the whole community was banished the realm by royal edict. Once more I have to lament a lacuna in the records. The edict is not forthcoming. We are, therefore, driven to rely upon secondary evidence and conjecture for the grounds of this high-handed measure. The secondary evidence to which I refer is a writ giving certain directions, which need not be detailed, to the

¹ *Statutes of the Realm*, I, 221.

Justices of the Exchequer of the Jews as to the winding-up of the business of the Court. The sole ground of the expulsion assigned in the preamble is the evasion by the Jews of the usury law. There is no reason to doubt that this was, at any rate, one of the reasons by which the King was actuated; but a full declaration of his policy was hardly to be expected in a writ of this kind, and we may therefore reasonably call conjecture to our aid for its fuller determination. In the first place then, we may ask, how far is religion likely to have entered into it? After considering the matter as carefully as I can, I am disposed to think that the religious factor was probably inappreciable. In the first place Judaism is not, properly speaking, a heresy; for the Catholic Church has never claimed jurisdiction to correct what she deems misbelief in any but Christians. It is true that from time to time baptism has been administered at the sword's point; but nevertheless the practice has always been condemned by the authoritative teaching of the Church. It is true also that she would feel herself justified in restraining those outside her pale from disseminating what she deemed heresy among her own children; but the expulsion from her midst of all who are not of her has never been part of her policy; and hence in Italy the Jews were throughout the Middle Ages not only tolerated, but far better treated than in any other European country. Moreover, the clergy of England during the period under review had, on the whole, evinced far less hostility to the Jews than the laity; and though towards its close they had somewhat changed their attitude, procuring the aid of the State to force the Gospel upon the attention of the Jews, and severely restrict the exercise by them of their own religion, yet it would seem that their zeal soon flagged, and that even an animated appeal on the part of Pope Honorius IV failed to revive it. For these reasons I incline to think that religion had little or nothing to do with the expulsion.

On the other hand, the mere evasion of the usury law can hardly have been the sole or the chief cause which dictated the policy. It would certainly have been possible to devise regulations by which that practice might have been to a very considerable extent abated; and it would seem that an alternative policy, the allowance of interest at a fixed rate for a limited term, was for a time contemplated. It has hitherto been assumed, I hardly know why, that this measure, which exists only in the form of an undated draft, was actually passed into law. My scrutiny of the rolls has, however, convinced me that this was certainly not the case before the year 1286 when they come to an end, just four years before the expulsion. Not only is there no evidence upon the rolls of the existence of any such measure, but cases occur in abundance, in which, if it had been passed, it would certainly have been put in force. For example, one of its provisions authorized the empanelling of a jury composed exclusively of Christians in cases where, as occasionally happened, the mixed jury was equally divided: but there is no trace upon the rolls of recourse to this expedient, except during the first few years of Edward's reign, when it was impossible that the measure should be in force. The measure, therefore, can have been operative, if at all, only during the four years immediately preceding the expulsion; but after a careful scrutiny of all the records known to me in which trace of its existence might be found, I have failed to discover any such trace. For these reasons I think we may conclude that it remained a mere project, and that the policy of amending the usury law was never so much as tried. We are, therefore, thrown back upon that law itself as the ground of the expulsion; and when account is taken of all its provisions, it will, I think, be manifest that the expulsion was its inevitable sequel.

The evident policy of the measure was to convert the Jews out of hand into agriculturists and traders. They were authorized to take farms, but at the same time it

was provided, that, if they failed to do so within fifteen years, the licence should be withdrawn. They were also authorized to trade, but the measure contained no provision, as probably none could have been enforced, for opening the gilds to them. It was, of course, absurd to expect the Jews in any large numbers to take to agricultural pursuits within so brief a period as fifteen years; nor was there any chance of their competing successfully in commerce with the gildsmen. The measure therefore failed, and its failure being apparent, Edward at the close of the prescribed period of fifteen years cut the Gordian knot by expelling a community which he regarded as an element not to be assimilated by the body politic, a cause of irritation to his people and of embarrassment to himself.

The measure was of Rhadamanthine sternness, but in order to judge it fairly the whole complex of circumstances with which Edward had to deal must be taken into account. He would have been powerless to change the temper, traditions, and ideas of his own people, had he been as philo-Semitic as he was probably the reverse. He had inherited from his ancestors the idea that the Jews were his property, to deal with exactly as he chose. They had taken no oath of fealty to him, and were therefore not his liege subjects. In his view, as in the view of his predecessors, they held their position in the country entirely at his good will and pleasure: all that they possessed was his, and could be rightfully reclaimed at any moment. So far had this principle been carried that besides the regular levy of talliage there was hardly an event of importance in the life of a Jew of which the Crown did not take advantage to levy toll upon him. The Court, which was his aegis against the rapacity of the barons and the fury of the populace, mulcted him in exorbitant fees before it would do him the most elementary justice; when he died his whole estate passed into the King's hand, and the lawyers exerted all their ingenuity to show cause why

it should remain there; in any case it was not liberated until a third had been excised from it to the use of the Crown; if he left infant children they were wards of the Crown, and therefore could not marry without royal licence, which, of course, was not ordinarily granted without a handsome consideration. A royal licence was also required whenever a Jew changed his residence, though it was but from one town of Jewry to another. Finally the Crown visited excommunication by the Synagogue, or conversion to Christianity, with forfeiture of the offender's estate, and only under Edward himself abated some of its rigour in the case of converts. Such being the recognized status of the Jews, it would have been nothing less than a moral miracle if Edward had felt himself bound to strain a point in their favour, and it would be absurd to find fault with him for dismissing them from the country as soon as he deemed their presence no longer desirable. Nay, it is even probable that the expulsion was a blessing in disguise. There is no reason to suppose, that, had he retained them in the country, their lot would have improved. They had not, as I have intimated, shown much capacity for craftsmanship at a time when the crafts were still free from the shackles of the gild system. These shackles were now being forged. In the fourteenth century they would have found it as difficult to hold their own in the crafts as in commerce; and even had the usury law been repealed or allowed to fall into abeyance, they would have found the Italians formidable competitors in the money-market. There is no reason to suppose that time would have wrought any speedy and material mitigation of the aversion with which they were regarded by the nobles and people, and their sufferings during the Barons' Wars were probably trifling in comparison with what would have been in store for them during the Wars of the Roses. From the Tudors they had at the least no better treatment to expect than from the Plantagenets. The traditions of the Tudors would have been continued

by the Stuarts ; and in short, until the final collapse of the feudal *régime* in the seventeenth century, it was hardly possible that the lot of the Jews in England should have been other than one of extreme humiliation, varied only by periodical outbreaks of savage oppression.

J. M. Rigg.

THE NEO-HEBRAIC LANGUAGE AND ITS LITERATURE¹.

EVERY one acquainted with the Bible² knows that the book of Ezra begins with the concluding verses of the second book of Chronicles. This second book is the last in the Hebrew canon, so that on reaching its final verses we are led to believe we have arrived at the end of the canon. Instead of that these verses form the beginning of another book of high importance—a book which in a certain sense contains the revival of Judaism.

I will not enter here into the question as to what cause this remarkable circumstance is to be attributed. I call attention to it merely because I find in it a striking instance of the strange events met with in the history of the Hebrew language. To those who are perhaps of opinion that with the conclusion of the Bible Hebrew literature comes to an end, or at least loses its importance, we shall now endeavour to make clear that afterwards it was revived, and entered on a period of new life, during which it can compete with any literature in the world for growth and extent.

Indeed a revival was then very necessary. Signs of a decline in Hebrew are discernible already in the Bible. Even in the later prophets the old ardour is no longer felt. In Malachi for example the exalted flight, the irresistible power, the striking figures, the ardent lan-

¹ Opening address delivered to the Amsterdam University, Jan. 21, 1901.

² When here and later on I speak of the Bible, I refer exclusively to the twenty-four books of the Hebrew Canon.

guage, which so completely takes hold of the mind, heart, and soul of the reader, hardly exist. One is no longer struck by the expression of burning indignation at the wickedness committed, at the dominant evils, or by the vivid representation of the shame and the punishment which must unavoidably follow, so that "both the ears of every one that heareth it shall tingle¹." In fact the Talmud² points to the difference of style between Isaiah and Ezekiel.

The influence of foreign peoples on Hebrew is little noticeable before the first fall of Jerusalem, except that through frequent intercourse with the kingdoms of Aram, Aramaic had worked its way into Palestine—at least into the court circles—as can be seen from the second book of Kings³ and from Isaiah⁴. But so long as Palestine was in possession of the Hebrews, the native tongue was able to hold its own. It was a different matter when by far the greatest and most important part of the Israelites was banished from the land by Nebuchadnezzar, and driven to a country where also a dialect of Aramaic was spoken. This must have exercised a great influence on Hebrew, already so closely related to Chaldee. Add to this that for a long time Israel did not get back her independence, for although a considerable number returned to their country, they remained continuously subjected to other nations: first to the Persians, then to the principal dynasties which were the outcome of the Greco-Macedonian dominion, and later on to the Romans. Only once again, viz. under the Hasmonaeans, did they fight themselves free, and were they able to maintain their independence for one short century, but after that it was lost for good and all.

Under such circumstances it is easy to understand that there can be no question of a pure, unadulterated Hebrew. Not only do the Aramaic elements make themselves felt,

¹ 1 Sam. iii. 11.

³ Ch. xviii.

² Babyl. *Chagiga*, 13 b.

⁴ Ch. xxxvi.

but the language is also sprinkled with Persian and Greek. The book of *Esther* affords the best proof of Persian influence; and yet this and other writings are literary products of Hebrew growth, and were considered by the compilers of the canon to be worthy of being included therein.

It is still always an open question as to when the canon was brought to a close. In the Talmud¹ there are signs of great caution having been observed on this point. It seems indeed that more than one work did not obtain for itself the favour of being accepted; for it is not advisable to take it for granted that all the writings cited here and there in the Bible had entirely disappeared at the time of the closing of the canon. Even the work of Josua ben Sirach was probably finished before that time. In the Babylonian Talmud it is highly thought of, for not only are quotations from it given from time to time, but once² it was even reckoned amongst the Hagiographa. Against its adoption into the canon perhaps the same considerations presented themselves as led one of the Amora'im in the Talmud³ to advise people not to read this book. In the Palestinian Talmud⁴, moreover, there is mention of a Hebrew work by a certain Ben Laänah, and in the *Midrash Rabba*⁵ of one by a certain Ben Tiglath—both works by the way quite unknown. Whatever may be said as to the origin of those works, nothing originally written in Hebrew before the middle of the third century has come down to us. Towards the close, however, of the same century a vigorous revival of Hebrew literature took place, and until this present time the writing of Hebrew has maintained itself, if a comparatively short period during the fifth and sixth centuries may be left out of account.

Just in the same way as a new work of great im-

¹ *Babyl. Sabbath*, 31 b. *Menachoth*, 45 a.

² *Baba Kama*, 92 b.

⁴ *Sanhedrin*, x. 1.

³ *Babyl. Sanhedrin*, 100 b.

⁵ *Koheloth*, xii. 12.

portance, the contents of which form a revival in the history of Judaism, starts at a point which one would take to be the conclusion of the Bible, so Hebrew suddenly arises, like a phoenix from the ashes under which it was thought to be buried long since, and it is this post-biblical language that people rightly or wrongly call "neo-Hebraic or new Hebrew." (Later on it will appear why I question the correctness of this term.) I will now endeavour to explain briefly: (I) The extent of the "new Hebrew" literature and what works can be looked upon as belonging to it; (II) in what respects this language differs chiefly from biblical Hebrew; and (III) why the study of the neo-Hebraic language may be considered of great importance.

I.

In the first half of the third century R. Jehuda Hanasi compiled the Mishna, by collecting various, and to his idea authoritative opinions on the application of the precepts of the Jewish Law. Although the Pentateuch forms the foundation on which this work is based, statutes of a later date were also included, especially those which serve to prevent the infringement of a biblical commandment. The opinions of various learned men on certain smaller sections of the law had already been brought together before the time of Jehuda Hanasi. Not infrequently in the Mishna he allows these scholars to appear themselves on the scene and to bring forward and defend their opinions in their own words. It can be held with certainty that there are indications that for several centuries previously proofs of collections existed. Of these I will cite just one instance, which will at the same time give some small idea of Jehuda Hanasi's style of working.

The beginning of Treatise Kidushin, c. 4, reads as follows:—"The exiles returning from Babylon to Palestine are divided into ten classes, in order to maintain strictly the solidarity of family life, viz. into priests, Levites, &c."

The whole sentence is in ordinary Hebrew, but the names of the classes have their plural terminations in Chaldee. It is strange—indeed I might say, almost unaccountable—that these Chaldee words should suddenly occur in the middle of a treatise in ordinary Hebrew, the more so as they appear often enough in the Mishna with Hebrew endings. Unaccountable it would have been indeed, if there were no passage in the Talmud¹ to give us some enlightenment. For is it not stated there that Hillel the Babylonian, the same who on his coming over to Palestine was consulted in doubtful cases² by the greatest scholars of his time, is the author of this sentence in the Mishna? It would seem he was so accustomed to the language of the country in which he lived that he could not restrain himself from giving Chaldee endings to Hebrew words, most of which he heard on everybody's lips. It should be noticed also that the text of Hillel, as appears from the above-cited Talmud passage, contained a second phrase in addition to the one already given, but this the compiler of the Mishna ignores, being unable to agree with it, whilst the one he does agree with he reproduces in the same words in which he found it.

Thus we have in the Mishna of Jehuda Hanasi a sentence in Hebrew, which dates from about 30 years B.C., and which no doubt is one of the oldest citations occurring there. It is true, Frankel³ surmises that the Mishna contains paragraphs taken over literally from the *Ecclesia Magna*, but they are not the so-called Halachoth, that is, articles on legislative subjects, but exegetical explications of the Bible, from which the existing regulations take their origin.

Jehuda Hanasi moreover makes mention of a collection of laws by R. Akiba עקיבא ר' אכיבא⁴, which is cited in

¹ Babyl. *Jebamoth*, 37 a.

² Vide Talm., Babyl. *Pesachim*, 66 a.

³ *Hodegetica in Mischnam*, p. 5 and following.

⁴ *Sanhedrin*, ch. 3, § 4.

Tosefta¹. He even speaks of a collection which preceded that by Akiba (משנה ראשונה). A statement in the Talmud² seems to point to a considerable collection by R. Meïr, one of the foremost disciples of Akiba. The task, however, of paraphrasing, collecting, and arranging the whole domain of Jewish legislation, and in all its detail, was reserved to Meïr's disciple Jehuda Hanasi. In any case no earlier collection of that kind or of that extent has come down to us.

The language of the Mishna is Hebrew; not indeed the Hebrew of the Bible—that could not be, for it contains neither history nor poetry. We do not find in the Mishna the affectionate tone, the fatherly exhortations to good and virtuous deeds, the pastoral warnings against evil, that are so often met with in the Pentateuch. On the contrary; except for the treatise of the so-called “Sayings of the Fathers,” it is generally but a summing up of what is to be recommended and what must be avoided, from a religious and moral point of view.

For example, the commandment in Leviticus³, “Ye shall not swear by my name falsely,” we find of course repeated in the Mishna, but without the impressive clause added in the Pentateuch, “so that thou profane the name of thy God, I am the Lord.” On the other hand the Mishna does not content itself with a mere citation of the commandment, but it goes on to explain in full detail when and under what circumstances a man must be considered to have broken it, and when an oath may be allowed, so that we find a whole treatise with eight chapters and sixty-two paragraphs devoted to the subject of this one verse in the Bible.

Yet in spite of the dryness of the Mishnaic matter, sufficient care was taken to provide variation. At one time we are treated to a beautiful moral lesson, at another the wearying enumeration of laws and facts is interrupted

¹ *Maaser Sheni*, ch. 2, §§ 1 and 12; see also *Tosefta Zabim*, ch. 1, § 5.

² *Babyl. Sanhedrin*, 86 a.

³ *Ch. xix. 12.*

by a lively discussion, or even the contending parties are introduced and made to speak for themselves.

Not long after the Mishna was compiled other works appeared, in about the same spirit and in the same language; works which lay open to us to a great extent the sources from which Jehuda Hanasi can have drawn his knowledge. I mean Tosefta, Siphra, Siphre, and Mechilta, which are attributed to different men of renown, for a great part to the more distinguished amongst the disciples of Jehuda Hanasi. These works are spoken of collectively under the name of Boraitha (lit. *outside*), i.e. outside the Mishna. In the Siphra, Siphre, and Mechilta the statutes of the Jewish law are brought directly into connexion with the prescriptions of the Bible, an unusual proceeding with Jehuda Hanasi. All four contain more frequently discourses and discussions held by earlier sages—passages therefore of older date. Thus we often hear them discuss the meaning of the biblical statutes. Not infrequently these discussions bear traces of having been taken over from some former collections or attempts at collection¹.

The dialogues of the Boraitha were held in Hebrew. This language therefore still lived among the learned. It was, however, used by them also in their addresses to the people, as can be seen, e.g. from a Boraitha passage cited in the Talmud². Even later Amoraïm (i.e. interpreters of the Mishna) of the fourth and fifth centuries, who in their disputes and discourses generally made use of a sort of Aramaic, this being the language best understood by the people of Babylon where they lived, often enough delivered their addresses also in Hebrew. In this connexion an interesting incident is recorded in the Talmud³ with regard to the phrase *הם שלנו*, because *שלנו* may mean either "they belong to us" or "they have passed the night." The Tanaïm (the teachers in the Mishna or Boraitha) and the older Amoraïm of the third

¹ Compare p. 28, note 1.

² Babyl. *Berak*, 15 b.

³ Babyl. *Pesachim*, 42 a.

century and beginning of the fourth, speak nearly *always* Hebrew, both amongst themselves and before their auditors. When notwithstanding this we sometimes hear a Methurgeman (interpreter) spoken of, it seems to me that his services were only required when passages were read from the Pentateuch or from the prophets; for certainly the old classical language could not pride itself on being known by all. The Talmud¹ shows that many no doubt able students of Jehuda Hanasi were not capable of explaining certain rarely occurring words. Their meaning they only derived from the ordinary language used by servants in their master's household. The same fate befel other words uncommon in the language of the Tana'im. The Talmud mentions² that Rabbi Huna, one of the older Amora'im, felt offended at being called colleague by Rabbi Anan, who in knowledge was far behind him. To make his grievance known to the offender he sent one of his pupils with a note that savoured of displeasure, and which contained a word that is to be found only twice in the Bible. R. Anan in despair applies to the Exilarch for elucidation as to the meaning of that word, but instead of receiving any assistance he is rebuked for his ignorance and told that "one who does not even know the meaning of the word מִתְּרַגְּמָן ought to call R. Huna, not his colleague, but his *master*."

From this it is evident that it was considered a disgrace, at least for the *literati*, not to understand the most uncommon words of the Bible, and when domestic servants of the third century use such words in their daily talk about matters of housekeeping, surely Hebrew must have been for years the ordinary language of intercourse amongst the Jews, even during their term of political subjection. It is therefore difficult to agree with Dukes, Geiger, and others that it had survived only as the language of scholars, just like Latin in the Middle Ages. There is more foundation

¹ Babyl. *Rosh Hashana*, 21 b.

² Babyl. *Ketuboth*, 69 a.

for the opinion of Graetz, that even in those days the Hebrew of the Bible was still a living tongue. We shall then be better able to understand how not only the Mishna and Boraitha, but also the so-called Midrash for a considerable portion, came to be written in comparatively pure Hebrew.

Under the name of Midrash I now introduce to you a new branch of Hebrew literature, which makes its appearance some centuries later than the Mishna, and which does not deal with a summing up of the religious laws or with the task of interpreting the Pentateuch so that these laws can be derived from it, but with an allegorical and homiletical explanation of the whole Bible, intended, it would seem exclusively, for the sermons and discourses in which the people were instructed, by means of figures and illustrations taken from their own surroundings, or from life in general, as well as through narratives of sacred or profane events here and elsewhere, but always in connexion with, and under guidance of, the Bible. Although the homiletical explanation of the Bible is of much older date—both in the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmud innumerable traces of it are to be found—the first collection does not date from before the sixth century, but once begun, this branch of literature grew and developed to an enormous extent.

Almost all through, the Midrash is rich in thought and original, and not infrequently it charms and fascinates the reader. It contains no works of a strictly scientific character, and should be looked upon as if it were the poetry of the time (the *Agada*) which was founded on the Bible, just as the Halacha may be said to have been the plain and serious study of the Scriptures.

It is true that a great part of the Midrash literature is composed in a sort of Chaldee, but a very considerable portion of it is Hebrew. I am not aware of any statement being found along with the addresses it contains to the effect that the speaker was assisted by an *interpreter*, so

that this also would go to show that Hebrew was understood by the public.

In the seventh century a new kind of Jewish literature, viz. the so-called *liturgical poetry*, makes its entrance into the world with the work of a certain José ben José Hajathom. Laws of the Talmud, homilies and phantasies of the Midrash relating to festivals or days of observation in the Jewish Calendar, are for each of these days in particular collected into groups in which there is a certain rhythm, and in those of later date even rhyme. The Hebrew utterances found in the original sources are reproduced almost unaltered, but the non-Hebrew phrases are first put into a Hebrew garb. These productions are known under the name of *Piutim*, a word formed from the Greek *ποίησις*¹. In the course of the following centuries they are made use of to describe the sad fortunes of the Israelites in the various countries of their abode, and prayers for better times are added to them. Even at the present day in many Jewish communities, several of them are united with the more ancient prayers.

The writers of these productions bear the name *Paitanim*, formed from the word *Piut*. Amongst them we find some of the most renowned Jewish scholars. Even Maimonides, although not particularly enamoured of this kind of literature, which he considered too artificial and injurious to real and serious study, nevertheless tried his skill in it.

It is, however, not to be denied that many *Paitanim* sometimes allowed themselves too great a licence in the use of the Hebrew language. Thus they even attempted to make a plural of the Hebrew interrogative *מָה* *why?* with the meaning *the questions why*. Abraham Ibn-Ezra² amongst others, in his *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*³ twice draws our attention to excesses of this nature on the part of the otherwise famous Eliezer Hakalir, and although

¹ See "The Jewish Year," in the *J. Q. R.*, vol. XI, p. 64.

² 12th century.

³ Ch. v. 1; viii. 10.

Heidenheim¹ makes every effort to extenuate them, he is not able to defend them. Yet there are also Paitanim who keep to biblical Hebrew as strictly as possible, and these men have often furnished us with excellent and fascinating specimens of Hebrew. Simon ben Jitshak², Moses Ibn-Ezra³, Salomon Ibn-Gabirol⁴ were amongst those who distinguished themselves in this respect. Nor is this surprising, for their precursor, the afore-named José, had prepared the way by a work which shows great talent as well as great skill in the classical language. It is true most people hold that he lived in Palestine, the classical land of the Jews. We know for almost a certainty that this was the case with one of his most famous successors, Eliezer Hakalir, whom we have already named. Yet among the later Paitanim there were but few Palestinians. And for whom did they write? Surely not for those who did not understand them? Their productions were recited in the Synagogue, for which purpose in fact they were mostly intended; many it is true by the reader alone, but the majority by the entire community. There are even traces of an antiphonal chant⁵. In any case we are bound to suppose that their language was generally understood and had continued to live on amongst the people at large. Indeed to this very day Hebrew is still spoken in Palestine, Armenia, Arabia, and North Africa by the Israelite inhabitants. This being so, one is inclined to raise the question: "When was this language buried which we now generally count as amongst the dead?"

We possess a very large collection of Piutim. They are divided into certain rubrics according to their different contents, such as supplications, hymns, &c. Several are already published, many more still exist in MS., but greater

¹ *Prayer-book for the feast of New Year*, Röd., 1800, I, 86 b; and *Prayer-book for the Day of Atonement*, II, 9 b.

² 11th century.

³ 11th century.

⁴ Beginning of 12th century.

⁵ Vide Heidenh. *Prayer-book for the feast of Tabernacles*, Röd., 1800, I, 50 b.

by far is the number of those which we no longer possess and of which only a fragment or a single strophe is occasionally quoted. Writing according to a certain rhythm and with rhyme was so much in vogue during some centuries that even learned essays and doctrinal works were written in that style, as for instance the grammatical treatises of Aaron ben Asher¹, the preface to *En Hakoreh* by Jekuthiel Hacoheh² and others. Even with authors who did not cultivate this mode of writing, it sometimes happened that a metrical line or strophe slipped from their pen in works of a totally different nature.

The grammatical works which I cited just now belong to another branch of literature, which makes its appearance in the seventh century. It seems that the Karaïtes, a Jewish sect which has now all but died out, greatly assisted in promoting it. Their works, however, have only come to us in fragmentary form; but with the beginning of the tenth century activity in the domain of grammar begins to take firm root amongst the Rabbinite Jews (all non-Karaïtes style themselves thus), and their writings very quickly develop into an entirely new literature. Let us name only Saādya Gaon³, Jona Ibn-Ganach⁴, Abraham Ibn-Ezra, who alone contributed some ten works on this subject, and David and Moses Kimchi⁵. These and many others have decidedly made their name in the domain of grammar or of lexicography, or of both, whilst to Ibn-Ezra and David Kimchi in particular belongs the glory of scarcely ever having departed from classical Hebrew. This branch of literature is still cultivated. A recent Hebrew grammar of the books of the Bible is no doubt that by the late scholar S. D. Luzzatto, edited by Abraham Kahana of Zitomir, of which the first part (Etymology) was sent me a few weeks ago. On the language of the Mishna a Hebrew grammar appeared in 1867. I myself, about ten years ago,

¹ 10th century.

² Before the 12th century.

³ 10th century.

⁴ 11th century.

⁵ 13th century.

was asked by some of my acquaintances to translate into Hebrew an essay on a certain point of Hebrew grammar which I had formerly written and published¹ in Latin under the title of *Darché Hanesigah*. I need hardly say that I acceded to this honourable request², and that in doing so I endeavoured, so far as the subject allowed it, to keep within the bounds of classical Hebrew³.

Saadya Gaon, whom I just mentioned, also opened the field to works on the philosophy of religion. Most of these, however, were originally written in Arabic and subsequently translated into Hebrew by scholars, who, although men of name, could not conceal from themselves the great difficulties and defects inherent in such a work. Besides the Arabic terminology, which is often retained, there are many constructions in their rendering which did not originate on Hebrew soil. A purer Hebrew is written by Levi ben Gerson⁴ and Abr. Ibn-Ezra in the philosophic discussions not infrequently met with in their commentaries on the Bible.

I have now approached one of those branches of literature which, though not represented in the Bible, yet deserve a prominent place in our discourse, viz. the Commentaries on earlier works. In a certain sense it may be said that already in the Mishna and Boraitha this class of literature had made a beginning. We have before called attention⁵ to explications of the Pentateuch found in the Mishna, and in another place⁶ we pointed out the contents of a certain part of the Boraitha. Nor are hermeneutic studies left uncultivated in the Midrash. The two Talmuds are extensive commentaries with discussions and arguments written on the Mishna, and often also on the Boraitha. Now all these

¹ *Sive leges de accentus Hebr. linguae ascensione*, Lugduni Batavorum, E. J. Brill, 1881 (Leyden, Holland).

² Published in Amsterdam by Levisson Bros.

³ It may be useful for the reader to know that Fr. Wijnkoop has also written a *Manual of Grammar and Syntax*, translated into English by Rev. C. van den Biesen, Luzac & Co., 46 Great Russell St., W. C.

⁴ 14th century. ⁵ Vide page 27 and *ibid.*, note 3. ⁶ Vide page 29.

works were themselves commentated upon by later authors, and these authors again are made the subject of commentary by succeeding generations. The first place of course is taken by the commentaries on the Bible, Mishna and Talmud, and these three are yet continued even at the present day. We cannot omit to make brief mention here of the renowned Solomon ben Jitshak¹, commonly called *Rashi*, who has bequeathed to us an explanation of nearly the whole Bible and of nearly the whole Babylonian Talmud, in a language and style so concise and powerful as to be perhaps without a parallel in any other literature. This is not the place to enlarge upon the very great merits of this fertile writer, but I must just mention that his Hebrew, so far as this was possible in dealing with subjects of the most diverse kinds, may be called almost pure. There even are amongst commentators on the Bible some who seriously applied themselves to imitating as closely as possible the biblical language. On this score the first place may well be assigned to Don Isaac Abrabanel², who also in his many other works so neatly and gracefully expresses himself. Next to him deserve to be mentioned Abr. Ibn-Ezra before referred to, Nachmanides³, David Kimchi, and in the previous century Isaac Reggio.

Needless to say, the art of poetry found many patrons and students amongst the kinsmen of the Psalmist, but it slumbered for many centuries until the Jews came into contact with the Arabs, while later on in Spain it enjoyed a hitherto unknown growth. We shall shortly have occasion to say something about the more famous of these poets.

Deserving of mention are also the works on textual and historical criticism, which subjects, especially since the beginning of the previous century, have occupied the thoughts of many. For a great part they have come to us in periodicals as *מאסף*, *בכורי העתים*, *המאסף* and others, but often also by means of the very instructive corre-

¹ 11th century.

² 15th century.

³ 13th century.

spondence between such men as S. Rapoport, Isaac Reggio, Leopold Dukes, S. D. Luzzatto, M. Sachs, &c.

When to all these works I add the almost innumerable casuistic works and codes (which by reason of the nature of the subject-matter only rarely observe the strict rules of grammar) along with the almost interminable string of homiletical writings, containing mostly elaborate Hebrew discourses, many of which really approach the purity of biblical Hebrew, I think I have enumerated the most *extensive* branches of Hebrew literature. I have purposely left out of account the two Talmudim, although containing a good few Hebrew pieces, because these are mostly from a Boraitha or contain a phrase of the older Amoraïm, while in the remainder not much that is Hebrew can be found. Nor shall I make mention of the Cabalistic works, seeing that these are hardly ever written in Hebrew.

Yet of the more *limited* kinds of Hebrew literature I should like to name just one, which assuredly is most remarkable from a linguistic point of view. I refer to the original, the most ancient prayers of the Israelites, thus excluding the subsequently added Piutim. These ancient prayers, in their beautiful language, join on immediately to the Bible, and should certainly be considered as the first neo-hebraic literary productions. The Boraitha¹ indeed ascribes them for the greater part to the *Ecclesia Magna*.

II.

Let us now see in how far new Hebrew really differs from the biblical language, apart from those points which we have already touched upon. Certainly Hebrew could not elude that general law, that every civilized language in the course of centuries undergoes great alterations. In addition to new subjects, different modes of reasoning, and foreign conceptions, brought about by greater communication and more extensive intercourse, it seems that a considerable part of these changes must be attributed to

¹ Talm. Babyl., *Megillah*, 17 b; cf. *Berachoth*, 33 a.

an ever-increasing tendency and desire on the part of those who use the language, to express their thoughts with greater precision and lucidity. With this end in view, they create for themselves new forms of speech, extend the stock of words, and seek new constructions. The force of the older words and forms of speech is hereby often enough weakened, their power more and more curtailed, and their boundaries continually more restricted.

We have already briefly pointed out that one or more factors must have exercised a detrimental influence on the lofty style of old Hebrew. Also in prose a comparison, for instance, between Joshua and the Chronicles would yield the same conclusion. Hebrew, moreover, less than any other language, could be safeguarded against changes, because of the vicissitudes the Hebrews experienced, and because they were so often transported to other countries, where willingly or unwillingly they took over much that was new to them. Already before the compilation of the Mishna, the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Syrians, Egyptian Greeks, and Romans, had swayed the sceptre over them. Even quite apart from the languages of the peoples subjugated along with the Israelites, and with whom the latter also came into contact, those of the conquerors alone exercised a considerable influence in enlarging and remodelling the Hebrew tongue. Chaldee more than once shows itself in the Mishna language, by which term I understand the language of both the Mishna and Boraitha. It seems indeed to have been of old the official language for all legal matters, and the various nations subjugated to Babylon were quite possibly obliged to adopt Chaldee as being the only language officially recognized. People were so convinced of the necessity of this tongue for legal terms, that sometimes words, the origin of which was no longer known, or perhaps even in spite of its being known, were looked upon as Chaldee. Concerning the efficacy of a testamentary will, the Jewish law-giver teaches that its directions and assign-

ments have as much force before the deed has been placed in possession of the rightful persons as afterwards. With the object of explaining this principle from the meaning of the word *διαθήκη* and of showing how this word came by its signification of *last will, testament*, a Boraitha passage, quoted in the Talmud¹, holds *διαθήκη* to be a compound of the words *למקם דא תהא דא* = *this be firmly settled*, words which occur in the actual deed. This in itself is neither better nor worse than when the *Etymologicum Magnum* derives the name *βουλή* from *ζα*-and *βουλή*, and certainly it is by no means so bad as deriving *testamentum* from *testatio mentis*, seeing that this was done by a thorough-bred Roman when dealing with a purely Latin word. The fact of people seeking to attribute these foreign words to Chaldee shows, however, the hold this language had upon them. And yet in the Mishna language Chaldee is restricted to legal terms, official acts and deeds, besides certain maxims of the aforementioned Hillel the Babylonian, a few short sayings and proverbs, and now and then a Chaldee stem which had made its way into Hebrew.

The influence, however, of Latin and Greek was far greater than that of any other language. In the course of ages the people became acquainted with ideas and objects, both from nature and from art, for which in biblical Hebrew no names existed. They were, in consequence, simply taken over from the then dominant language. Greek supplied such words as *ἀσθενής*, *διφθέρα*, *ἐπίτροπος*, *μηχανή*, *συνέδριον*, *ὑποθήκη*, and many more; Latin added *calamus*, *libellarius*, *patronus*, *subsellium*, *velum*, *vivarium*, and several others, not to mention the numerous names of plants, and the proper names of towns, countries, and persons.

The Jewish *literati* in the Mishna and Boraitha did not restrict themselves to the taking over of new words; they often so modified them as to give them a Hebrew appearance. Πύπρος (later) Greek, for instance, = *πύπρον*, *wheaten*

¹ Babyl. *Baba Mezia*, 19 a.

bread, food, was taken over, ending and all, and treated as a verbal stem of four letters with the general meaning to care for, to provide. *ἤμιν* is held in the Talmud¹ to be the stem of מְשִׁיב, and by way of pleasantry even of the word הָפֵס in Deuteronomy², but probably it gave birth to the Hebrew stem כָּרַע and its derivative מְכַרֵּץ *middle*. *Karhyopos* throws off its ending, and lets itself be moulded into a verbal stem of four letters in כָּרַי in which the *p* and *γ* have exchanged places in order to relieve the pronunciation. As the Hebrew שָׁלַח corresponds with the Greek *ράπτειν*, and from the latter *ραπειν* was formed, so also was שָׁלַח formed from שָׁלַח, with a similar meaning. *Textus*, what is woven, in Hebrew מְכַתֵּב, has to the latter also given the meaning, *text, subject of discourse*. *Studere* would appear to have gone over into Hebrew after the *r* was changed into ל; an alteration of common occurrence. Subsequently, however, it was looked upon as a form of the conjugation הִתְפַּעֵל made according to the well-known rules for the sibilants. In this manner the Hebrew stem שָׁלַח arose, in which a foreign origin can no longer be detected. It need hardly be said that the ethical principles of the Stoics well fitted in with the Jewish ideas of viewing life, and that the Hedonism of Epicurus was peculiarly repugnant to them. Hence מְשִׁיב is the name for all who declare themselves independent of a higher power and of the principles which are founded on it. מְשִׁיב, moreover, became a verb with a similar meaning, and מְשִׁיב a noun denoting *absence of ownership*. The intimacy, indeed, with Greek and Latin became so great that *voces hybridæ* were formed such as מְשִׁיב from *δύω* and מְשִׁיב from *עֲשֵׂה*. Finally it was but natural that the connexion with the Greeks, lasting as it did more than 500 years, should have resulted in the Israelites taking over from them, especially in the case of the Midrash literature, numerous sayings, proverbs, and images. The construction of the Hebrew verbs, however, was not influenced thereby in any noticeable degree.

¹ *Palestin. Maḥroth*, I, 2.² Ch. i. 28.

Leaving the foreign elements aside and comparing the later Hebrew with that of the Bible, we come to regard it as a *vigorously continued development, and as an extensive remodelling of the materials which formed the substratum of the older language*. Though the small community of Jews which returned into Palestine was drawn into the vortex of international strife and struggle¹; though the spiritual seed, sown by Ezra and fostered by the *Ecclesia Magna*, was stunted in its growth; though foreign elements chiefly, as we have seen, Aramaic, obtained and exercised a certain hegemony—yet there remained factors enough for the preservation of Hebrew. Instead of expiring, the language acquired for itself a flexibility, a facility and a new vitality such as one would not have expected of the scriptural tongue. The Mishna language sounds like the expression of the natural conscience, and impresses us as a successful continuation of the language of the Bible. It has not the brilliancy of the poetry, the sublimity of the prophets, or the charm of rhythm such as we love and admire in the Scriptures. But in compensation for this it can pride itself on lucidity of expression and on a very extensive and yet definite terminology. It possesses, moreover, a far greater stock of words and constructions, which was by no means exclusively brought together from foreign material, but which truly represents the consistent development of the older tongue. Here and there unmistakable traces of a rejuvenating power are visible; e.g. in the epigrams occurring in the Talmud², but on the whole it is the language of simple easy prose. Out of consideration, therefore, for the Mishna literature alone one should hesitate before saying: “the language of the Bible is dead; later Hebrew is no longer the language of the Bible.” And a yet greater injustice is done by such statements as these to works of a later date than the Mishna and Boraitha,—works which are real products of art, and

¹ Compare Graetz' *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1845.

² Babyl. *Mood Katon*, 25 b.

of which the language differs but little from that of the Bible. Attention should also be paid to the great variety of subjects which are dealt with in post-biblical literature. This difference of subject should not be overlooked when the works in later-Hebrew are tested in the balance.

The contents of the Bible may be divided into (1) history, (2) specimens of poetry, (3) legal constitution, viz. in the Pentateuch, and (4) prophecy. These different branches of literature we now venture to compare with corresponding works of later date.

(1) Real history is only found in the more recent productions of later Hebrew. Some of these, such as the accounts of travels, not infrequently distinguish themselves by purity of language. In the older works (Mishna and Boraitha) historic narratives are comparatively rare, but where they occur their language differs but little from that, e.g. of the Chronicles¹.

(2) The various categories of biblical poetry have in later literature been increased by those of the epic and elegy. Their productions may safely be called successful.

About a century ago Wessely wrote an epic on the Exodus from Egypt in five books. Although perhaps somewhat diffuse, a fault of which Wessely is more than once accused, yet in loftiness of thought and purity of style his poem leaves nothing to be desired, and I am certain that it contains no single word which would be an anomaly in the Bible. Not long after him a society was founded in this city (Amsterdam) under the name חֶלֶל having for its object the promotion of pure classical Hebrew. In how far its members succeeded in this aim with their specimens of poetry can be seen from a perusal of their contributions collected into two parts called *בכורי חֶלֶל* and *פרי חֶלֶל*. After this society, about half a century ago, ceased to exist, no serious and combined effort worth mentioning has been made in this city to forward the cultivation of classical

¹ See, for instance, the Boraitha passage quoted in *Babyl. Talm., Kiduschin*, 66 a.

Hebrew. We have, however, hitherto mentioned only examples of poetical literature which most closely approach our own age. When we go back to earlier centuries, to the works of Solomon Ibn-Gabirol¹, of Moses Ibn-Ezra², of Jehuda Halevi³, of Jehuda Alcharizi⁴, and of others, we can again enjoy the ardour of Eastern poetry which we appreciate so much in the Bible, and the bold flight of thought which is possible only in a southern atmosphere.

(3) The Pentateuch presents us with a constitution. Post-biblical writings deal with subjects of jurisprudence in general. Their difference, therefore, in character, in force of language and style is not incapable of explanation. Thus the *Mishna* is a sort of *Corpus Iuris*. The *Mishne Thorah* of Maimonides is a *Code*. The author himself declares that he adhered to the language of the *Mishna*; but let us not forget that in this *Code* he has placed before us in Hebrew decisions contained in the Talmud in quite a different language, and that he has done this in a form and style so expressive and clear, so forcible and pure, that all imitation of it would appear impossible. With the exception of subjects for which in biblical Hebrew no words can be found, he may fairly be said to have maintained the standard of classical language.

(4) As for prophetic literature, this has entirely ceased to exist.

Summing up then we may say, that not all branches of biblical literature are represented in later Hebrew, but whenever they are represented, the deviations are not so great as to keep the two rigorously distinct. On the contrary the later Hebrew links itself on to the older. Circumstances of time and place have naturally brought about many alterations, but on the whole it is a further and forcible development of the older language.

I am aware that it is my duty to substantiate this opinion by furnishing some particulars, and in order to

¹ First half of 11th century.

² Second half of 11th century.

³ Second half of 12th century.

avoid going into the subject at too great length I shall limit my observations to the Mishna language. This I may safely do, seeing that the Mishna may serve as a model, and indeed has served as such for all subsequent Hebrew prose.

Needless to say, the *parts of speech* perform the same functions in the Mishna language as in that of the Bible. The great and important service which in the latter is assigned to certain *letter-particles* is also fully maintained. Nouns as well as verbs undergo the same alterations. It is true that the conjugation of the verb under the influence of Chaldee was somewhat enlarged. The Hithpaël has become the conjugation for the passive form, whilst the Niph'al in most cases is employed to express an action or condition arising out of the circumstances themselves. The use and meaning, however, of the *middle voice* the Niph'al has retained. Thus, for instance, נִפְּלַן is still used for *to stumble*, נִפְּשָׁן *to swear*, נִפְּעָן *to lean upon*. The *Shaphël*, moreover, which in the older Hebrew but rarely shows itself, has in the Mishna language acquired a permanent status.

No doubt several deviations as to syntax are to be found. The *status constructus*, which in the later books of the Bible is sometimes replaced by שֵׁ, is for the sake of lucidity restricted to such words as admit of alteration, e.g. מִקְלַת הַיָּמִינִי *morning prayer* from מִקְלָה; whilst the connexion of invariable words is effected by means of שֵׁ. The ל, as denoting the object of the verb, though sporadic in Bible Hebrew, is here quite common. The ה *interrogative*, too feeble to be of permanent and lasting use, had to make way for הֲ as interrogative particle, which in the Bible now and then occurs in the form הֲהִי¹. Only one instance of an interrogative ה have I been able to find in the Mishna². In like manner the omission of the conditional particle כִּי, though rare in the Bible, has

¹ Gen. xxvii. 36, xxix. 15; 2 Sam. ix. 1; Job vi. 22.

² *Kûaim*, III, 7.

become the rule, and its use the exception. The construction of placing the direct or indirect object at the head of the sentence by means of a pronominal suffix occurs in the Bible occasionally¹, but here continually. The direct object, moreover, when qualified, is always preceded by **וְ**. The conjunction **אֲכֵל** denotes in Ezra and Chronicles a contrast, but in the other books of the Canon it is equivalent to **וְ** *indeed*. In later Hebrew **אֲכֵל** always means *but*, and even **וְ** is used with the same meaning, but only in cases where the contrast is of a more grave and solemn character, such as may occur in connexion with old traditions. We have moreover modes of speech which in the Bible are found but rarely or not at all. As has already been stated, the dialogue especially in the Boraitha is no strange phenomenon. Codification and casuistry also call for their own particular rules of syntax. Hence, e.g. it is that later Hebrew contains a much larger stock of particles.

All this, in my opinion, far from creating the impression that later Hebrew is but an effort—but even then a successful effort—to foster the little that remained of vitality in the old language and so long as possible to breathe new life into it, reveals on the contrary a steady advance on the old road though under altered circumstances.

There is, however, much more that leads to the same conclusion. Amongst the symptoms of expiring life, we should have expected to find innumerable reproductions of biblical phrases and modes of speech, for this gives a new language something of a classical air, although at the same time it betrays its inferiority, poverty, and inherent feebleness. But what do we find of this in the Mishna literature? Instances of it are exceedingly few. In Treatise Peah², five consecutive words have been borrowed from Isaiah³. In the *Sayings of the Fathers*⁴, half a verse is found taken from the Proverbs of Solomon⁵.

¹ e.g. Exod. xxxv. 5; Joshua i. 2.

² vii. 25. . . . ⁴ IV, 14.

³ II, 2.

⁵ iii. 5.

On the other hand, traces of a *direct* and *independent* development similar to that of the older language abound. In the Bible, nouns derived from verbal stems by means of prefixed letters, sometimes themselves go over into verbs; e.g. חָזַן *fixed number* (stem חָזַן *to be established*), as verb *to fix, arrange*¹; חָמַד *desire* (stem חָמַד), as verb in the Hiphil *to show a desire, to desire*. The same word-formation is continued in the Mishna language; e.g. תְּרוּמָה *elevation, offering* (stem תָּרַם), as verb תָּרַם *to elevate*²; מַטְכָּס *taxation* (stem כָּסַם), as verb כָּסַם *tax collector*; תְּבֵיל *mixture* (stem בָּל), as verb בָּל *to mix*.

In the Bible, biliteral and trilateral forms of the same stem are sometimes similar in meaning; e.g. חָיָה and חָיָה *to live*; the same occurs in the Mishna language, e.g. קָנָה and קָנָה *to acquire*. In the Bible, as is well known, הָלַךְ and הָלַךְ *to go* supplement one another; here in the same way הִפְתִּיחַ and הִפְתִּיחַ *to change, turn round*⁴. After the example of קָנָה *to support* (stem בָּל) we have here מִשְׁמַשׁ *to feel, to touch*, from שָׁשׂ, and מִסְתַּמֵּם *to conceal* from סָם (stem of אָסַם).

The number of *denominativa* in Hiphil, expressing a condition, state, as הָלַךְ *to be white*, is here increased, e.g. הָפַס *to be pale*, הִתְחַמֵּם *to be sour*. The means which the Bible possesses for the formation of *nomina* from verbal stems are here employed on the same extensive scale. The ending לִ- for instance, though formerly rare, is here the usual means for describing persons characterized by a certain office; whilst the form *Katal*, used for this purpose in the Bible, here occurs in the same capacity with *nominal* stems; e.g. from חָמַד *ass*, חָמַד *ship*, חָמַד *glass*, חָמַד *camel*, are derived חָמַד *donkey-driver*, חָמַד *skipper*, חָמַד *glass-blower*, חָמַד *camel-driver*; from the Greek βαλανεῖον, חָמַד *bathkeeper*. Yet the older means, though numerous, are found insufficient. New ones, therefore, are invented, such as the ending אֶ-

¹ In later writings and in the Mishna language חָזַן.

² See Maimonides' Tract, *Terumah*, I, 1.

³ Talm. Babyl., *Baba Metia*, 48 b.

⁴ See Maimonides *ad Kilaim*, II, 3.

with the verbs נָחַי לִיחַ, e.g. הָשָׁא *silence* from הָשָׁא *to be silent*, פָּנָא *space* from פָּנָא *to make room*. Dual forms, though rare in the Bible, are here numerous, e.g. שְׁנֵי שָׁנִים *two span*; שְׁנֵי קָבִים *two kab* (a measure). הָלַךְ, which in the Bible¹ is but rarely used in the sense of *to disappear*, is here met again in the same signification, e.g. הָלַכָה הָאֵס ² *thine ass is lost*. The peculiar custom in Hebrew of using certain conjugations, chiefly the Piél, for the purpose of denoting that the action expressed by a certain verb has been omitted, or that the object expressed by a noun has been removed, is not ignored in the Mishna language, on the contrary its use has greatly increased. In addition to the old stems, new ones are employed for the same purpose. בָּלַל ³ *to cut off the knot of a tree* is formed from בָּלַל *knot*; קָרַץ ⁴ *to clear from thorns* from קָרַץ *thorns*; קָלַף *to peel* from קָלַף *skin*. The same, moreover, is done with the Hiphil, e.g. הִבְרִיךְ ⁵ *to become blind* from בְּרִיךְ *brightness*; הִקְעֵל ⁶ *to cleanse* from קָעַל (= נָאֵל old Hebrew) *to be defiled*; הִרְבִּישׁ ⁷ *to lose its sweetness (taste)* from רִבֵּשׁ *honey*; הִקְלִיעַ ⁸ *to remove what is worm-eaten* from חֲלָעָה *worm*. Instances occur in which even the Kal is used for this purpose, e.g. גִּלְדָּה ⁹ *deprived of its skin* from גִּלְדָּה *skin*¹⁰. In imitation of מְקַרְוֹת ¹¹ *officials*, names of persons who more or less belong to one class are formed by means of the past part. with the plur. in וֹת—, e.g. מְשַׁחֲרוֹת *surveyors*, תְּכַנְרוֹת *tenants*; and even לְמַדְוֹת *purchasers* is met with. We find also fresh instances of *metathesis*, e.g. שָׁפַץ ¹² *to shut the eyes* from שָׁפַץ ¹³; new and even bold denominatives, as הִרְבִּיעַ ¹⁴ *to raise the finger* from אֶצְבַּע *finger*; אָחַד ¹⁵ *to join closely* from אָח *brother*. For *reaping* and the *gathering in of fruits*, Hebrew

¹ e.g. Ps. xxxix. 14.

² Bechoroth, IV, 4.

³ Shobith, II, 2.

⁴ Ibid., IX, 2; Tosephta Sheb., I, 11.

⁵ Baba Mesia, VI, 3.

⁶ Aboda Zara, V, 12.

⁷ Baba Mesia, Talm. Babyl. 38a (cf. Rashi ad vocem), Sanhedrin, 101a.

⁸ Middoth, II, 5; cf. Maimonides ad locum.

⁹ Tosephta Chulin, III, 7.

¹⁰ Job xvi. 15.

¹¹ Ezek. vii. 1.

¹² Sabbath, XXIII, 5.

¹³ Isa. xxxiii. 15.

¹⁴ Yoma, II, 1.

¹⁵ Talm. Babyl., Moed Katan, 26b.

possesses distinct verbs to denote the different classes of products, e.g. קָצַר *to reap*, קָצַר *to gather grapes*, לָקַט *to collect herbs*. To these verbs later Hebrew has added many others, e.g. אָרַז, אָרַז, אָרַז *to collect olive-berries, figs, dates*. Indeed, it is particularly rich in words expressing ideas which in any way relate to agricultural affairs. The biblical word כֹּחַ *power*, has in later Hebrew extended its meaning and acquired the sense of *influence, prestige*. Connected with a letter-preposition it means *in virtue of, by means of*. Further, in imitation of the old language, a ך is added with the result that עַל כֹּחַ expresses the idea *against the will of, in spite of*. From the same stem, moreover, we have the Hiphil הִכְרִיחַ *to exercise influence, to force*. Several ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in the Bible occur here frequently along with their legitimate derivatives, e.g. שָׁאַ *to drink greedily* (in later Hebrew נָשַׁע), שָׁחַ *to press* (in later Hebrew שָׁחַט). The adv. כֵּן *so* has the accent on the penultimate, with the result that ה has been added, as in לִהְיוֹת from לֵה. In the Bible, however, the original form is nowhere found, whilst in the Mishna language only הֵן occurs, and never its prolonged form. The prefix אֵי changes in the Bible the demonstratives הֵן and הֵן *here* into interrogatives. In the Mishna language it is added to the interrogatives themselves for the purpose of strengthening their meaning; e.g. not only הֵן, but also אֵי הֵן means *when*.

A cursory glance through the rules of Syntax will reveal many similarly remarkable features. For instance, in the Mishna¹ the verb expressing the main action is repeated in order to denote a resignation under adverse circumstances, just as we find in the book of Esther וְכִּי אֶבְרַח אֶבְרַח *if I am to perish, be it so*², or in Genesis xliii. 14. In the Bible we find already instances of a plur. idea expressed by a *status constructus*, composed of two plur. nouns, e.g. שָׂרֵי הַחֵילִים instead of שָׂרֵי הַחֵיל *army-officers*, כְּלָאִים בְּתֵי instead of בְּתֵי

¹ e. g. *Sabbath*, XIV, 4.

² iv. 16.

בָּלָא *prisona*. According to the same principle we find in the Mishna language בָּשְׂמִים מִינֵי instead of בָּשֶׂם *different sorts of spice*, דִּינֵי כְסוּטָה instead of דִּינֵי כֶסֶף *money-matters*. The use of the 2nd pers. sing. to express the indefinite or impersonal *one*, although very rare in the Bible, is here quite common. On the strength of the phrase הָיָה רָצָה¹, the construction of הָיָה with a part. is very frequently used to denote a custom, whilst from the extensive sphere of the *actio non perfecta* those actions are withdrawn which *with certainty* will take place in the future, because they are better expressed by the עָתִיד followed by an infinitive with ל². The construction of the verbs has retained its former full value, with the exception of a few insignificant deviations. Hence, a certain teacher in the Talmud rightly points to the difference between הִנֵּיץ when construed with an accusative of object or when with the preposition ב³. The *lusus verborum*, so much in vogue in the Bible, is not wanting in later Hebrew, e.g. אֶכֶל בָּצֵל וְשֶׁבֶד בָּצֵל⁴ *be content if necessary with a dish of onions, and live under your own roof*; and מְנַצֵּחַ לִפְנֵי אֲמָרִים⁵ words of one who wished to indicate that the final letters date from the propheta. The coiner of this phrase used לִפְנֵי⁶ instead of בְּיָמַי to make the sound consonant with מְנַצֵּחַ.

Finally, in later Hebrew, we meet again with the *attractio*, the *casus absolutus*, the *constructio ad synesin*, the *ellipsis*, the *hendiadys*, the pregnant phrases, in a word, with all the means of which biblical Hebrew availed itself, to set forth its thoughts with more force, grace, and expression. And thus, I think, I have sufficiently shown that later Hebrew, far from being a language having no connexion with the older tongue, ought on the contrary to be considered only as a direct continuation of it, indeed as *a language which is constructed upon the foundations of classical Hebrew*.

¹ Exod. iii. 1.

² Talm. Babyl., *Gittin*, 32 a.

³ Talm. Babyl., *Sabbath*, 104 a.

⁴ e. g. *Demai*, VII, 5; *Aboth*, III, 1.

⁵ Talm. Babyl., *Pesachim*, 114 a.

⁶ Cf. Ezek. iii. 17.

III.

After all that has been said I could dispense with the question why later Hebrew should be deemed of so great an importance. If my assertion is true, and later Hebrew is the continuation and further development of the older tongue, it is evident that the scholar who desires to study the latter should not remain ignorant of what was written after the Canon had been closed.

This, however, is not the only reason why the study of later Hebrew is to be commended. The very extent of this literature lays claim upon our appreciation; an extent such as finds its parallel only in Latin, and even Latin might perhaps on comparison have to cede the first place. For with Leibnitz Latin has practically ceased to be a cosmopolitan language, and before his time, during the Middle Ages it was principally used for doctrinal and scientific subjects. Hebrew, on the contrary, is cultivated also out of love for literary art, and during the last 200 years there certainly has been no decline in its fecundity. By means of weeklies, monthlies, and other kinds of periodicals this literature has spread itself in an unprecedented manner.

It is true that a great multiplicity of books does not in itself signify much. It is quite possible that they might contain but little worth knowing. This, however, is by no means the case with the works in later Hebrew. In the first place, it is certainly worth while acquiring the language in order to be able to make oneself even cursorily acquainted with the various views on ethics and philosophy held by the sages of Israel in the different periods of their activity. The Code of Maimonides, for instance, a work of great literary merit, in a large measure owes its inestimable value to its completeness, purity of diction, clearness of thought, and the incomparably artistic and systematic treatment of the huge bulk of material contained in the two Talmuds, in the Halachic writings, and

in the divers works of homiletical character. But it is not less true that the fame of this work is also greatly due to the moral doctrine which it teaches, the sound and wise counsels with which it abounds, and the deep insight into human nature of which adequate proofs are repeatedly seen.

You will not, I know, expect me to describe here the value and significance of every one of the more celebrated works written in later Hebrew. Even as regards the different *branches* of this literature I feel I must restrict myself to the few observations I have already advanced. I must not, however, fail to call attention to the great importance of Hebrew exegesis and lexicography for all those seeking a more profound knowledge of the biblical tongue. The works dealing with these subjects are recognized by all scholars as the purest sources and most reliable guides for the study of the sacred language. Gesenius says of them that they contain "die traditionelle Kenntniss der hebräischen Sprache, welche sich bei den Juden erhalten hat¹." Two works, moreover, although of a totally different nature, deserve brief mention. Through their instrumentality, as Benfey observes², narratives, anecdotes, fables of the ancient Indians have been brought over to Europe. They are supposed to have furnished the materials for the "Decamerone" of Boccaccio and the "Conde Lucanor" of Don Manuel. I refer to the Hebrew translations of the work "Kelila ve-Dimna" (the Arabic name of the *Pantschatantra*), and "Mishle Sandabar," both from the Arabic. The Hebrew rendering is the work of the otherwise unknown Joel ben Jehuda of the first half of the thirteenth century. A Latin translation³, made from the Hebrew version by John of Capua, has introduced both works to the western nations. Although the *Pantschatantra* has been rendered into several tongues, both Eastern

¹ *Introductio in Lexicon Hebraicum*.

² *Pantschatantra*, 1. Theil, Vorrede, S. xxiii, Leipzig, 1859.

³ Between 1263 and 1278.

and Western, the Hebrew version is praised by Benfey as the more original and correct¹. Of the works themselves Benfey says, "Beide Werke sind bekanntlich von der grössten kultur-historischen Deutung und stehen an der Spitze eines überaus umfassenden und einflussreichen occidentalischen Literaturkreises²."

The literature of later Hebrew, apart from the *contents* of its works, cannot fail to throw light upon many obscure questions from a philological point of view. For instance, the Mishna language explains to us why Esau used the word הִלְעִינִי instead of the more common הִאֲכִילֵנִי when asking his brother Jacob for a dish of pottage³. הִלְעִינִי qualifies the act of eating as a greedy devouring of food, and as such is better suited than הִאֲכִילֵנִי in the mouth of a brave and daring huntsman, returning fatigued and hungry from the field of his labours. From the context of Gen. xxvi. 20 one would be inclined to conclude that the verb פָּעַץ, ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, means *to strive, to contend*. The Mishna language, however, informs us that this is not the true signification of the word, but that פָּעַץ (פ and פ are often interchanged) means *to be engaged*, and hence in the Hithphaël *to be engaged with one another, to dispute*. In a similar manner the Mishna language tells us that the word עָרִיסָה *dough*, which the lexicons cannot account for, has absolutely no connexion with the stem עָרַם, but is the same as עִרְסָה, with inserted ר, and founded on the stem עָרַץ *to press, to knead*, which as verb occurs in Mal. iii. 2. How should we explain the phrase חִלָּשׁ עַל הָאֲמִים⁴, according to the meaning which חִלָּשׁ has in the Bible, if in later Hebrew we did not find the word חִלָּה *lot*, with the result that we get the suitable rendering of this passage, "*which didst cast lots upon the nations*"?

In bringing forward my examples I have naturally selected but a few out of a great number which might

¹ Ibid., p. 10.

² Ibid., p. 14.

³ Gen. xxv. 30. This verb-stem nowhere else occurs in the Bible.

⁴ Isa. xiv. 12.

show how useful the knowledge of later Hebrew is for the study of the Bible. Similar examples may be quoted to prove the utility of later Hebrew also for those languages which have enriched it with their words and ideas. We shall restrict ourselves to those languages most studied in our countries, viz. Latin and Greek. Although the Latin *c* is always represented by *p*, we find for the plur. of *circus* along with *סִירְקָאָם* also *סִרְקָ*. This difference is well worth noticing. It certainly is not accounted for by the pronunciation of *c* as a sibilant, which, if I am rightly informed, became customary in the sixth century.

With words taken over from the Greek, as Graetz rightly observes, the idioms of the Aeolic and Doric dialects should not be overlooked. These dialects were spread widely over Asia Minor, whence through the medium of Syria they supplied Hebrew with new words. The former shows its influence, e. g. with *מֶלֶךְ* = *πωλητής*, *מֶלֶךְ* = *πλαστός*; the latter with *מֶלֶךְ* = *γλωσσόκομον*. The omission or insertion of a liquid also is the result of dialect, e. g. *מֶלֶךְ* = *κράμβη*, *מֶלֶךְ* = *φορβεία*. The manner in which the aspiration is observed in Hebrew is of no less importance. It is maintained in the middle of compound words, for without exception the people pronounced *מֶלֶךְ*, *מֶלֶךְ*, *מֶלֶךְ*. It is sometimes omitted at the beginning of a word, e. g. *Hispania* is rendered *מֶלֶךְ*, just as *ὑποθήκη* is rendered *מֶלֶךְ*. Occasionally it is found even where it does not occur in Greek, e. g. *מֶלֶךְ* for *ιδιότης*. A vowel is now and then prefixed to words which begin with two *mutae* or a *duplex*, e. g. *מֶלֶךְ*, *מֶלֶךְ*, *מֶלֶךְ* = *ξένος*. From the last-named word we even find a verb in the stem of which the *κ* is retained. Instances are not wanting to show that the Greek pronunciation called *itacism* is not unknown in the Mishna language, e. g. *מֶלֶךְ* = *νύμφη* (after changing *μ* into *ν*), and *מֶלֶךְ*, which Jehuda Hanasi, when in Asia Minor, heard people use in the meaning *to acquire*, and which probably is the same as the Ionic *κυρέω* = *τυγχάνω*.

It is not impossible that later Hebrew will provide us

with the solution of more than one difficult problem in the classical languages. Possinus, the same scholar who made a Latin translation of the afore-named *Pantschatantra*, but from a Greek version, remarks whilst explaining a passage¹ in which ἀπόφασις occurs, that that word cannot there have any other meaning than *condemnation*; and as he knows only one other instance of this in the classical writers, he comforts himself with the thought that with them it signifies at least a *judicial decision*. Yet Nathan ben Jechiel in his lexicon of Talmudic language is able to quote no less than eleven passages from the Midrash where דִּבְדֵּן (ἀπόφασις) has that meaning.

The phrase *arido argento* in Plautus' "*Rudens*"² may certainly be counted amongst those passages which have caused great trouble to many scholars. It is commonly held to mean a *clear, free property*, i. e. a *property clear of debt*. From verse 23, however, one would feel inclined to understand it as *bare silver*, i. e. *nothing but silver, silver alone*³. Shall we then regard it as a mere coincidence when hundreds of times in the Talmud we come across the word דָּרֵךְ (lit. *dry*) in the meaning of *alone*, a word which probably by accident strongly resembles the Latin *aridus*?

Although I have excluded the Talmud from amongst the works of later Hebrew, because their dominant language cannot be called Hebrew, they nevertheless constitute a considerable and important division of Jewish literature. The knowledge of later Hebrew cannot fail to lead to the study of the Talmuds; and the student to whom the language of these books is no longer an obstacle, is certain to find in them a large amount of valuable information in connexion with antiquities not only of the Jews but also of the other nations amongst whom they lived, in particular of the Persians from the year 226. The Talmuds contain, moreover, much that can enrich our knowledge in the

¹ Appendix ad observationes Pachymerianas, I, 546.

² III, 4, 21.

³ Which seems corroborated by *Asinaria* I, 3, 3, aurum et argentum merum.

domain of jurisprudence. To the student of Roman law they will furnish a new and free-flowing fountain at which to quench his thirst for knowledge. If the materials which the Talmuds yield were compared with the Pandects or the Codex Justinianeus, in all probability very important results would be obtained. Indeed they have already more than once been made the subject of such a study. Finally, it should be borne in mind that the Talmuds, along with the other works of later Hebrew, have greatly contributed to our knowledge of Jewish histories. How could Dr. Graetz have filled nine portly volumes on the post-biblical history of Israel if he had drawn his information solely from the comparatively small number of non-Hebrew sources ?

These few observations will, I think, suffice to give some idea of the far-reaching advantages which the cultivation of post-biblical literature affords, and to justify me in seeking an opportunity to spread, if possible, the knowledge of its works into wider circles. My sincere thanks are due therefore in the first place to the magistrates of this town, who did not hesitate to favour me with this opportunity, to the curators and professors of this University who lent me their kind support, and finally to all who have honoured my discourse with their presence.

J. D. WIJNKOOP.

[Translated by C. VAN DEN BIESEN.]

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE HEBREW.

I.

BY JEHUDAH HALEVI.

My heart, be still; for who shall stand and view
His secret—his, who weigheth hearts? Desire
To see no hidden thing, and break not through
To gaze, nor kindle thou a burning fire.

From striving thither where his wonders be,
Cease, for thou mayst not enter anywhere;
Nought of permission hath been granted thee
To tread within the dark foundations there.

Come down from counting thee his messenger,
And where the great be, stand not thou, but go
Cast on the Lord thy way—thou shalt not err—
And trust at times of wandering to and fro.

Let not glad seasons make thee confident,
Nor times of mourning suffer thee to fear;
Desire no ways of man; let thine intent
Be Godward, that thy Rock may draw thee near.

Though thou serve princes among men, no less
Thou servest slaves of slaves, whose favour's glow
Is but a vanity and emptiness,
Their days of wrath a wasteness and a woe.

'Tis good to serve a King, in truth, whom power
And honour well befit, and dignity;
Who on the bosom gave thee goodly dower,
Nor evermore will cease to dower thee.

Wait for his counsel; yea, do thou refute
The counsel friends may proffer of their store;
For his in thy beginning will bear fruit,
And in thine end be fruitful more and more.
An altar of repentance rise and build,
And, bind thine inclination fast thereon;
For he is good, and those near him are filled
Full of his goodness—yea, and those far-flown.
But only seek not thou to follow through
After his works, but watch thou at his door:
The good thing in his own eyes he will do—
To make alive, or slay for evermore.
He said, "Let light be," and it was; he bade
The structure stand aloft—and lo, it stood;
And God saw everything that he had made,
And lo, he saw that it was very good.

II.

FROM THE KOL NIDRE SERVICE.

O LET our prayer ascend from eventime,
And may our cry come in to thee from dawn,
And let our song be clear till eventime.
O let our voice ascend from eventime,
And may our merit come to thee from dawn,
And our redemption be at eventime.
O let our woe ascend from eventime,
And may our pardon issue from the dawn,
And let our crying sound till eventime.
O let our hope ascend from eventime,
And may it come, for thy sake, from the dawn,
And our atonement stand at eventime.

Let our salvation rise from eventime,
And may our purity come in from dawn,
And our entreaty sound till eventime.

Let our remembrance rise from eventime,
Let our assembly plead to thee from dawn
In glory visible till eventime.

Thus at thy door we knock from eventime;
O let our joy come forth for us from dawn,
And may our quest appear till eventime.

O let our call ascend from eventime,
And may it come before thee from the dawn,
And turn to us content at eventime.

III.

FROM THE KOL NIDRE SERVICE.

FORGIVE, I beseech thee,
The trespass thy people have wrought unto thee,
And let not thine anger wax hot at thy children's
iniquity.

Forgive, I beseech thee,
Their pride; give them life from the fountain with thee,
Repent of the doom, and lift from thine hosts their
iniquity.

Forgive, I beseech thee,
All those confessing and turning to thee,
And pardon, for thy name's sake, the sin and
iniquity.

Forgive, I beseech thee,
Those formed for thy name, which have sinned unto thee,
And cleanse with thy free-given rain their error's
iniquity.

Forgive, I beseech thee,
The foolishness wrought by the wicked to thee;
And let it be sought and not found—thy loved ones'
iniquity.

Forgive, I beseech thee,
Their guile that kneel and fall prostrate to thee;
Atone in thy goodness of grace for thy children's
iniquity.

Forgive, I beseech thee,
Those calling thee One and waiting for thee,
And build up thy porch, having cleansed thine outcasts'
iniquity.

Forgive, I beseech thee,
And shield in the tent of thy peace with thee;
Hide deep in thy secret place thy servants'
iniquity.

Forgive, I beseech thee,
Lest chastisement fall from the heights of thee;
For thy praise and thy glory's sake forget their
iniquity.

Forgive, I beseech thee,
Their shame; and be kind from the heavens of thee,
That thy loved ones be never ensnared, that thou bear their
iniquity.

Forgive, I beseech thee,
The shame of their stain, that give love unto thee;
Yea, for those grown pure by thy pity, pass by their
iniquity.

NINA SALAMAN.

SÜSSKIND OF TRIMBERG.

THE Jews, as a race, have always been characterized by their adaptability, the facility with which they accept the conditions surrounding them. The Jew, whom no land can call exclusively its native, is no stranger in any of the civilized nations of the globe. Everywhere he takes an active part in the development of art, science and culture. The Jewish contributions to German literature are noteworthy and voluminous. Süsskind von Trimberg, the subject of the present paper, is the first Jew of whom mention is made in that literature, and whose reputation has continued unsullied, not even over-estimated, down to the present day.

Of Süsskind's works, some two hundred lines of poetry are all that is still extant. We do not know whether he ever wrote much more than what we have. His writings do not offer much in the way of mere textual criticism.

First, as to the MSS. No MS. which we still possess can be referred back to Süsskind himself, and to none of his contemporaries does the idea seem to have occurred to edit and collect a series of Minnesongs in MS. form. The MSS. that we have post-date Süsskind's time by one hundred to one hundred and fifty years at least. The most famous MS. is the Rüdiger von Manesse's. This, the work of a patrician town-councillor of Zürich in Switzerland, was made at the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is merely an *omnium gatherum* of every sort of Minnelied, in no regular order, the MS. being simply the dumping-ground for the poetry of the twelfth and thir-

teenth centuries¹. Of course, such a MS. does not give us an idea of what Süsskind's *own* language was. To how many critical emendations and infiltrations of foreign textual matters Süsskind's lines may not have been subjected in the process of copying? But the illustrations with which the MS. is embellished are unique. The armorial bearings of the one hundred and forty poets, represented by their works, are drawn, and, in many cases, scenes from their lives are added. Süsskind, the Jew of Trimberg, is shown before the lord of the land, with a long beard and the odious Jew's cap, shaped like a cone, as if he were telling his master of the power of thought or of the true nobility.

But this is not our only Süsskind MS. The Rüdiger von Manesse's MS. reposes now in Heidelberg, where there is also another MS. of Minnelieder, known as the Heidelberger 'C' MS. This, too, is only a *codex receptus*, in which not so many poets' writings are preserved. In addition to these, we have the Weingärtner, Jenaer and Wiener MSS.

In Kohut's *Geschichte der deutschen Juden* (at p. 100), a fine reproduction of the Rüdiger MS. will be found; here also excellent translations of the verses into N.H.G. are given. These are very valuable for the purposes of comparison with the original M.H.G. Other N.H.G. versions of the poems are given in Goldbaum's *Entlegene Culturen* and Livius Fürst's *Süsskind von Trimberg*, this last being the basis of the English translation made for Karpeles' *Jewish Literature*.

Franz Delitzsch's article on Süsskind, which appeared in an early number of *Der Orient*, gives M.H.G. readings of the poems, based on the original MS. Of course, von der Hagen's *Minnesinger* (Leipzig, 1838) was the first work

¹ The language of the Rüdiger von Manesse's MS. is that of the classic period of the thirteenth century. This then, as will be shown later, accounts for the controversy over the poet's dates, but the argument founded hereon is not very convincing.

on the subject, and the primary source for all subsequent investigations. But von der Hagen's is a faulty edition of the poems, because the variations in the readings do not seem to be justified on a perusal of the MS.

Süsskind composed his songs in the M.H.G. language, because Jewish culture in the Middle Ages was an integral part in the larger German life, and not distinct and differentiated. Then there were many wandering bards in Germany: the poetry of Provence was rivalled by the German in its exquisite depth and power. Süsskind must have been attracted by the Minnesingers, for these at first were tolerant and humane. Wolfram von Eschenbach based his *Parzival* on the brotherhood of man. Walther von der Vogelweide, the most famous of the Minnesingers, considered Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans children of the one God¹.

Then, too, the Jews from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries took an active interest in German poetry, especially in the court-epics and folk-songs. Correspondingly the Makamat² poets in Spain were the first to recognize Dante's genius. The Jewish interest in contemporary German culture was so deep that a common form of expression relating to the court of King Arthur was much in use among the Jews too.

¹ Livius Fürst has:—

“Süsskind! Gott grüss dich!’ Walther spricht’s;
Und freundlich, milden Angesichts,
Springt grüssend er von seinem Ross
Und winket der Gefährten Tross;
‘He! Wolfram, Biterolf! Heran!
Seht diesen braven Sänger an.
Ja, Süsskind ist es, der mir werth
Vor allen, den ich singen lehrt:
Er ist ein Jude! Mir ist’s gleich;
Mich soll in meiner Künste Reich
Kein Glaube scheren und kein Stand.’”

Cf. Livius Fürst, in *Illustrierte Monatshefte für die gesammten Interessen des Judenthums*, vol. I, p. 14 ff. (1865).

² The Makamat poetry is a form between the epic and the dramatic.

At this time the names of the German Jews were either Biblical or Greek in their origin. But newly-formed German variants from other sources are also to be noted¹. Süsskind (which is the modern form) as a name² is derived from Provence.

Süsskind von Trimberg was born in Trimberg, or rather in the village nestling at the foot of the hill of that name. This is in Franconia (now Bavaria); Trimberg, where the lords of the land dwelt, being situated near Würzburg on the Saale.

Coming now to Süsskind's dates we find that on this subject there is much confusion. A Jewish physician in the Lepers' Hospital in Würzburg, indeed in the deed³ he is referred to as *judæo Suzkint*, contracted in 1218 with the charitable foundation of Saint Theodoric for a site for this hospital. For this plot of ground he agreed to build a canal for the Saint Theodoric monastery. The Jewish witnesses to this early deed of sale (in addition to the Caleman and Liberman mentioned above) were Boniface, i. e. Süsskind, Sconeman, and Abraham. This Süsskind (our poet himself, or his ancestor in all probability) must have been wealthy, while the poet as such is generally represented as a poor man. Meyer, in his fanciful account of Süsskind, makes him rather the major-domo of the lords of Trimberg⁴. The accuracy of this account is much to be

¹ In the deed (cf. *infra*), Caleman from Kalman (Kleonymos) is an example of the Greek, Liberman de Grunsvelt (Liebermann), like Süsskind, of the German.

² Bonfils, Bonifan, Bonenfant, Gutkind, Süsskind. Another form of the last is Suzkint. Cf., on the whole subject, Zunz's *Namen der Juden*.

³ This deed will be found in Lang's *Bayrischen Regesten*. Cf. also von der Hagen, s. v. "Süsskind, der Jude von Trimberg," where much that is of interest is given.

⁴ Cf. *Zeitsch. f. deutsches Alterthum*, v. 38, pp. 201 ff., John Meier in Paul-Braune's *Beiträge*, v. 20, pp. 340 ff., 576. The writer of the present paper has a complete bibliographical note on Süsskind, which as yet remains unpublished.

doubted. In the "Speyrer ahtbuch" of 1341 we find a reference to one Süsskind, a Jew¹.

Now it is certain that Süsskind von Trimberg, the only Jewish Minnesinger, flourished at some time between 1218 and 1341. No one has given us (even approximately) the dates of his birth and death: the entire question has engendered much controversy, but two theories have in the main been evolved. The Jewish writers (following von der Hagen) place Süsskind at *circa* 1220. They point to the reactionary anti-Jewish laws of 1221, and maintain that most of Süsskind's poems must have been written before this period. They declare emphatically that Süsskind was always a Jew, and that with these laws in force, he determined to live as a Jew. We have his own words:—

"Why should I wander sadly,
My harp within my hand,
O'er mountain, hill, and valley?
What praise do I command?

"Full well they know the singer
Belongs to race accursed;
Sweet *Minne* doth no longer
Reward me as at first.

"Be silent, then, my lyre,
We sing 'fore lords in vain.
I'll leave the minstrel's choir,
And roam a Jew again.

"My staff and hat I'll grasp, then,
And on my breast full low,
By Jewish custom olden²
My grizzled beard shall grow.

"My days I'll pass in quiet,—
Those left to me on earth—
Nor sing for those who not yet
Have learned a poet's worth³."

¹ "Item der rat hat überkomen, das man Sûzkind den iuden vâhen sol," &c. Cf. Meier, loc. cit., where this is quoted in *extenso*.

² This, it is claimed, proves that Süsskind had once abjured Judaism for Christianity, but had returned to the old faith in the day of adversity.

³ The English versions (here given) are from Karpeles' *Jewish Literature*,

These laws were enacted so that the Jews might be distinguished and set off from the Christians. The Jew's hat, conical in shape with the yellow tip, was the badge of identification. Innocent III demanded that these laws be strictly enforced against the German Jews, and Friedrich II, Hohenstaufen, the Emperor, was but too ready to execute the Sovereign Pontiff's behests. The Jews had been like the Christians in all respects. In speech, in dress, and in thought, the differences hitherto had been slight¹.

Some say that in reality Süsskind was no Jew, or at least did not profess Judaism until after the promulgation of the laws of 1221. Parallels between his religious attitude and Heine's are drawn: he inclined to the atheistic, and returned only to Judaism as an old and disappointed man. It is argued that Süsskind was seemingly a Christian, so that he could come to the courts and take part in the lyric contests of the Minnesingers. But this theory does not accord with the poems of his that have come down to us. The Minnesinger (in this case, the baptized Jew would have been a zealous Christian) sang of the Virgin Mary. But this is not the burden of Süsskind's song. In the first place, late in life he saw that "he was on the fool's path with his art" and could not hope to win the favour of princes. Should we have had

Philadelphia, 1895, pp. 182 ff. The original, in part, is (following Delitzsch's reading) :—

"Ich vvar uf der toren vart
Mit miner künste zvvare
Das mir die herren nicht vvént geben
Das ich ir hof vvil vlichen
Und vvil mir einen langen bart lan vvachsen griser haren
Ich vvil in alter iuden leben," &c.

¹ The Jews' position in the first part of the Middle Ages was better than that which they occupied in the second part. Of course, economic and social causes effected this change in Jewish conditions. The laws against the Jews were codified by the fourth Lateran Council of 1215 (s. v. 68th Canon). The whole question cannot be considered here. Cf., however, Roscher in *Zeitsch. für die ges. Staatswissenschaft*, Tübingen, 1875, XXXI, pp. 503 ff.; Scherer, *Die Rechtsverhältnisse der Juden in den deutsch-öterr. Ländern*, Leipzig, 1901.

this note of despair, distinctly Jewish in tendency, from a Christian? The idea that Süßkind was a proselyte to Judaism rests on no authority. Not only were stringent and repressive measures against such practices passed, but it is more probable that the Jew would seek fame among his Christian fellow singers than that a Christian would ally himself with the "despised nation of Jews." Secondly, his poems are filled with Jewish thoughts. Then, too, all the facts that we have prove him to have been a poor *Jew*, surrounded by a wife and a numerous offspring, for whom there was no opportunity as a royal treasurer (the office usually filled by rich Jews then), and to whom Christianity surely could hold out no prospects of ultimate success.

The Christian writers, who have treated the subject, place Süßkind among the classical poets of the second half of the thirteenth century. His language contains the usual M.H.G. peculiarities. He is not differentiated from other Minnesingers by linguistic individuality, and he handles his own Middle German dialect of the M.H.G. language with rare grace and charm¹.

What date, then, is to be assumed as giving the exact period of Süßkind's life? It is certain that he did not flourish *before* 1200; it is equally an assured fact that, in his poetic development, he is to be connected with the laws of 1221. The other Süßkinds, mentioned in contemporaneous MSS., may or (as is most probably the case) may not have been identical with the poet of Trimberg. The linguistic evidences are not at all conclusive. We have stated before that the MSS. cannot be referred back to Süßkind himself, hence the claim cannot be made incontrovertibly that *their* language is Süßkind's own. On the other hand, the laws of 1221 found him, we are credibly informed, an aged man.

The Minnesingers preserved their early poems by oral tradition. Perhaps, Süßkind composed many verses,

¹ We find *ê*, *ae*, and *fründe*, but only here and there, for the earlier form *friunde*. These are distinct philological advances.

voluminous songs of love and romances. Perhaps, with the laws of 1221 in force, he set to work to obliterate all traces of these earlier writings of his, and transmitted to posterity only the few poems that we now have. The poem on the equality of rich and poor, the farewell to the lyric art, must have been inspired by adversity. A later editor would readily have made these poems conform to the linguistic peculiarities of his own times. Moreover, the changes in the history of the German language have been slow and gradual, so that the language-theory advanced rests on utterly false premises. As regards Süsskind's Christianity, nothing more than that all the known facts point to his having been a pious and steadfast Jew, can be said.

Six poems, out of a much greater number, perhaps, are all of Süsskind's work that is now extant. We take up the consideration of these few lines.

The first is a poem of three strophes, wherein virtue is proclaimed to be the only true nobility¹. Vice ever undermines the purest virtue. As the roses are to be sought among the thorns, so man finds true nobility where he least expects to meet with it.

The Arabic-Jewish philosophers of Spain, especially the ethical writers like Solomon Ibn Gabirol, taught that the qualities of the soul are made manifest through the five senses, each of which is in turn composed of four humours. These may be controlled by the will, and thus brought to work for good or evil. If Süsskind knew nothing of Solomon Ibn Gabirol, he nevertheless tells us in

¹ For convenient reference the first lines of the poems are given. The numbers show the order of treatment in the present paper, following von der Hagen and Delitzsch:—

1. "Wer adellichen tuot den vvil ich han für edel."
2. "Gedenke nieman kan ervvern den toren noch den wise."
3. "Kiung herre hochgelopter Got vvaz du vermacht."
4. "Svvie vil das mensche zuo der vvelte guotes habe."
5. "Wa heb' uf unt niht envint."
6. "Ein vvolf vil iemerlichen sprach."

this first poem that there are five pigments in the best "virtue"-electuary, viz. fidelity, generosity, strength, and discipline, tempered with the saving grace of moderation¹. These constituents, when mixed together and administered as a medicine, are efficacious against spiritual ills. This strophe is not a medical receipt in doggerel, an amulet for all dangers. The electuary indeed was an allegorical picture of the distinctively Jewish wisdom of the Middle Ages². This part of Süsskind's poems does not necessarily make him the physician of Würzburg mentioned in the deed of 1218.

Following this strophe, Süsskind speaks of death and the vanity of human wishes in general. He expresses his firm belief in a future immortal state. These lines are to be noted as proof of the fact that Süsskind was a Jew. An anti-Semitic biographer³ says that here Süsskind *discloses his Judaism*. The poet does not feel, with the Christian, the joy of the life everlasting; he is the poor Jew of socialistic tendencies. And yet the same writer declares that in his poems Süsskind does not appear as a Jew!

But what have we, besides the poems and the Rüdiger von Manesse's MS., to prove that he was a Jew? The

¹ The word corresponding to the fifth virtue is very obscure in the MS. Both von der Hagen and Delitzsch give variant readings, neither of which seems to us to accord with the MS. itself.

² In the original the strophe itself reads:—

"Kein besser latvverie nie gemachet vvart
 Als ich ler und kinnde von sinneklicher art
 Gesund ze laster vvunden und ze schanden siuchten
 Mit funf bimenten rein sol si gemenget sin
 Triuvve und zuht milti und manheit hoert darin
 Dabi sol maset bülveru smeken und truchten
 Dise latvverie ist er genant ein bals ob allen spisen
 Mit ir vvirt schanden not entrant
 Si zimt nicht dem unvvisen Wem si vvont stete bi
 Der ist vor houbt schanden vri
 Wol im des lib der latvverie bûchse si
 Sin reines lop sin hoher nam
 Wirt blaeten und frühten."

³ Roethe, *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XXXVII, pp. 334 ff.

poems, despite the contradictory statement mentioned above, are of a distinctive Jewish character. The strophe that we are now considering teaches us the Judaism of the men of religion and wisdom of the time, whose influence, not that of soothsayers and necromancers, Süsskind surely felt¹.

The second poem, consisting of but one strophe, depicts the freedom, rapidity, and buoyancy of a poet's thoughts, which penetrate stone, steel, and iron, quicker than flashes of lightning.

In his third poem (two strophes), Süsskind sings of the glory of God in the manner of the Psalmist's "The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth his handywork²." But Süsskind's are characteristic verses, too, and those in praise of good women are filled with singular charm and individuality:—

"Almighty God! That shinest with the sun,
That slumb'rest not when day grows into night!³
Thou Source of all, of tranquil peace and joy!
Thou king of glory and majestic light!
Thou allgood Father! Golden rays of day
And starry hosts thy praise to sing unite,
Creator of heav'n and earth, Eternal One,
That watchest ev'ry creature from thy height!

"Pure woman is to man a crown,
For her he strives to win renown.
Did she not grace and animate,
How mean and low the castle great!
By true companionship, the wife
Makes blithe and free a man's whole life;

¹ Roethe, loc. cit. These verses, too, influenced later German poets of Jewish extraction. Cf. S. Gelbhaus, *Freidank's Bescheidenheit*, Frankfurt a. M., 1889, p. 37.

² Ps. xix. 1, &c.

³ "Du lütest mit dem tage und vincerst mit der nacht." This further evidence in favour of the belief in Süsskind as a Jew is the *Ma'rib 'arabim* of the Jewish Evening Prayers.

Her light turns bright the darkest day.
Her praise and worth I'll sing away¹."

In his poem, Süßkind describes death, want and privation. Death levels all—rich and poor alike; against his sickle no magic arts (nigromantie) avail. Even the prophets of the Bible died. He tells us of the knights, Herr Hebauf, Herr Findenichts, Herr Noth von Darbian and Herr Dünnehabe, who are certain to bring want and woe with them. Then follows the exhortation to rich and poor; they should aid each other as best they can, for the needs of both are great. This is the least original part of Süßkind's poetry: he follows slavishly the traditions of the M. H. G. aphoristic lyrics, and the Jewish social theories.

In the fifth poem, Süßkind tells us that he is now fallen on evil days, and must needs bid farewell to poetry². He is now poverty-stricken; and in the evening of his life he acknowledges his failure, and decides to practise the lyric art no more.

In his sixth and last poem, Süßkind speaks of that despised thief, the wolf, who was provoked to commit these excesses by Nature. In reality, he is innocent: the real culprits disseminate lies about him so as to fasten on him their own guilt. This wolf represents the Jew, who became a usurer in the last resort, and for whom his own co-religionist Süßkind pleads³.

Thus, Süßkind is prominent as the sole representative of the Jews among the Minnesingers of the Middle Ages. He is the only Jew who practised the art which gave to the world the exquisite, often inimitable, and at all times, voluminous series of romances of the *Minne*. These mediaeval lyric forms cannot be characterized easily.

¹ Cf. Karpeles, loc. cit.; Prov. xxxi. 10, &c.

² Cf. supra.

³ Cf. Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Frankreich und Deutschland*, Wien, 1880, p. 134. Chapter V of this work gives a complete picture of Jewish conditions in Europe at this time.

Each poet was said to have invented his own measure, the use of which he jealously guarded. As there were a large number of Minnesingers, an infinite variety of metres was developed. In the decline of the art, the measures often were extravagant fancies; but Süsskind¹, who belonged to the classical period, shows spirit and talent in his poems. The five iambics are correctly and artistically constructed². Form and purity of rhyme and metre he maintained. The strophes, divided generally into three parts, can be recognized easily, which is not the case, however, with the numbers and the length of the verses.

Süsskind, who seems to have been the disciple of Walther von der Vogelweide, was no real Minnesinger. The latter's poems always had love for their theme. For his lady-love, whose colours he wore, he bore innumerable hardships. But of whom could the Jew Süsskind sing? His "poems are not at all like the joyous, rollicking songs his mates carolled forth; they are sad and serious, tender and chaste. Of love there is not a word³." He is not like that Minnesinger who made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land for his lady-love. Süsskind, the Jew of Trimberg, is like the Jew Jehuda ben Halevy, of whom the Jew Heine sings:—

"Ohne Dame keine Minne,
Und es war dem Minnesänger
Unentbehrlich eine Dame,
Wie dem Butterbrot die Butter.

"Auch der Held, den wir besingen,
Auch Jehuda ben Halevy
Hatte seine Herzensdame;
Doch sie war besondrer Art."

¹ Roethe, *loc. cit.*, claims that his being a Jew is the sole explanation of Süsskind's prominence in the literary history of the Middle Ages.

² Richard M. Meyer (*Allg. Ztg. d. Judentums*, Jahrg. 60, p. 355 ff.) says that his hymns are spurious. Meyer claims that "somewhere" Süsskind speaks of assumed virtue.

³ Karpeles, *loc. cit.*, p. 185.

The Jews have an idyll of love in the Song of Songs: "Lo, thou art beautiful, my beloved!" Here, "Princess Sabbath" is the ideal: here we note the differences between the soul-life of the Jew and that of the German Christian. "Unbridled sensuousness surges through the songs rising to the chambers of noble ladies. Kabbalistic passion grows in the mysterious love of the Jew. The German minstrel sings of love's sweetness and pain, of summer and its delights, of winter and its woes; now of joy and happiness, again of ill-starred fortunes Mysterious allusions, hidden in a tangle of highly polished, artificial, slow-moving rhymes, glorify, not a sweet womanly presence, but a fleeting vision, a shadow, whose elusive charms infatuate the poet in his dream¹."

This is the burden of the exiled Hebrew's song. The German Christian's melodies are bright, blithe, and joyous, the former's are serious and gloomy. The Minnesinger mingles light sentimentality with the continuous change from grave to gay; Süßkind's didactic poetry enthralls the mind, not by enrapturing the heart, but by the dark fascination and gloomy moodiness of the Semitic temperament, as expressed in these lyric outbursts.

Süßkind of Trimberg's poems are as much a part of Judaism as the works of the most pious Biblical commentator, or of the learned historian of Jewish culture. He shows us the Jew from a novel standpoint. We value him for his work in what remains, for Jews, an untrodden field of endeavour, and for this reason we make him the subject of our research and literary presentation².

ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG.

¹ Karpeles, loc. cit., p. 186. Goldbaum's *Entlegene Culturen*, Berlin, 1877.

² In this connexion I desire to express my thanks to my cousin, Herr Ferdinand Heinemann, of Frankfurt a. M., for his kindness in assisting me with my investigations for the present paper.

ZU SAADYANA XLI.

Es ist zu beachten, dass hier ein jüdisch-religiöser Würdenträger in der Titulatur des Chalifen die formelhaften Attribute anwendet, die dem Herrscher im Sinne der *specifisch islamischen*, hier noch besonders der *achi'itischen*, Religionsanschauung zukommen. Wir stehen mit dem durch Schechter publicirten Document gegen Ende der langen Regierungszeit des Chalifen *al-Mustansir billāh* (1036–1094) aus der Dynastie der Fātimiden, deren Rechtsansprüche auf ihre directe legitime Abstammung von dem Propheten (daher אֱלֹהֵיכֶם) und von 'Alī gegründet sind. Darum wird ihr Reich mit Vorliebe besonders das *'aldische* genannt دَوْلَةُ عَلَوِيَّةٍ, z. B. in den Ruhmgedichten des 'Omāra al-Jemēf auf Chalifen aus dieser Dynastie¹. Demgemäss wird wohl auch אֱלֹהֵינוּ (1^{te} Zeile 12) in אֱלֹהֵיכֶם zu verändern sein. Das vorhergehende Wort אֱלֹהֵינוּ muss אֱלֹהֵינוּ (die geheiligte) gelesen werden, ein Epitheton, das mit den Attributen, die sich die fātimidischen *Imāme* (als solche gelten ja vorzugsweise die Chalifen dieser Dynastie im Sinne ihres theokratischen Charakters) mit Vorliebe beilegen, im Einklang steht. Dazu stimmt auch das Attribut אֱלֹהֵינוּ, die reine, ein Synonym von *al-muṭahhara*², das zu dem eisernen Bestand der officiellen Titulatur der Fātimiden gehört. Wenn wir die bereits oben angegebene Entstehungszeit des Documentes in Betracht ziehen, müssen wir uns auch entschliessen, Zeile 13 אֱלֹהֵינוּ in אֱלֹהֵינוּ zu emendiren.

Der ganze Passus würde demnach lauten: المواقف المقدسة العلوية: الإمامية النبوية الزكية . . . المستنصرة بالله.

Interessant sind die rühmenden Worte, in denen der Verf. der günstigen Stellung gedenkt, deren sich die Juden unter den Fātimiden erfreuen durften. Dies stimmt ja auch, wenn wir von den fanatischen Massregeln des Ḥākim in der zweiten Periode seiner Herrschaft

¹ 'Oumāra du Yemen, sa vie et son œuvre, éd. H. Derenbourg, I (Paris, 1897), p. 168, 8; 306, 3 v. u.

² Vgl. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, II, p. 302 ff.

absehen¹, zu den Thatsachen der Geschichte. Bereits beim fatimischen Eroberer Aegyptens² finden wir Juden in einflussreicher Stellung am Hofe und sie blieben es auch unter den Nachfolgern³.

Unter dem Chalifen 'Aziz (975-996) hatte in Syrien einige Zeit der Jude *Manasse b. Ibrāhīm* den grössten Einfluss auf die Verwaltungsgeschäfte⁴. Bereits am Anfang der Regierung des Mustansir gewann der Jude *Abū Sa'd* eine hervorragende Bedeutung in der Staatsregierung. Und bald nach der Regierungszeit dieses Chalifen, noch unter dem von ihm in der letzten Periode seiner Herrschaft eingesetzten allmächtigen Minister al-Afdal Schāhinschāh (bekannt als Emir al-Gujūsch), finden wir den Juden *Abu-l-Munaggā b. Scha'ja* an der Spitze des Regierungsdepartements für Ackerbau. Dieser jüdische Stammvater einer sehr angesehenen muhammedanischen Ärztesfamilie (بنو صفيير) wurde berühmt durch die Herstellung eines nach ihm benannten Nilkanales, der nach mehrjähriger Arbeit im Jahre 1112 eröffnet wurde, und er hat nach dem Eingeständniss der Historiker mit diesem Werke der Landwirthschaft des Deltalandes durch die Ausdehnung der Berieselung einen grossen Dienst geleistet. Das Volk liess es sich nicht nehmen, trotz der officiellen Benennung nach al-Afdal, den Kanal Bahr Abi-l-Munaggā zu nennen. Dies Werk sollte aber auch seine letzte Regierungsthat sein. Wegen der auf dasselbe verwandten hohen Kosten wurde er durch seinen früheren Gönner nach Alexandria gebracht und in den Kerker geworfen. Nach manchem leidvollen Jahr verdankte er seine Befreiung einer kühnen That. Es gelang ihm, im Kerker einen Koran zu schreiben und mit dem Kolophon: "Geschrieben vom Juden Abu-l-Munaggā" auf den Markt von Alexandrien zu bringen. Dies gab einen mächtigen Skandal. A. M. wurde zum Verhör vor den Chalifen selbst geführt, der ihn jedoch frei liess, als er als Beweggrund seines Unterfangens die Absicht angab, durch den sicheren Tod vom Kerker loszukommen⁵.

Gelegentlich möchte ich auch die Vermuthung aussprechen, dass unter דמינה (p. 451, Anm. 8) vielleicht *Damwah*, דמוה zu verstehen ist, ein in jüdischer Beziehung berühmter Ort bei Gizeh, wo zu jener Zeit die Moses-Synagoge stand, zu welcher die aegyptischen Juden am 7.-8. Adar zu wallfahren pflegten. Das Formular des Aufrufes zu

¹ Vgl. Graetz, VI, p. 411.

² Darauf wird wohl die Persönlichkeit des Generals Gauhar von Einfluss gewesen sein.

³ Vgl. de Goeje, in ZDMG., LII, pp. 77-80.

⁴ Ibn al-Athīr ad ann. 380, 386.

⁵ Ibn Doukma, *Description de l'Égypte* (Kairo, 1893), II, p. 46; Makrizi, *Chitaf*, I, p. 72 oben, 477 unten.

dieser Wallfahrt ist aus der Chronik des Sambari bekannt¹. Die Schreibung **רמנה** setzt etwa die Orthographie **רמנה** voraus². Derselbe Ortsname steckt auch in **רמנה** in Meschullam Volterra's Reisebericht (Luncz' *Jahrbuch*, I, p. 182); nicht *domo* wie N. Brüll (*Jahrb.*, VII, p. 122 ult.) vermuthet hat.

I. GOLDZIEHER.

BUDAPEST, Juni 1902.

¹ *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, ed. Neubauer, I, p. 120, 4 ff. = Berliner, *Quellenschriften zur jüdischen Geschichte und Literatur* (Frankf. a. M., 1896), I, p. 9, 11 ff. Obadjah, Enkel Maimunis, starb in der Synagoge von Damwah (Sambari, *ibid.*, p. 135, 8). Die arabischen Quellen des Berichtes Sambaris über Damwah und die Moses-Synagoge daselbst sind nachgewiesen von M. Schreiner, *ZDMG.*, XLV, p. 296.

² Ich benütze diese Gelegenheit zu einer näheren Erklärung des samaritanischen Textes, *J. Q. R.*, XIV, p. 28, Z. 17. **רמנה** kann dort nicht "who recorded" bedeuten und als Attribut des Moses erklärt werden. Der Zusammenhang ist: **רמנה . . . עליו** "Gottes Heil sei auf unserem Herrn Moses, *sic* wie (wörtlich 'die Zahl dessen was') Gott erschaffen hat u. s. w." [Wie ich sehe, seither auch von *Coxley*, *J. Q. R.*, XIV, p. 352 bemerkt.] Es liegt hier, wie in samaritanischen Formeln ungemein häufig, wörtliche Nachahmung einer arabischen *Salām*-Formel vor, z. B. *Agāni*, VI, p. 222, 7 v. u. **إقترمتي على الوليد السلام عَدَدَ النجوم**; 'Omar ibn abi Rab'fa (ed. Kairo, 1311), p. 53, 15 **فعليك السلام عدد النجوم**. — Auch *ibid.*, 8 **ששס הסטב הקדש** = **خادم الكتاب الشريف**. Das Mass der Anpassung der Samaritaner an muhammedanische Formeln veranschaulicht ja eben auch hier am augenfälligsten der Koranspruch p. 27, Z. 7. — Vgl. auch *R. É. J.*, XLIV, p. 70, Anm. 5; *ZDMG.*, LVI, p. 412.

EIN ALTES JÜDISCH-ARABISCHES BÜCHER- VERZEICHNIS.

UEBER den litterar- und culturhistorischen Wert derartiger Verzeichnisse, die immer häufiger zu Tage treten und die sämtlich aus den Schätzen der Geniza stammen, habe ich mich bereits in dieser Zeitschrift (Bd. XIII, p. 324) geäußert. Seitdem hat Schechter (ibid., XIV, 247) neue Proben veröffentlicht und dabei eine vollständige Edition der in Cambridge vorhandenen diesbezüglichen Fragmente in Aussicht gestellt. Hiermit soll nun ebenfalls ein neues Specimen edirt werden, das unter den Geniza-Fragmenten der Stadtbibliothek in Frankfurt a. M. sich findet und die Nummer I, 34 trägt. Es besteht aus einem kleinen, schlecht erhaltenen Quartblatt und enthält auf der einen Seite das hier folgende Verzeichnis, auf der anderen dagegen einige Zeilen in arabischer Sprache und Schrift, die über Sokrates handeln. Der Ductus ist ziemlich alt und dürfte etwa dem XI., spätestens dem XII. Jahrhundert angehören. Da sowohl eine Auf- als eine Nachschrift nicht vorhanden ist, so ist zu schliessen, dass wir vor uns nur ein Fragment haben. Eine Copie des Verzeichnisses verdanke ich der Güte des Herrn Dr. I. Friedländer in Strassburg, dann hat Herr Dr. A. Freimann in Frankfurt a. M. mir in recht dankenswerter Weise das Original selbst geschickt, das ich mit der Copie collationirt habe; trotzdem ist aber Manches unleserlich geblieben. Ich lasse nun das Verzeichnis, ganz wie es im Original lautet (also auch die durchstrichenen Worte), folgen und versehe, zur leichteren Orientirung, die einzelnen Positionen mit einer fortlaufenden Nummer. Ueber den zweifelhaften Worten steht ein Fragezeichen.

(1) כָּתוּב נוֹתַן תַּפְסִיר פְּרָאשָׁא¹ אֶלְתּוֹרָה וְגו' שֶׁרָה

(2) טוֹת נוֹתַן תַּפְסִיר אֶלְנִי וְאֶלְכֵתִיב²

¹ Die Form פְּרָאשָׁא ist Mehrzahl von פְּרָאשָׁה, d. h. מִרְשָׁה, nach Analogie der Formen אֶנְתּוֹרָה von אֶנְתּוֹרָה, אֶנְתּוֹרָה von אֶנְתּוֹרָה, וְגוֹרָה von וְגוֹרָה, וְגוֹרָה von וְגוֹרָה, und אֶנְתּוֹרָה von אֶנְתּוֹרָה, d. h. מִרְשָׁה (s. *Revue*, XL, 90). Es kommt aber auch als Mehrzahl von מִרְשָׁה die Form פְּרָאשָׁה vor, s. *ibid.*, p. 55, n. 2.

² D. h. אֶלְנִי וְאֶלְכֵתִיב.

- ??
(3) ה תפסיר אלמאם בבאר ואלפאן בעיה
ומאסרה
- (4) מזה מקהיאת
- (5) ים מב ואכבאר ערביאת
- (6) יח נזו אנדות ומדרשות
- (7) ד מלחה הלכות נדולות
- (8) לא נזו תלמוד בבלי ה תלמוד ירושלמי מנהא
ד מלחה
- (9) יא אנוא משניות ובריתות מנהא . . . מלחה
וב מנלדה ונ זיר מנלדה מנלדה
א
- (10) ה מלחה פירוש ושאלות
- (11) . . . מנלדה יא זיר מנלדה שאלות
- (12) א מלח חזאנה ינאי ד סידור וחזאנא
- (13) ד שראת מנמועה מן מנחור
- (14) מ נזו תורה תרגום וקראן

(1) 29 Teile (d. h. Bände) Uebersetzungen von Pericopen des Pentateuchs und 3 — Commentare.

(2) 40 Teile Uebersetzungen von Propheten und Hagiographen.

(3) 8 — Worterklärungen und Massora.

(4) 45 — Halachisches.

(5) 19 — Medicinisches und arabische Erzählungen.

(6) 18 Teile Agada und Midrasch.

(7) 4 — mit Glossen versehene ¹ Halachoth Gedoloth.

(8) 31 Teile vom babylonischen Talmud und 8 vom jerusalemischen, darunter 4 mit Glossen.

(9) 11 Teile Mischnajoth und Borajtoth, davon . . . mit Glossen, 2 gebundene und 3 ungebundene.

(10) 8 — Commentare und Anfragen mit Glossen.

(11) . . . gebundene und 11 ungebundene [Teile] Anfragen.

(12) 1 [Band ?] liturgischer Gedichte Jannai's mit Glossen ; 4 Gebetbücher und liturgische Gedichte.

¹ So ist, nach einer brieflichen Mitteilung des Herrn Prof. Goldziher, מלח resp. מלחה zu erklären, also eine Schrift, die mit הלויאזר, d. h. mit kurzen Randglossen versehen ist. הלויאזר als Büchertitel sind häufig im Arabischen, so z. B. das bekannte Werk des neuplatonischen Philosophen Schihab ad-Din Suhrawardi.

(13) 4 Convolute, zusammengesetzt aus losen Blättern ¹.

(14) 15 Teile Tora, Targum und Koran.

Wie man sieht, sind die Angaben ganz allgemein gehalten, doch beanspruchen sie ein gewisses Interesse. So enthielten nr. 1 und 2 vielleicht Werke Saadja's. — Nr. 3 enthielt wahrscheinlich eine Art Glossar zur Bibel, wie es auch in einem ähnlichen Bücher-Verzeichnis, das Bacher edirt hat (nr. 25), vorkommt, s. *Revue*, XL, 59, n. 1². Die Form **מסורה** für Massora kommt auch sonst vor, s. *J. Q. R.*, XIII, 325, nr. 7. Auf die Massora müssen sich auch die durchstrichenen Worte **כבאר ואלמאף בעדה** beziehen, also Massora magna und parva. Unerklärlich ist nur die hier gebrauchte Mehrzahl. — Aus nr. 5 ist wohl mit Sicherheit zu entnehmen, dass der Besitzer ein Arzt gewesen ist. Ähnlich war auch das soeben erwähnte, von Bacher edirte Verzeichnis des eines jüdischen Arztes. — Was für Commentar in nr. 10 gemeint ist, ist selbstverständlich unmöglich zu ermitteln. Dagegen waren die Anfragen ohne Zweifel halachischen Inhalts, ähnlich wie die **שאלות** in dem Verzeichnis ed. Bacher, nr. 15, s. *Revue*, l. c. — Nr. 12 ist besonders interessant, denn daraus lernen wir, dass die liturgischen Poesien Jannai's, der ein Lehrer des Elazar Kalir gewesen und wahrscheinlich dem VII. Jahrhundert angehört, in ziemlich alter Zeit schon in einem Band gesammelt waren. Möglicherweise lag diese Sammlung auch dem Karäer al-Qirqisāni (blühte 937) vor, der die **קזאנא ינא** einige Mal citirt, s. Harkavy, *Studien u. Mittheilungen*, V, 108. Ueber den Ausdruck **קזאנא** s. Bacher, *Revue*, XL, 55, n. 2. — Beachtenswert ist noch, dass in nr. 14 Tora und Targum und Koran so friedlich nebeneinander lagern.

SAMUEL POZNAŃSKI.

WARSAU, d. 9. März 1902.

¹ Diese Bedeutung dürfte hier **מנח** haben.

² Zwar kommt in einem Verzeichnis auch ein **מנחם מלכות**, d. h. Worterklärungen zum Talmud, vor (*J. Q. R.*, XIII, p. 54, nr. 67; s. *ibid.*, p. 327 ob.), und in einem anderen ein **מנחם שיר**, das wahrscheinlich Worterklärungen zu den Halachoth Gedoloth enthielt (s. *Revue*, XXXIX, 203), doch dürfte hier das Vorhandensein der Massora in demselben Band darauf hinweisen, dass es biblische Worterklärungen waren.

EIN NEUERSCHLOSSENES CAPITEL DER JÜDISCHEN
GESCHICHTE.

DAS GAONAT IN PALÄSTINA UND DAS EXILARCHAT IN AEGYPTEN.

VON den Geniza-Fragmenten, welche Prof. Schechter in den letzten drei Heften der *Jewish Quarterly Review* unter der Gesamt-Überschrift "Saadyana" herausgegeben hat, ist wohl keines von so grosser Bedeutung für die Geschichtsforschung, wie das Megilla Ebjathars (No. XL). Der gelehrte Herausgeber selbst ist dieser Bedeutung in seinen einleitenden Bemerkungen (*J. Q. R.*, XIV, 449-455) gerecht geworden; aber er hat nicht alle aus den neuen und präzisen Angaben des Documentes sich ergebenden Folgerungen gezogen. Wir besitzen in diesem kostbaren, von einer an den Ereignissen selbst beteiligten Persönlichkeit herrührenden Berichte gewissermassen den Schlüssel zu einem bisher fast gar nicht bekannten Capitel der jüdischen Geschichte des Mittelalters. Die Geschichte des Gaonates und des Exilarchates, dieser beiden Institutionen des babylonischen Judenthums, erhält durch Ebjathar's Bericht und die durch denselben in neues Licht gerückten sonstigen Daten anderer, erst in neuester Zeit bekannt gewordenen Quellen eine ungeahnte Fortsetzung in Palästina und Aegypten.

Das Gaonat Babyloniens fand, nach der bisher allein berücksichtigten Angabe Abraham Ibn Däuds, gleichzeitig mit dem Exilarchate kurz nach Hâi Gaon's Tode einen jähen Abschluss. Abraham Ibn Däud erzählt (Sefer Ha-Kabbala, ed. Neubauer, *Med. Jewish Chron.*, I, 67), dass nach dem Tode Hâis (1038) die Mitglieder seiner Schule den Exilarchen Chizkija, einen Enkel (wohl Urenkel) David b. Zakkais, des bekannten Gegners Saadjas, zum Gaon wählten, so dass beide Würden in seiner Person vereinigt waren. Aber Chizkija hielt sich nur zwei Jahre in seiner doppelten Stellung. Er wurde beim Könige (damals herrschte im Chalifenreiche der Bujide Galâl-addaula) verleumdet, in den Kerker geworfen und gefoltert; und von seinen Angehörigen entzogen sich nur zwei seiner Söhne durch die Flucht nach Spanien der Vernichtung.

Dieser Angabe Abraham ibn Däuds steht gegenüber eine von einem Zeitgenossen des genannten Chizkija herrührende Angabe, welche wesentlich von jener abweicht. Aus der Chronik Jerachmeels ver-

öffentliche Neubauer im Jahre 1887 (l. c., I, 177 f.) einen kurzen Abschnitt über die babylonischen Hochschulen, der mit den Worten ודור חכמים שבכל דור ודור beginnt und von einem Zeitgenossen Scheriras herrührt. Denn er schliesst mit den Worten (p. 178, Z. 12): אביו של רבנא שרירא שהוא עתה ראש ישיבת בבל. An diese Worte schliesst sich unmittelbar folgende Notiz an: ואחרי רב שרירא היה רב: האיי בנו. ואחרי רב האיי לא נחמנה ראש ישיבה בבבל כי אם ראש גלות ושמו רבי' חזקיה שהוא עתה ראש והוא מבית דוד. ובנו רב דוד י"צ [י] ורבי' שלמה בר יהודה ראש ישיבת ירושלם עיר הקדש אלהים יכוננה עד עולם סלה. והוא ראש ישיבה עתה בשנת ד' אלפים ותחת לצירה. ובשנת חתקעה לחורבן הבית. ובשנת אלף ושנן לשמרות במ"ז באלול. Die Notiz ist also genau datirt vom 15. Elul 4806 (1046)¹. Ihr Urheber will offenbar den von einem Zeitgenossen Scheriras herrührenden Abschnitt über die Hochschulen mit Angaben, die bis zu seiner eigenen Zeit reichen, ergänzen. Er berichtet zunächst, dass Scherira's Nachfolger sein Sohn Hâi wurde, und dass nach dem Tode Hâis gar kein Schulhaupt in Babylonien eingesetzt wurde. An seine Stelle trat der Exilarch Chizkija, der jetzt (im Jahre 1046) das Schulhaupt ist. Die Worte ראש עתה שהוא können nur so verstanden werden, dass ראש ישיבה, was mit der Angabe Abraham Ibn Dâuds, dass Chizkija beide Würden in sich vereinigte, übereinstimmt. Aber nach unserer zeitgenössischen Notiz wurde Chizkija nicht nach zwei Jahren (also 1040) gefangen, gefoltert und — wie man den Bericht Abr. ibn Dâuds ergänzt hat² — hingerichtet, sondern er lebte noch im J. 1046. Thatsächlich enthält Abr. ibn Dâud's Bericht nichts über den Tod Chizkijas, so dass man dem Urheber unserer Notiz ohne weiteres Glauben schenken und annehmen darf, dass er die Peinigungen, denen er im Kerker unterworfen war (ואסרו בברזל ובכל מיני עינוי עינהו), überlebte. Ferner erfahren wir aus der Notiz, dass er einen Sohn Namens David hatte, der der Katastrophe des Exilarchenhauses entrannte und, während zwei seiner Brüder nach Spanien flohen, an der Seite des Vaters blieb. Damit wäre der Widerspruch zwischen den beiden Berichten behoben, und die Notiz des Zeitgenossen kann als Ergänzung zum Berichte Ibn Dâuds dienen³.

¹ Die parallelen Jahreszahlen müssen corrigirt werden: י"ח zu י"ז, וררר in ורר, und ש"ו in ש"ז; also 4806 der Weltschöpfung, 978 nach der Zerstörung und 1357 Seleuc. Dann stimmen sie genau überein. Diese Emendation ist vorzuziehen der von N. Brüll (*Jahrbücher*, IX, 112) vorgeschlagenen: י"ח zu י"ז, da nach Brüll's Emendation die seleucidische Jahreszahl noch immer unrichtig ist.

² S. Graetz, VI. Band, 3. Aufl., S. 8.

³ Wenn man die Worte ואחרי רב האיי . . . שהוא עתה ראש genauer in's

Unmittelbar an die Notiz über den Exilarchen Chizkija schliesst sich die über die Hochschule von Jerusalem, als deren im Jahre 1046 noch fungirendes Haupt Salomo b. Jehuda genannt wird¹. Mit diesem Nebeneinander will unser Gewährsmann ohne Zweifel die Anschauung ausdrücken, dass an die Stelle der mit dem Tode Hais nicht wieder besetzten Gaonswürde von Babylonien der Träger der entsprechenden Stellung in Palästina getreten war. Das Gaonat setzt sich im heiligen Lande fort und Salomon b. Jehuda ist der erste palästinensische Gaon.

Dass Salomo b. Jehuda wirklich auch den Titel Gaon führte und dass dieser Titel sich bei seinen Nachkommen vererbte, erfahren wir aus der ersten Zeile der Megilla Ebjathars (p. 1, Z. 1). Dieselbe beginnt mit den Worten: מכתב לאביתר הכהן אשר נקרא שם י' עלי' בן נאן. In dem Fragmente des anderen Exemplares der Megilla (*J. Q. R.*, XIV, 475) heisst es dafür: זאת המנלה אמרה אדונינו². Ebjathar also, selbst Gaon, nennt sich Sohn eines Gaon und Enkel eines Gaon. Seinen Vater nennt er selbst: Elija Ha-Kohen, und bezeichnet ihn als Gaon (p. 2, Z. 8 und 16). Seinen Grossvater, der ebenfalls Gaon war, nennt er nicht; aber ohne Zweifel war es Salomo b. Jehuda. Eine direkte Bestätigung dafür, dass Elija Gaon der Sohn Salomos war, bietet ein im Besitze Elkan N. Adlers befindliches Document aus dem Jahre 1056, in welchem Elija als אליה הכהן בן שלמה ראש ישיבת נאן יעקב bezeichnet wird (*J. Q. R.*, XIV, 450, n. 1). In einer anderen, noch zu erwähnenden Notiz aus dem Jahre 1131 (ם.) heisst es ebenfalls: אליהו הכהן ראש ישיבת נאן יעקב ראש שלמה הכהן ראש ישיבת נאן יעקב.

Die Thatsache, dass Salomo b. Jehuda, das Schulhaupt von Jerusalem fasst, würden sie besagen, nicht dass man überhaupt die Würde des Schulhauptes (Gaons) in Babylonien unbesetzt liess, sondern nur einen Exilarchen einsetzte, der aber gleichzeitig — gleichsam in Vertretung — die Würde des Schulhauptes einnahm.

¹ Felix Lazarus (*Brüll's Jahrbücher*, X, 181) hat den Passus von ר' דוד וכו' an gänzlich missverstanden indem er statt וכו' las: וכו' und so übersetzte: "Chizkija's Söhne, des Reschgola, David und Salomo b. Jehuda, der jetzt, 1047, Rosch Jeschiba in Jerusalem ist." Um diese sinnlose Übersetzung einigermaßen verständlich zu machen, knüpft er daran die Vermuthung: der letztere (Salomo b. Jehuda) war vielleicht Ch.'s Bruder. Der Text unserer Notiz bietet gar keine Schwierigkeit; nur muss vor שלמה דוד ein Punkt gesetzt werden.

² Vgl. die von mir (*Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XXX, 235) veröffentlichte Notiz über den Sohn Ebjathars: אליהו הכהן ב' אביתר הכהן ראש ישיבת נאן יעקב בן נאן. Ebenso erwähnt Schechter (*J. Q. R.*, XIV, 449, n. 3) die Angabe eines Geniza-Fragmentes: אביתר הכהן בן נאן בן נאן.

lem, als יעקב נאון ראש ישיבת נאון bezeichnet wird, und dass dieser Titel auch seinen Nachfolgern zu Theil wird, beweist, dass das Gaonat des heiligen Landes, wie das auch die Notiz der Chronik Jerachmeels erkennen lässt, als Fortsetzung des babylonischen Gaonates betrachtet wurde; denn auch der letzte Träger dieses letzteren, Hâi Gaon, nannte sich יעקב נאון ראש ישיבת נאון. (S. Harkavy, *Responsen der Gaonim*, S. 90.)

Mit Salomo b. Jehuda, dem Gaon von Jerusalem vom Jahre 1046, ist wahrscheinlich identisch der Gaon [Salomon] b. Jehuda, an den der von D. H. Müller und D. Kaufmann in den "Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer" (1892) veröffentlichte Brief aus Aegypten gerichtet ist¹. Nach Epstein wäre der Brief an eine aegyptische Autorität adressirt, weil nur eine solche mit den im Briefe berührten localen Verhältnissen vertraut sein konnte. Aber da, wie aus Folgendem ersichtlich sein wird, im 11. Jahrhundert ein enger Zusammenhang zwischen den Juden Aegyptens und den palästinischen Autoritäten bestand, steht nichts der Annahme entgegen, dass der Gaon von Jerusalem der Adressat des aegyptischen Schreibens ist. Wir erfahren dann aus diesem Schreiben noch, dass Jehuda der Vater Salomos ein seiner Frömmigkeit wegen berühmter Mann war, denn er wird als חסיד יורי², der Fromme seiner Zeit, bezeichnet.

Aus dem Inhalte des aegyptischen Schreibens lässt sich ein direkter Beweis dafür anführen, dass das Lehrhaus, an dessen Spitze der Adressat Salomo b. Jehudas stand, das palästinensische Lehrhaus war. Denn neben dem Gaon werden in dem Schreiben als die nächst höchsten Würdenträger des Lehrhauses erwähnt: der "Vater" und der "Dritte"³. Der Vater, אב, d. i. בית דין אב, ist der dem Gaon, dem ראש הישיבה, am Range zunächst stehende "Vorsitzende des Gerichtshofes." Dies war ein auch in den babylonischen Hochschulen üblicher Titel. Aber der Titel שלישי, der "Dritte," als Bezeichnung des dritthöchsten Mitgliedes des Lehrhauses, findet sich nirgends in den Berichten über die babylonischen Hochschulen, wohl aber in den jetzt erschlossenen Angaben über die palästinische Hochschule. In der Megilla Ebjathars erzählt dieser, dass sein Vater Elija im Jahre 1082, zwei Jahre vor seinem Tode, die ersten drei Würdenträger der Hochschule ernannte, dem bisherigen "Vater" das Gaonat übertrug, den bisherigen "Dritten" zum "Vater," den bisherigen "Vierten" zum "Dritten" avanciren liess (p. 2, Z. 17-19)⁴. Der "Dritte" als

¹ S. Epstein, *Rev. des Ét. Juives*, XXV, 272 ff.

² Nach Epstein's richtiger Conjectur.

³ Zeile 30: עד שיבא כרב אדונת הנאון שם"צ בדחיקתו ועמו אב והשלישי לחקל: S. Epstein, S. 275.

⁴ הסמך אדונת ברשות כל ישיבה [בת] נאון יעקב הוא בנו שלמה הכהן אב בית דין הוא זרובב בן רבי יאשיהו אב ו"ל שלישי כי אדונת היינו אב ועליו לאומנות השלישי עלה להדונו אב

Würdenträger wird in der Megilla Ebjathars noch genannt (p. 3, Z. 29, und p. 4, Z. 4). Ein von Schechter als No. XLII der Saadyana herausgegebenes Geniza-Stück (*J. Q. R.*, XIV, 481 ff.) ist Autograph Salomos, des Bruders und Nachfolgers Ebjathars; in demselben erwähnt Salomo seinen Collegen, den "Dritten," mit folgenden Ausdrücken: אָמִי הַשְּׁלִישִׁי (Z. 11), רִבִּינוּ הַשְּׁלִישִׁי (Z. 48).

Durch diesen Titel "Dritter," der in den Berichten über die babylonischen Hochschulen nicht vorkommt, also eine Eigenthümlichkeit der palästinensischen Hochschule gewesen zu sein scheint, fällt ein neues Licht auf das merkwürdige Fragment, das Schechter als "The oldest Collection of Bible Difficulties" veröffentlicht hat (*J. Q. R.*, XIII, 345 ff.). In diesem findet sich nämlich auch ein grösserer Passus über eine Hochschule, mit Angaben, die durchaus nicht den bekannten Angaben über die babylonischen Hochschulen entsprechen. Die dem Haupte der Hochschule, dem Gaon, zunächst stehenden zwei Würdenträger werden mit folgenden, auf Zach. iv. 14 beruhenden Worten bezeichnet (S. 365, Z. 6 f.): וְשְׁנֵי בְנֵי הַיְצָהָר הַעוֹמְדִים עַל אֲדוֹן כָּל הָאָרֶץ: בְּלֵהָ הוּא אֶבֶן בֵּית דִּין מִימֵן הַנָּאן וְהַשְּׁלִישִׁי מִשְׁמָאלָא לְיָדָא. Also zur Rechten des Gaon der "Vater," zur Linken der "Dritte"; beide sind mit dem Gaon die Spitzen des Collegiums, so wie in der Megilla Ebjathara. Man darf also annehmen, dass die Schilderung des anonymen Bibelkritikers die palästinensische Hochschule des 11. Jahrhunderts zum Gegenstande hat; seine Angaben dürfen daher zur Ergänzung dessen, was wir durch Ebjathar über sie erfahren, benützt werden. Damit wäre natürlich die Autorschaft Chiwwis, aber auch der vorsaadjanische Ursprung des Fragmentes beseitigt, und was Porges (*J. Q. R.*, XIV, 129 ff.) über dasselbe ausführt, fände von dieser Seite ihre Bestätigung. Und wenn der Autor (S. 365, Z. 20) sagt: וְהִלַּכְתִּי נוֹכַח מְבֹרָא הַשָּׁמַיִם, kann er Palästina gemeint haben, dessen Name auch in alter Zeit für die Ostländer מערבא war.

Die Geschichte des mit Salomo b. Jehuda¹ beginnenden palästinensischen Gaonats sei nun auf Grund der Megilla Ebjathars bis an's Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts verfolgt. Wie oben erwähnt, fungirte Salomo

וְהִרְבֵּי מֵלֵךְ לְהַיָּדוּת שְׁלִישִׁי. Schechter (p. 451) übersetzt unrichtig: "Whilst Zadok, the son of Josiah, was invested with the office of Father (אב)." Vielmehr ist אב das Epitheton Josijas, des bereits verstorbenen Vaters Zadoks; Zadok selbst wurde zum שְׁלִישִׁי ordinirt.

¹ Nur erwähnt sei hier die Vermuthung N. Brülls (*Jahrbücher*, IX, 112), S. b. J. sei identisch mit dem Pijutdichter Salomo Ha-Babli. Dieser Identification widerspricht jedoch das Epitheton "der Babylonier," sowie die Darlegung von Zunz (*Litteraturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, S. 100), wonach die Heimat dieses Dichters nicht in arabischen Ländern gesucht werden dürfe.

b. Jehuda noch im Jahre 1047. Nach seinem wohl nicht lange nachher erfolgten Tode wurde sein Sohn Joseph Gaon, während sein anderer Sohn Elija die Würde des Ab Beth-Din bekleidete¹. In den Tagen Josephs und Elijas kam nach Palästina aus Babylonien Daniel b. Azarja, der wohl dem Exilarchenhouse entstammte und darum אש"ל, Fürst, genannt wurde. Mit Hilfe seines Anhanges² und von der Regierungsgewalt unterstützt, bemühte sich Daniel die Brüder aus ihrer Stellung zu verdrängen und that ihnen viel Leid an. Erspernte ihnen an Sabbath- und Feiertagen gewaltsam die Lehrhäuser und warf sie zu wiederholten Malen in's Gefängnis. Am Chanukka 1365 (1054) starb Joseph, nachdem er Gottes Gericht über den Usurpator angerufen hatte. Dieser wurde nun das Haupt des Lehrhauses (Gaon), während Elija auch fernerhin die Würde des "Vaters" bekleidete. Es scheint, dass es zwischen Daniel b. Azarja und Elija zu einem Compromiss gekommen war, in dem sich dieser dazu verstand, neben Daniel als Gaon die Würde des zweiten Vorsitzenden beizubehalten. Ein Denkmal dieses Compromisses veröffentlicht Schechter in einem Elkan N. Adler gehörigen Geniza-Documente (No. XLIII der Saadyana, S. 483 f.). In diesem Documente, das von Sonntag, dem 11. Marcheschwan des Jahres 1369 (= 1058) datirt ist, verpflichtet sich ein gewisser Joseph b. Schemarja eidlich, fortan sich aller unglimpflichen Reden und Schmähungen besonders gegen die "heilige Hochschule und das

¹ P. 2, Z. 8: ברי יוסף הכהן ואליה הכהן שני נאמרים. Da "Gaon," d. h. ראש, nur der Eine gewesen sein kann, und da nachher (Z. 15 f.) ausdrücklich gesagt wird, dass erst im Jahre 1062 Elija die Gaonswürde empfing, so ist der Ausdruck שני נאמרים in uneigentlichem Sinne zu verstehen und anzunehmen, dass Elija an Joseph's Seite die Würde des אב einnahm. Dass Joseph der Sohn Salomo b. Jehudas und der ältere Bruder Elijas war, ergibt sich aus dem Zusammenhange des Berichtes, besonders aus der Erwägung, dass Elija die Gaonswürde erst nach dem Tode Josephs empfing und dass Joseph als Sohn Salomo b. Jehudas dessen Nachfolger wurde, sowie Ebjathar der Nachfolger Elijas. Die Zusammenfassung beider Brüder mit dem Ausdruck שני נאמרים konnte sich Ebjathar gestatten, weil Elija nachher wirklich Gaon wurde. In der oben bereits erwähnten Notiz aus dem Jahre 1131 (J. Q. R., XIV, 450, n. 1) folgt nach den Worten: נזר יוסף הכהן ביה נאם noch die Angabe ראש שיבה נאם ונאם קדוש רב. בן דוד. Damit kann nicht der Vater Salomos gemeint sein, sondern sein Grossvater, der als der Stammvater dieser priesterlichen, zu so hohem Range gelangten Familie anzusehen sein wird. Vor רב בן דוד ist das Wort אב zu ergänzen. Vielleicht bekleidete dieser Joseph, der in die zweite Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts zu setzen ist, in Babylonien die Würde des אב ביה דין.

² Dieser Anhang ist mit dem räthselhaften Ausdruck רב הצלע bezeichnet (p. 2, Z. 9).

Collegium" (כלל הישיבה הקדושה וחבורתם) zu enthalten, ferner fortan sowohl den Freunden des grossen Fürsten Daniel, des Schulhauptes, als den Freunden des Ab-Beth-Din Elija Ha-Kohen Freund und der Feind ihrer Feinde zu sein¹. Sechs Jahre nach Joseph's Tode (also 1060) fiel Daniel b. Azarja in eine schwere Krankheit und erkannte seine Leiden als Strafe seines harten Verfahrens gegen Joseph an. Im Elul 1373 (1062) starb Daniel b. Azarja und jetzt empfing Elija die Gaonswürde, die vor ihm sein Bruder Joseph und sein Vater Salomo innegehabt hatten².

Dreissig Jahre lang bekleidete Elija Ha-Kohen die Würde des Gaons³, von 1062-1084. In diesen Zeitraum fällt die Eroberung Jerusalems durch die Truppen des Seldschukenherrschers Melikschah (1071)⁴. Dieses Ereigniss wurde wahrscheinlich zur Veranlassung dazu, dass der Sitz des Gaonates von Jerusalem nach Tyrus verlegt wurde. Tyrus, wo hundert Jahre später Benjamin von Tudela ein zahlreiches und wohlhabendes jüdisches Gemeinwesen vorfand, scheint auch damals die ansehnlichste jüdische Gemeinde der palästinensischen Küste gewesen zu sein⁵. Zwei Jahre vor seinem Tode (also 1082) berief Elija eine grosse Versammlung nach Tyrus, an der sich auch die Gemeinden von ganz Galiläa theilnahmen⁶, und nahm die bereits erwähnten Ordinationen vor⁷, durch welche er seinen Sohn Ebjathar zu seinem Nachfolger in der Gaonswürde designirte, seinen andern, Salomo, zum "Vater," und Zadok b. Josija zum "Dritten" bestimmte. Zwei Jahre nachher ging er nach Chaifa, wo er das "Jahr heiligte," d. i. den Kalender des Jahres festsetzte, die in Tyrus vorgenommenen Ernennungen auf's neue feierlich proclamirte und dieselben in einem die Unterschriften aller versammelten Gelehrten tragenden Schriftstücke sanktionirte⁸. Im Kislew 1395 (1084) starb Elija in Tyrus.

¹ ... שאחיה מוכן ועד לעלם אחיה את אחיב אדוננו דניאל הנשיא הגדול ראש ישיבת גאון יעקב
—והוא אחיב רבינו אליהו הכהן אב בית דין של כל ישראל ושמו לעולם
Daniels s. unten, S. 92, wo von N. XLI der Saadyana die Rede sein wird.

² יוסף ברוך אלול אשכנזי וקבל הגאונות אדוננו אבנו אליהו הכהן.

³ שלשה עשרים שנה (p. 2, Z. 16). Die unmittelbar vorhergehenden Worte sind unverständlich.

⁴ S. Aug. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, Bd. I, S. 628.

⁵ Auch Jehuda Halevi hielt sich eine Zeit lang in Tyrus auf.

⁶ א-תף את כל יש (= ישראל) במדינת צור את כל רבלי.

⁷ Siehe S. 82, Anm. 4. Ein Beispiel dafür, dass zwei Brüder die beiden ersten Würden des Lehrhauses innehaben, findet sich bei Benjamin von Tudela, der in Damaskus die Brüder Esra und Sar Schalom als ראש הישיבה und אב בית דין vorfand.

⁸ ובשנת סמוך ה'ך לדפוס לקדש את השנה וחדש את הגאונות ואת הסכמים ...
Wahrscheinlich ging Elija, da Tyrus nicht zum heiligen Lande gehörte, von

musste er, durch Krankheit und Entbehrungen ganz erschöpft, in der aegyptischen Ortschaft רמ'ינה¹ bleiben. Dort nahm sich seiner ein frommer, aus Damaskus stammender Mann, Namens Mazliach b. Jepheth ibn Zaub'a'a, mit Liebe an, und behielt ihn bei sich². Er nahm ihm einen würdigen Lehrer, Abraham He-Chaber, auf³, der

trägt, heisst er רב' ורנא אסרן נאן. Der Gaonstitel wurde also auch den aegyptischen Schulhäuptern beigelegt. — Die Angabe Schechters (S. 451), Daniel b. Azarja sei der Vater David b. Daniels gewesen, ist aus der Luft gegriffen. Sie wird schon dadurch widerlegt, dass Ebjathar diesen Umstand nicht erwähnt, was er gewiss nicht unterlassen hätte, wenn der Feind seines Hauses Vater seines eigenen Feindes gewesen wäre. Aber die Unmöglichkeit der Annahme ergibt sich auch daraus, dass David b. Daniel im Alter von zwanzig Jahren im J. 1081 aus Babylonien nach Aegypten kam, Daniel b. Azarja aber schon 1062 in Palästina aus dem Leben schied.

¹ Schechter vermutet, es sei dafür der von Benjamin von Tudela erwähnte Ortsname רמ'ינה zu setzen (s. jedoch die nächste Anm.). Die Erzählung über David b. Daniel beginnt mit den Worten וזמן זה בשל רמ'ינה וזמן זה בשל דוד בן דנאל המיוחד לאחיו . . . בשל דוד בן דנאל וזמן זה בשל רמ'ינה. Statt ששל דוד בן דנאל (מבול =) muss offenbar gelesen werden ששל דוד, und ששל רמ'ינה ist Fostat (Alt-Kairo) am Nil. Bekanntlich erhielt Fostat, die Gründung Amrs, des Eroberers Aegyptens, seinen Namen vom Zelte (אמ'ר) des Feldherrn, an dessen Stelle die neue Stadt gegründet wurde. Mit dem arabischen Worte فستات aber übersetzte man das ἀσκή λεγόμενον ששל, Jerem. xliii. 10, s. die Glosse des Rouener MS. von Abulwalid's Wörterbuche (Col. 742, 2, 57). Auch ששל, Dan. xi. 45, übersetzte man mit فستات (s. Abulwalid's Wörterbuch, Art. פ'ס), wie denn das Targum ששל in Jerem. xliii. 10 mit פ'סארה wiedergiebt. Auch Menachem b. Sarak (Art. ש'ר II) erklärt ששל mit פ'סארה; Raschi z. St. mit פ'סארה, D. Kimchi mit פ'סארה. — Fostat ist gemeint in dem S. 86, Anm. 6, erwähnten Datum aus dem Jahre 1071: [נולד] הווא מרנא : בשליר מרנא של (נולד) בנכסא מרנא של נולד הווא (J. Q. R., XI, 646, n. 2). S. auch J. Q. R., XIV, 486, Z. 4: בנכסא מרנא; ebenso Rev. des Ét. Juives, XXX, 235, Z. 8. Bei Sambari (ib., p. 118, Z. 5): מרנא הווא מרנא (sic) מרנא הווא מרנא; ferner (ib., S. 136, Z. 4 von unt.): בנכסא מרנא ששל מרנא מרנא. — מרנא מרנא מרנא.

² Schechter schlägt vor, zu lesen רמ'ינה מרנא בן מרנא (p. 3, Z. 1). Schechter schlägt vor, zu lesen רמ'ינה מרנא בן מרנא. Aber ohne Zweifel ist מרנא בן מרנא zu verbessern in רמ'ינה, "in Damiga," seine Wohnorte.

³ Zum Lobe dieses Abraham heisst es p. 3, Z. 2: מרנא הווא מרנא לרנא: מרנא הווא מרנא. Das Fragezeichen Schechters zu לרנא ist leicht zu beseitigen, wenn man das ו in מרנא zu מרנא verbessert und liest: מרנא הווא מרנא, eine

David b. Daniel in der "Sprache der Bibel" unterrichtete¹, verlobte ihm seine Tochter und schickte ihn nach Verlauf zweier Jahre (1083) nach Fostat². Zwei Männer, die Spitzen der aegyptischen Judenheit, nahmen sich dort des Exilarchensprossen an: der Nagid Meborach³ und der oben bereits erwähnte Josija, das Haupt des Lehrhauses, David b. Daniels Vetter. Auf ihren Rath machte er seine Verlobung mit der Tochter seines Wohlthäters Mazliach b. Jepheth rückgängig und heiratete, durch Josija's Vermittlung, die Tochter eines vornehmen Mannes⁴. Ohne Zweifel waren es Meborach und Josija, der weltliche und der religiöse Führer der aegyptischen Judenheit, welche den Plan fassten, die Hegemonie Aegyptens an die Stelle der Babylonien zu lassen und das Exilarchat, welches in Babylonien seit Chizkija's Tode nicht mehr bestand, in Aegypten neu entstehen zu lassen. Sie liessen David b. Daniel zum Exilarchen proclamiren⁵.

Von der Wirksamkeit David b. Daniels als Exilarch erfahren wir nur die von Ebjathar in seiner Megilla erwähnten Einzelheiten, die Anspielung auf Gen. xlix. 21, mit der Abraham als vorzüglicher hebräischer Stylist gerühmt wird.

¹ ללמדו לשון הכתוב. Der zwanzigjährige David b. Daniel wird natürlich des Hebräischen nicht unkundig gewesen sein. Aber in seiner babylonischen Heimat war ihm die Kunst des hebräischen Stils, wie sie in Aegypten zu jener Zeit blühte, nicht gelehrt worden.

² ושלו למצרים. Mit מצרים ist hier die Hauptstadt, Alt-Kairo, gemeint.

³ S. über ihn J. Q. R., VIII, 555; IX, 29, 36. (Die Citate bei Schechter, S. 452, n. 2, sind irrig. Ebjathar nennt Meborach: נגיד עם י"ד שר השרים סמו: נגיד עם י"ד שר השרים סמו (p. 3, Z. 4). Schechter's Fragezeichen zu סמו ist unnöthig. Weiter unten (Z. 11) wird Meborach mit denselben Epithetis erwähnt, nur steht עז für סמו (vgl. auch p. 10, Z. 10).—Vgl. J. Q. R., IX, 36, wo es von Meborach heisst (Z. 4): וזהו על ישראל כחמה בצורה; ebendasselbst: ושם שמו שר השרים וטובו שר על בני ישראל אשר במלכותו.

⁴ רחוק בן רחוק רבא ישיה ש שהשיא בת רחן חסן (p. 3, Z. 9).

⁵ Die Thatsache der Proclamirung Davids zum Exilarchen erzählt Ebjathar nicht; aber sie ergibt sich aus seinen Angaben über die Art, wie David b. Daniel seine Macht missbrauchte. Ferner wird weiter unten (p. 4, Z. 3), in einer Ansprache, die dem Abgesandten David b. Daniels in den Mund gelegt ist, ausdrücklich gesagt: נבר הכריזו אלשך (אלשך l. אלשך). Der Scheich Ibn Sa'd Alwazzak und Abu Nasr Ibn Scho'eib sind offenbar die Regierungsbeamten des aegyptischen Chalifen, welche die Ernennung David b. Daniels zum Exilarchen vollzogen.—צוק ist Fostat, s. S. 87, Anm. 1. In dem von Schechter, S. 453, n. 3, veröffentlichten, leider zumeist unleserlichen Geniza-Fragmente finden sich auch die Worte: סמך ישיה רב דידו: ראש גליל. Diese können auf die Ordination David b. Daniels zum Exilarchen durch Josija bezogen werden.

nur dazu dienen sollen, um den Gegner in möglichst schlechtem Lichte erscheinen zu lassen. An der Thatsächlichkeit der Angaben Ebjathars lässt sich jedoch nicht zweifeln, wenn er auch Manches in tendentiöser Übertreibung darstellt. Zunächst kennzeichnet er den jungen Exilarchen durch die Angaben über die Undankbarkeit, die er sich, zur Macht gelangt, seinen Wohlthätern gegenüber zu Schulden kommen liess. Seinem ersten Wohlthäter, Mazliach b. Jepheth, brachte er durch seine Äusserungen in eine solche Situation, dass er getödtet wurde¹. Gegen seinen Verwandten Josija und dessen Freund liess er öffentlich in den Synagogen falsche Anklagen erheben; er schwur, mit dem Ersteren nicht zusammen sitzen zu wollen, und liess ihn wie einen Gebannten aus mehreren Orten entfernen. Den Nagid Meborach liess er bei der Regierung denunciren, so dass er in Gefahr war hingerichtet zu werden und sich nur durch die Flucht nach dem Fajjüm rettete². Von der öffentlichen Wirksamkeit des Exilarchen David b. Daniel erwähnt Ebjathar zunächst die Härte und Habsucht, mit der er die ihm unterstehenden Gemeindebeamten (מנהלים) behandelte. Seine Macht erstreckte sich über die jüdischen Gemeinden von Aegypten, so Alexandrien, Damiette, Postät, denen er schwere und ungerechte Steuern auferlegte³. Aber es gelang ihm auch die Gemeinden der palästinensischen und phönizischen Küstengegend⁴ von Aschkalon bis Byblus⁵ zur Aner-

¹ Die Worte ותתן להם המלך למיכה ואלהיהם דברים ער שטות (p. 3, Z. 8) lassen sich nur so verstehen. Wahrscheinlich wurde Mazliach durch David b. Daniel's Äusserungen politisch compromittirt und hingerichtet.

[illegible]

ימלך על כל ארץ וארצות וכל כבודו ושמו יתקבץ עליהם כל בחזק רוח מוסד⁹
שאר. Über sehr gut zu ירחם Schechter emendirt (p. 3, Z. 16f.). ורחם
S. 87, Anm. i. ist die Gegend des östlichen Nilmarmes mit
der Stadt Damietta (Damjât). Benjamin v. Tudela hat: עיר דמיאט היא נחור:
Saadja's Übersetzung zu Deut. ii. 23: ורחם —
— ורחם Schechter gut, אף הוא, also die Gegend von Ahnäs
(Saadja zu Jesaja, xxx, 4: הנחא).

אין וים (p. 3, Z. 18), vgl. Ezech. xxxii. 32. Unter וים
ist die reiche Küstengegend zu verstehen, nach Gen. i., c. 74 Anf.:
וים ארצות הים אל בור וקסין J. Kethub, 35 b 10 : אין ארצות הים אל בור וקסין

וכן (Z. 19) folgt die Angabe וישלח לאסכולת וקיסרין וחסה (Z. 18).

kennung seiner Oberhoheit zu bringen und legte ihnen schwere Steuern auf, die durch seine unwürdigen Abgesandten mit unerhörter Strenge eingetrieben wurden. Nur Tyrus, der Sitz des Gaonats, bewahrte eine Zeit lang seine Unabhängigkeit vom Exilarchen. Aber als Tyrus im Jahre 1089 wieder unter die Macht des ägyptischen Reiches kam¹, streckte David b. Daniel auch gegen diese Stadt seine Hand aus, zwang den Gaon die Stadt zu verlassen und brachte ihn in grosse Bedrängnis².

Ebjathar, der so von seinem Amtssitze Vertriebene und seiner Macht Beraubte, erzählt nichts über seine eigenen persönlichen Schicksale; um so mehr weiss er über das Willkürregiment zu berichten, das nun in Tyrus durch den vom Exilarchen hingesandten Vertreter desselben, der mit dem ominösen Namen Abiram b. Dathan (s. Num. xvi. 1) benannt wird, ausgeübt wurde. Ebjathar selbst scheint während der ganzen Zeit von Tyrus fern geblieben zu sein; denn als Häupter des Lehrhauses, welche die Tyrannei Abirams zu erdulden hatten, werden nur der im Range dem Gaon zunächst Stehende, der "Vater," und der "Dritte" genannt³. Im Jahre 1404 (1093) musste zwar Abiram, der gewalthätige Beamte des Exilarchen, Tyrus verlassen und es schienen wieder geordnete Verhältnisse in die Gemeinde zurückzukehren⁴. Aber bald schickte David b. Daniel einen anderen Vertreter nach Tyrus, der Willkür und Härte ausübte; und auch Abiram kehrte zurück. Dieser berief am Vorabende des Neujahrsfestes die ganze Gemeinde und forderte sie auf, sich der Oberhoheit des Exilarchen David b. Daniel zu unterwerfen. Dieser Aufforderung setzte der allein noch in Tyrus gebliebene Würdenträger des Lehrhauses, der "Dritte," die Macht seiner Beredsamkeit und Gelehrsamkeit entgegen⁵.

Die Rede des "Dritten" (wahrscheinlich war es noch der von Ebjathars Vater dazu designirte Zadok b. Josija) nimmt den grössten Raum in der Megilla Ebjathars ein⁶. Ohne Zweifel hat der Verfasser dieser seinem Collegen und dem Vertheidiger seiner Rechte

בריהמא ונבל. Ich lese: וכן נב' ונבל, also Berytus (Beirut, s. Ezech. xlvii. 16) und Gebal (Byblus).

¹ Darauf bezieht sich aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach die Angabe (Z. 20): חמשה צור (zum Ausdrucke vgl. Deut. xx. 11).—Das Datum 1089 fand ich in Brockhaus' Lexicon, Art. Tyrus.

² רשלא דוילנע בה דידא אז דר הש ססמא ולצוה לזון גרל. Schechter emendirt ראש השיבה דר richtig zu ראש השיבה דר.

³ (Z. 29) השלישי; (Z. 25) אב; אב נח דין = (Z. 22) אב השיבה.

⁴ (Z. 25) חזרה צור לחקה. Das letzte Wort ist zu verbessern.

⁵ ראמאן השלישי כל חזק החזקים אל נבר (רבר י"ל) ראמאן להם.

⁶ Von p. 4, Z. 5 bis p. 9, Z. 27.

in den Mund gelegten Rede sämtliche Argumentationen und Beweisen eingefügt, die er selbst zu Gunsten seiner Stellung und zur Widerlegung der Ansprüche seines Gegners, des Exilarchen, vorzuführen beabsichtigt. Die Rede, deren Inhalt hier nicht weiter berührt werden soll, ist eine förmliche Abhandlung über die Rechte des Lehrhauses Palästinas und die Nichtigkeit der Ansprüche des neuerstandenen Exilarchates. Sie geht von der These aus, dass es eine Entweihung des göttlichen Namens wäre, einen Exilarchen in Aegypten und im heiligen Lande zu ordiniren¹; und sie schliesst mit dem Hinweise auf die gottlose und tyrannische Art, in welcher David b. Daniel seine Würde als Exilarch missbraucht habe².

Dieses offene Auftreten gegen David b. Daniel übte grosse Wirkung aus³. Es wurden Fastengottesdienste abgehalten und Gebete zum Himmel emporgeschickt um Abwendung des Unheils, das der Usurpator der Exilarchenwürde über Israel gebracht hatte. Die Hilfe kam durch denselben Mann, der zur Erhöhung David b. Daniels beigetragen hatte, aber von ihm mit Undank belohnt worden war. Der Nagid Meborach veranstaltete eine grosse Versammlung, in welcher David b. Daniel seiner Würde verlustig erklärt und die palästinensische Gaonswürde wieder ihrem rechtmässigen Inhaber zurückgegeben wurde⁴.

Die wunderbare Wendung im Schicksale Ebjathars und seiner Hochschule fand im Ijjar 1405 (1094) statt⁵. Um sie zur allgemeinen Kenntniss zu bringen und ihr Gedächtniss für die kommenden Geschlechter zu verewigen, verfasste Ebjathar seine Megilla, der wir nun nach Jahrhunderten der Vergessenheit die Kunde der in ihr geschilderten Verhältnisse und Begebenheiten wieder entnehmen können⁶.

¹ ועי' כי חילול שם שמים הוא הדבר הזה לסוחר כבוד של הק' לסוחר ראש גולה בזמן
'ובאין י'.

² S. p. 4, Z. 19 ff.

³ Dieser Schlusstheil der Megilla Ebjathars beginnt p. 9, Z. 27 mit den Worten: וחרב השומא בכל מדינה וקריה.

⁴ וחזרו העשרה ליושנה . . . כימי עזרא וקם בד בניו לטובה. Ebjathar nennt Ezra den Ahnen seiner Familie in demselben Sinne, wie den Tannaiten Eleazar b. Azarja (s. S. 86, Anm. 3), der bekanntlich seine Herkunft von Ezra ableitete.

⁵ Saadyana, XLa (J. Q. R., XIV, 475), Z. 5: על דאם עשה י"ר לו ולישינו . . .
אין הקדש בירו איד שט אזה . . .

⁶ Der Empfänger des Exemplares der Megilla Ebjathars, das der Ausgabe Schechters zu Grunde liegt, wird in der Nachschrift (p. 10, Z. 16-19) genannt, als Ort seiner Thätigkeit רב' טרוק הכון דרין . . . בי (ב' ר' ל) יהודה דה' הוצר סיים, also eine Stadt, deren Namen mit סיים endigt.

Die Episode des aegyptischen Exilarchates hatte mit dem Sturze David b. Daniels ihr Ende gefunden. Zugleich mit der Megilla Ebjathars, die als Klageschrift gegen die Institution und ihren Träger, aber auch als Ausdruck des Triumphes über des Letztern Niederlage betrachtet werden kann, ist Schechter in der glücklichen Lage, das grössere Fragment eines Documentes zu veröffentlichen (Saadyana, Nr. XLI, S. 476 ff.), welches—wie es scheint—die in Aegypten neu erstandene Exilarchenwürde zum Gegenstande der Apologie macht¹ und aus dem Lehrhause von Fostât hervorgegangen ist. Aus diesem, in schöner, zum Theil gereimter Prosa verfassten Schriftstücke seien hervorgehoben: die den Preis der aegyptischen Regierung, die den Juden ihre Huld zugewendet, verkündenden Sätze²; ferner die Ausführung über das Verhältniss der aegyptischen Gemeinden zur Hochschule von Palästina. Diese lautet (p. 2 *verso* 12–3 *recto* 7): "Seit den Tagen unserer Väter hatte die palästinensische Hochschule³ keinen Antheil am Lande Aegypten; denn Aegypten ward als Ausland betrachtet wie Babylonien. Weil aber unser Herr und Fürst Daniel Gaon und Fürst in seiner Zeit war wie R. Jehuda I. (der Patriarch), kamen die aegyptischen Gemeinden unter seine Jurisdiktion⁴. Jedoch seine Nachfolger⁵, die die von den bewährten Alvordern gezogene Grenze verrückten und aus der herrlichen Pflanzung die kostbare Wurzel entfernten, bezeichnen ihre Pfade mit Krümmung⁶." Dieser Anklage

Charakteristisch ist der Schlusssatz der Nachschrift: וסגור השמים ליחנה לכל: חכם ומבין ליחנה אצלו ליהיה לוכרין לפרסומי ניסא דקדושא בריך [הוא] עם בני אהרן הכהנים אמן כזה סלה. Der Sieg des aharonidischen Gaons von Palästina über den davidischen Exilarchen wird ganz im Geiste der Megilla Ebjathars als Triumph der Aharoniden betrachtet.

¹ הלא להם לרשע כי כמא יסדחית בהררי קדש לא יסור שבז מסנה עד כי כצוק קדש (p. 2 *verso*, Z. 9). Anspielung auf Gen. xlix. 10 (nach Sanh. 5a) und Dan. viii. 14.

² S. 1 *verso*, Z. 10, bis 2 *recto*, Z. 8. Im Eingange des Passus wird die Regierung des fatimidischen Chalifen mit arabischen Ausdrücken bezeichnet, welche auf die Herkunft der Dynastie von Ali und vom Propheten hinweisen. Der Eingang lautet (mit Transcription der arabischen Vocabeln): ואף גם זאת בידוחת בארצות עליוות הזה אלהינו עלינו חסרו בעיני המواقף: المحروسة (אמחורסה L. אמחורסה st. العلية الامامية النبوية الزكية ... المستوحدة بالله יחמיד מעיניו מסלחה החצבה עלינו ועל כל: ישראל להחמיד השאלה והעידור בש מסלחה אל אלהי השמים.

³ ישיבת צבי S. unten, S. 93, Anm. 5.

⁴ ולסגן כי היה אדונינו נשיאנו רמיא גאון נשיא בדורו כרנו הקדוש עברו קלותיה חתח S. oben, S. 85, Anm. 1. בסורה ברחו.

⁵ Elija Gaon und Ebjathar Gaon.

⁶ Sie sind also — das ist die nicht ausgesprochene Folgerung — nicht

gegen die derzeitigen Führer der palästinensischen Hochschule folgt die Erklärung, dass nunmehr in Aegypten die selbständig gewordene Hochschule von Fostat¹ die Einheit Israels wiederherzustellen beufen sein wird.—Dieses Document zeigt, dass die Hochschule von Fostat die in Ebjathar's Megilla geschilderten Bemühungen David b. Daniels zur Unterwerfung Palästinas unter das aegyptische Exilarchat und seinen Kampf gegen das palästinensische Gaonat unterstützte.

Wie lange Ebjathar seines Sieges froh wurde, ist nicht bekannt. Zur Zeit des ersten Kreuzzuges, also nur wenige Jahre nach der Abfassung seiner Megilla, finden wir ihn in Tarabulus (Tripolis), von wo er ein Schreiben nach Konstantinopel schickte (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 28)². Daraus zu schliessen, dass Ebjathar den Sitz der Hochschule von Tyrus nach der nördlicher gelegenen Küstenstadt Tripolis verlegte, sind wir nicht berechtigt.

Ebjathar's Nachfolger wurde sein Bruder Salomo, der neben ihm als Ab-Beth-Din fungirt hatte. Ein seine Unterschrift tragender Brief (Autograph)³, von Schechter als Nr. XLII der Saadyana veröffentlicht, ist an Ephraim b. Schemarja gerichtet⁴, ein hervorragendes Mitglied der palästinensischen Hochschule⁵. Dem Briefe beigeschlossen war ein Schreiben an Nathan, ein anderes Mitglied der Hochschule⁶. Salomo's Brief ist Antwort auf einen Brief, den Ephraim b. Schemarja an den Sohn Salomos gerichtet hatte und den nun Salomo, da sein Sohn abwesend ist, im Einverständnisse mit seinem Collegen, dem "Dritten," mit dessen Hilfe er den Brief gelesen hatte, beantwortet⁷. Man darf annehmen, dass Salomo, da er fremder Hilfe bedarf, um von dem Inhalte eines Briefes Kenntniss zu nehmen, erblindet war. Aus dem Schreiben Salomos sei nur Folgendes hervorgehoben: Das

würdig, dass die Abhängigkeit der aegyptischen Gemeinden von der palästinensischen Hochschule unter ihnen fort dauere.

¹ צאניה ואינה בנט צוק (3 recto, Z. 13). S. oben, S. 87, Anm. 1, Ende.

² ועוד נבדור לו בבירור כי שטר ראש ישיבה רב אגידר הכהן כתב מסופו מן סמאל אל קהל קרמנדיה.

³ Die Unterschrift lautet (*J. Q. R.*, XIV, S. 483): שלמה הז' (= הציר) ראש: שיה נאמן יצק טרי.

⁴ Nicht an Ephraim b. Nathan, wie Schechter irrthümlich angiebt. Der Name des Vaters (ב' סמריה) steht erst in der 7. Zeile.

⁵ ב' ורב' אפרים הציר ח' ישיבה צבי והשאה עולה כנקה. Der Anfangsbuchstabe ח ist wahrscheinlich zu חזות zu ergänzen. Siehe S. 451, n. 6: חזותה הציר חזות השנה.

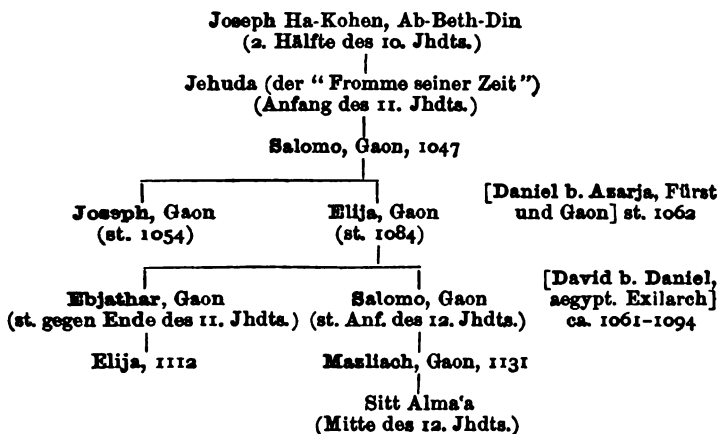
⁶ Am Schlusse des Briefes: והנה נרץ במכתב זה כתב אל רבנא נאן שז. Derselbe wird auch im Briefe (Z. 30) als רב נאן הציר erwähnt.

⁷ מכתבו הנכתב אל חמורט . . . ונכלול עם אדני הלשי ש' צור חסדיני על כל הצדק. מכתבו הנכתב אל חמורט, s. z. B. *J. Q. R.*, XIV, 223, Z. 8. חמורט = Sohn, s. z. B. *J. Q. R.*, XIV, 223, Z. 8.

nur so verständlich ist, wenn wir annehmen, dass Damaskus die Tradition des palästinensischen Gaonates fortsetzte.

Wahrscheinlich noch vor Mazliach b. Salomo war ein Sohn Ebjathars, der den Namen des Grossvaters trug, nach Aegypten gekommen, vielleicht als nach dem Tode seines Vaters nicht er, sondern sein Oheim Salomo Gaon wurde. Kunde von ihm erhalten wir aus einer charakteristischen Angabe: für ihn wurde in Fostät im Jahre 1423 (1112) der Muschtamil copirt, das sprachwissenschaftliche Werk des karäischen Gelehrten Abulfarağ Harūn (des sog. "anonymen Grammatikers von Jerusalem")¹.

Wir konnten die aharonidische Familie, in der durch vier Generationen das palästinensische Gaonat erblich war, bis zum ersten Drittel des 12. Jahrhunderts begleiten. Der Stammbaum der Familie stellt sich nach den bisherigen Ausführungen folgendermassen dar:



Das Verhältniss der jüdischen Gemeinden Aegyptens zu der Hochschule Palästinas bildet, wie oben gezeigt war, einen Hauptgegenstand des von Schechter als Nr. XLI der Saadyana herausgegebenen Documentes. In demselben wird behauptet, dass erst unter Daniel b. Asarja, dem davidischen Gaon von Jerusalem (st. 1062), die aegyptischen Gemeinden die Jurisdiktion der palästinensischen Hoch-

¹ *Rev. des Études Juives*, XXX, 235. Derselbe Elia (אליהו הכהן בן גאון) kaufte in Fostät im Tammūz 1422 (1111) den Commentar R. Chanannels zu Josua. Saadyana XLV (p. 486). Der eigenhändigen Notiz Elijas folgt eine weitere Notiz: אלהינו מוליח הכהן גאון בן גאון הנאמרים. Das Buch ging also nachher, wohl durch Erbschaft, aus dem Besitze Elijas in den Besitz seines Vettters Mazliach über.

THE TETRA(?)GRAMMATON.

IN the investigation of this name, it is best to commence with it as it is found at the end of many Old Testament proper names of which it is an element—יהוה. This I hold to be a genuine old form. The additional fourth letter, ה, was probably, at first, what the grammarians called the paragodic ה, a merely occasional rhythmical appendage. When once added, however, it would give the word an appearance suggestive of derivation from the verb יהיה; and this would naturally strike the imagination of people very prone to adopt etymologies *ad hoc*, and without a thought of their historic accuracy. In this way, I believe, grew up the etymology of Exodus iii. 14-15. When this became authoritative, the name would be written with the four letters, as a matter of course. Thus the paragodic letter—if I am right—was taken up into the body of the name, and came to be regarded as part of its root. Starting from this quadriliteral form, it is equally a matter of course that modern scholars should have decided on the pronunciation "Yahweh." Indeed it is probable from Theodoret's well-known statement (that the Samaritans pronounced the Tetragrammaton 'Iaβé, while the Jews pronounced it 'Iaw) that the "Yahweh" vocalization had been reached by the Samaritans. Given the derivation from the verb "to be," and that vocalization is quite inexpugnable.

It will be seen from the above why I cannot accept Kuenen's defence of the "Yahweh" pronunciation¹. I agree with that illustrious critic and historian of the Religion of Israel that "no one who wrote down these four letters," *ab initio* "can have meant to indicate any other pronunciation"; and that "if he had intended his readers to say Yahu or Yaho, for instance, he would have omitted the fourth letter." But this is no evidence whatever of the "theory which finds in Yahweh the original form and pronunciation, and in Yah, Yahu, &c., abridged derivatives from it." The appearance of יהוה on the Moabite Stone shows that this form was at least in occasional use about nine centuries before Christ; but the inference

¹ *Hibbert Lectures*, 1882, note 4.

that "consequently the pronunciation *Yahweh*" was current at that time seems to me altogether unwarranted.

Probably the exact form of the alternative theory which I now present was not thought of by Kuenen, or was thought of only to be summarily dismissed as an unscholarly hypothesis. We are told—even unto this day—that יהוה "has not its own original vowels (probably יהוה) but those of יהוה¹." Concerning the latter, the *Jewish Encyclopedia* says, *sub voce* Adonai:—"Originally an appellation of God, the word became a definite title, and when the Tetragram became too holy for utterance Adonai was substituted for it, so that, as a rule, the name written YHWH receives the points of Adonai and is read Adonai, except in cases where Adonai precedes or succeeds it in the text, when it is read Elohim. The vowel-signs e, o, a, given to the Tetragrammaton in the written text, therefore, indicate the pronunciation Aedonai, while the form Jehovah, introduced by a Christian writer about 1520, rests on a misunderstanding."

Nothing could be more positive. If belief could safely rest on authoritative teaching, here we have it. The Christian who had the hardihood, several centuries after the close of the Maṣorah, to "introduce" the form Jehovah, lends an element of piquancy to the lesson. I must confess that, up to very recently, I parroted this statement of the hybridism of יהוה, without a suspicion that it could be effectively challenged; till, in a moment which usually comes to me, on any subject however sacred, I asked: "What is the evidence of this?" From that moment my belief in it was doomed.

The first thing which I saw, on opening my eyes, was that יהוה has *not* the vowel points of יהוה. It has only two out of three. The excuse that ך is written as ך because it is under ך evidently will not hold; for, on the hypothesis that the vowel points of יהוה are a *q'rey perpetuum* of יהוה, the ך is to be read, not with ך, but with ך, which is impossible. Where the Maṣoretes intended יהוה to be read as יהוה, they put the vowel points of that word, notwithstanding that ך fell under ך, and who can doubt that they would have put the vowel points of יהוה to יהוה, if they had intended, *by those vowel points*, to indicate that it was to be read as יהוה?

That it was so read I, of course, do not deny. Indeed, this is part of my case. That reading had become habitual ages before the addition of the vowel points to the Hebrew text, as is shown by the rendering of the Tetragrammaton in the Septuagint as *ὁ Κύριος* and by Jerome as *Dominus*; and there was no need to reinforce this substitution by vowel points. Still the Maṣoretes might not have

¹ Kautzsch's *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* (English edition), p. 311.

thought so had not the vowel points of יהוה happened to be very similar to those of יהוה. Save for that lucky accident the vocalization of יהוה might not have been retained for us, though it might have been inferred from its development from יהוה; for the addition of the final ה would naturally modify יהוה into יהוה. With ה added, יהוה becomes יהוה, as with ם added it becomes םיהוה. This, I hold, is why we find יהוה in the Maçoretic version.

So far, then, we are left with יהוה as the real name. But this is further analysable. The final ה is simply the old nominative affix, and is no essential part of the word. As Professor Chwolson says, in his valuable essay on *The Quiescents (or Vowel-Letters)* ך in *Ancient Hebrew Orthography*: "the nominative termination in o or u . . . has remained in single and compound proper names." It is because this ה is only an obsolete case-ending that we have a long list of duplicate forms of names ending in יהוה and יהוה respectively¹. Fundamentally, therefore, the name is יהוה, which becomes יהוה with the ancient suffix of the nominative, and this becomes יהוה by the addition of the paragodic ה. The quadriliteral form has grown from the triliteral, which, in its turn, has arisen out of the biliteral. Whether, as Friedrich Delitzsch suggests², this can be farther traced to a primitive uniliteral form, I will not inquire; for at this point the matter passes beyond the evolution of the name within Hebrew limits—the problem which I have set myself to solve. My solution of that problem may be tersely stated in the words of Isaiah xxvi. 4: יהוה יהוה "Y'howah is Yah." That is all. But it must be clearly seen and firmly grasped before any genuine advance can be made in finding satisfactory answers to the most interesting questions which surround the name of the Hebrew Deity.

J. H. LEVY.

¹ See Ginsburg's *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, pp. 387-394.

² "Der Gottesname, welcher im Munde des hebräischen Volkes stets üblich, ja vielleicht ausschliesslich üblich war und blieb, ist יהוה, wobei zugleich das Bewusstsein von י, ה, als dem wesentlichen Namensbestandteil sich fortdauernd lebendig erhielt."—*Wo lag das Paradies*, p. 159.

DIE STAATSWAGEN DES PATRIARCHEN.

(קרונות של בית רבי).

BÜCHLER lässt in seiner eingehenden Besprechung der Stelle des jerusalemischen Talmuds, Sanhedrin, 18 c, 209 ff., den Ausdruck קריות unerklärt (*J. Q. R.*, XIII, 724). Aber die von ihm citirte Emendation Grätzens (*Monatsschrift*, 1884, 547) involvirt bereits die richtige Erklärung. Grätz liest nämlich קרנות statt קריות und meint offenbar קרונות, Staatswagen (*carrum*, s. Levy, IV, 382 f.; Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, II, 565). In der Erzählung Chaninas, die an der angeführten Stelle durch Eleazar b. Pedath tradirt wird, ist von den Abgesandten des Patriarchen die Rede, welche in vier-und-zwanzig Staatswagen in Lydda einzogen, um dort die Intercalation vorzunehmen. Dieser ungewöhnliche Pomp, mit dem die Abgesandten des Patriarchen umgeben waren, erregte unliebsames Aufsehen; und als sie bald darauf — vielleicht in Folge einer Epidemie — zu gleicher Zeit starben, sagte man, das "böse Auge" hätte die mit so ausserordentlichem Glanze Aufgetretenen getroffen und sie wären daran gestorben (ונכם בהם). Die "Staatswagen des Patriarchenhauses" (קרונות של בית רבי) kommen auch in einem andern demselben Chanina (b. Chama), einem Schüler Jehudas I., gehörenden Aussprüche vor, den im babylonischen Talmud (Sabbath, 122 a, oben) Abba b. Kahana tradirt: קרונות של בית רבי מותר למלמן בשבת. Ihrer luxuriösen Ausstattung und der Leichtigkeit, mit der sie in Bewegung gesetzt wurden, verdankten diese Wagen wohl, dass man erlaubte, sie am Sabbath zu bewegen. Solche Prachtwagen, wie er sie im Hause Jehudas I. gesehen hatte, schwebten auch Rab vor, als er die "in goldenen Wagen sitzenden" Jünglinge des Hauses Davids schilderte (b. Kidduschin, 76 b, unt.: וכולם יושבין בקרונות של זהב; in der Parallelstelle, Sanhedrin, 49 a, fehlt diese Einzelheit). Endlich giebt es noch einen dritten Ausspruch desselben Chanina (b. Chama), in welchem der Staatswagen des Patriarchenhauses Erwähnung geschieht. In j. Aboda zara, 44 d, 66 (in Beziehung auf die Mischna Ab. zara, v, 5) erzähl Chanina, wie ein Wagen des Patriarchenhauses auf eine Entfernung von mehr als vier Meilen

den Blicken entchwunden, also der Beobachtung entzogen war, man habe aber dennoch den auf demselben befindlichen Wein zu trinken gestattet (מעשה בקרן אחת משל בית רבי והפליה יותר מד' מיל''). Eine andere Version des Vorfalles, in der Chanina es ist, der den Wein zu trinken gestattete, findet sich b. Sabbath, 122 a, oben (hier muss vor בקרנות של נכרים ergänzt werden ור"ב, s. Rabbinowitz z. St.). Die angeführten Stellen, in denen Chanina b. Chama von den "Wagen des Patriarchenhauses" spricht, beweisen, dass die Auffassung von Grätz, die ihn קריות an der ersten Stelle, j. Sanhedrin, 18 c, zu קרנות (d. i. קרנות) emendiren liess, richtig ist. Es ist aber noch fraglich, ob die Emendation nöthig ist; denn an einer Stelle des jerusalemischen Talmuds findet sich ebenfalls die Schreibung קריות, und zwar ist dort ebenfalls von vier-und-zwanzig Wagen die Rede. In Baba Bathra, 17 a, 31, wird erzählt, Jemand habe seiner Verlobten כ"ד קריות mit neuen Früchten (מיני חרות) die Parallelstelle in b. Baba Bathra, 146 a: (יין חדש ושמן חדש וכלי פשתן חדש) geschickt. Es ist also ganz gut möglich, dass auch in dem Berichte Chaninas über die nach Lydda gekommenen Abgesandten des Patriarchen קריות die richtige Leseart ist (vgl. übrigens über diese Bedeutung von קריות Levy, IV, 379 b, unten). Die Zahl 24 ist in beiden Fällen als runde zu betrachten.

W. BACHER.

BUDAPEST, September 1901.

DAS HEBRÄISCHE סֵפֶר IN EINER VERKANNTEN BEDEUTUNG.

Das hebräische סֵפֶר, welches man durchweg (mit Hinzuziehung des assyrischen *šipru*) mit "Buch" oder "Brief" wiedergiebt, setzt an zwei Bibelstellen—Hiob, xix. 23 und Jesaia xxx. 8—eine Bedeutung voraus, die, wie uns scheint, bisher verkannt worden ist. An der ersten Stelle fasst Hiob seinen sehnstüchtigen Wunsch, dass die Kunde von dem innern Siege, zu dem er sich nach langem Kampfe durchgerungen hat, nicht wirkungslos verfallende, sondern den kommenden Geschlechtern erhalten bleibe, in die Worte zusammen: **כִּי יִהְיֶה אִפְסֵי וְיִצְתָּבוּן כָּל־מִי יִהְיֶה בְּסֵפֶר וְיִחָזַק בְּעַם-בְּרוּךְ לְעַד בָּצִיר וְיִחָזַק**. Und ebenso wünscht Jesaia, dass seine Überzeugung von der Erfolglosigkeit der fremdländischen militärischen Unterstützung der fernsten Nachkommenschaft überliefert werde: **עָתָה בּוֹא כְתֹבָה עַל-לִיחַ אֲתָם וְעַל סֵפֶר חֲקָה וְתָהִי לְיוֹם אֲחֵרָו לְעַד עַד עוֹלָם**. In beiden Fällen kommt es also auf ein ganz besonders dauerhaftes und dem "Zahne der Zeit" am meisten trotzendes Schriftmaterial an. An der ersten Stelle wird es zu den *Felseninschriften* in Parallele gesetzt, an der zweiten soll es "bis zum letzten Tage, für immer bis in Ewigkeit" erhalten bleiben. Dass man sich diese Dauerhaftigkeit von einem gewöhnlichen "Buche" versprochen haben sollte, ist von vorne herein ausgeschlossen. Dieser Umstand, in Verbindung mit der Erwägung, dass das Wort סֵפֶר an der ersten Stelle durch das **וְיִחָזַק** auf das denkbar schärfste hervorgehoben und in beiden Fällen mit dem für ein "Buch" völlig unpassenden Verbum חָקַק "eingraben" construiert wird, führt mit Notwendigkeit auf die Vermutung, dass in den angeführten Versen eine ganz specielle Bedeutung von סֵפֶר vorliegt. Es wird daher wohl nicht gewagt erscheinen, wenn wir סֵפֶר mit dem lautlich genau entsprechenden assyrischen *šiparru* zusammenstellen und an den citierten Stellen mit "Erz" oder "Bronze" übersetzen, das einen sehr kräftigen und passenden Sinn ergiebt. Allerdings ist der Gebrauch von Erz zu Schriftwerken in der Bibel sonst nicht nachzuweisen (vgl. Nowack, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie*, Band I, p. 289), indessen darf man nicht vergessen, dass es sich hier eben

um ein völlig *ungewöhnliches* Schriftmaterial handeln muss, dessen Verwendung man vielleicht nur vom Auslande her kannte und sich nur in den seltensten Fällen gestatten durfte. Im Anschluss hieran sei noch bemerkt, dass סָפַר an beiden Stellen nicht mit "schreiben," sondern mit "einhausen" zu übersetzen ist, wozu man sich als Material Stein zu denken hat, vgl. Deuter. xxvii. 8, Josua, viii. 32. Das obige סִפָּר = *siparru* hängt wohl mit dem arabischen سِپَر zusammen, welches dieselbe Bedeutung hat. Zu dem Lautwandel ס = פ vgl. Barth, *Etymologische Studien*, p. 54, § 26. Ob an den angeführten Stellen die Punktation סִפָּר die richtige ist und nicht vielmehr eine ältere Aussprache סָפַר, welche durch die Verwechselung mit dem gewöhnlichen *sefer* vernachlässigt wurde, voranzusetzen ist, können wir nicht mehr entscheiden.

I. FRIEDLÄNDER.

ABRAHAM'S LESSON IN TOLERANCE¹.

ACCORDING to Moslem tradition, Abraham was the founder of hospitality. A commentator of Ḥariri calls him الشيخ الذي سنّ القرى, the patriarch who introduced hospitality. (Vide Hammer-Purgstall in *ZDMG.*, VI, 57, no. 303; Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde* (Leiden, 1893), p. 118.) Ṭabarī relates that the three angels—who, according to Jewish sources, were Michael, Gabriel, and Uriel (*Midrash Lekach Tobh*, ed. Buber, I, 82; *Baba Mezi'ah*, 86 b)—would not touch the food set before them by Abraham. "Why do ye not eat?" queried the patriarch. "We eat nothing without first knowing its price." Thereupon answered Abraham: "The price of these refreshments is, that you invoke the name of God before beginning and praise it when you finish." At this one of the angels remarked to the other: "Verily God did well to make this man his friend²" (cf. Grünbaum, *l. c.*, p. 119).

This pious trait of Abraham's is also referred to in Jewish tradition. He was in the habit of inviting passers-by to partake of food and drink, and enjoined upon them, while so doing, the duty of thanking God (see *Bereshith Rabbah* to Gen. xiv. 19; xviii. 19, and other references in the Wilna edition, pp. 174, 200). The Talmud relates, *Sotah*, 10 a, that after his guests had partaken of his hospitality, they rose to bless him, upon which he said: "Have ye eaten of that which is mine? Ye have eaten of what belongeth to the God of the World. Give, therefore, praise and acknowledgment to him, who spake and lo! the world was,"—למי שאמר חזיה העולם (vide Wünsche's rendering, *Der babyl. Talmud*, II, Leipzig, 1887, pp. 259-260; Grünbaum, *l. c.*, p. 120). A fuller account of Abraham's hospitality is given by Beer in his *Leben Abrahams*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 56, and S. Baring-Gould, in his *Legends of the Patriarchs and Prophets* (New York, 1872), p. 187

¹ A paper read at the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society, April, 1900.

² See on the whole history of the term "Friend of God," with special reference to Abraham, the exhaustive article of Steinschneider, "Der Freund Gottes," in Jellinek's *Sabbathblatt*, V, 1860, no. 20, pp. 78-79.

(cf. also W. Mayer, "Gastfreundschaft," in Busch's *Kalender und Jahrbuch für Israeliten*, vol. V, Vienna, 1846, pp. 312-314). I remark in passing that Job also was considered by the ancients as a type of a generous Bedouin saint whose nomadic tent was the joy of God and man. In the Greek *Testament of Job* (published by Angelo Mai in his *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio* (Rome, 1833), vol. VII, pp. 180-191, and republished by Kohler in *Semitic Studies in Memory of Rev. Dr. A. Kohut*, Berlin, 1897, pp. 296-338), ch. iii, 8, we read: *Kai ei tis ēphxero altrōn elenxhosūnēn, ēlxe trífesbai ēn tē trapézē mou tou lazein tēn xreian. kai oudēna apértrepōn ēxelθείν tēn thύran mou kolapē keph̄*, "And if any one came asking for alms, he found food on my table to take all he needed, and I turned nobody away to leave my door with an empty stomach." [*κόλπῃ κεφ̄*=שבת=כלב of the Rabbinic story of Akibah; cf. *Aboth de R. Nathan*, ch. VI; Gittin 56a: *כל שנכנס לביתו רעב ככלב יצא שבת*; vide Kohler, *l.c.*, pp. 280, 318, note 2.] In all probability, says Kohler, p. 276, Job became a type of the philanthropic receiver of strangers, the pattern of a Bedouin prince of hospitality in popular tradition, long before Abraham was rendered such. It is evident, therefore, from all this that tradition desired to emphasize his religious fervor as much as his hospitality.

There is a legend concerning Abraham and a heathen, whose origin has not yet been investigated. It is popularly accredited to Benjamin Franklin, whose version we shall give below. Milman, in his *History of the Jews* (Am. ed., New York, 1877), vol. III, p. 459, note, ascribes it to George Gentius (died 1667), who quotes it in the dedication (to the Consula, Senate, and people of Hamburg) of his Latin version of Solomon Ibn Verga's *Shebet Yehuda* [cf. Fürst, *Bibl. Judaica*, III, 474; Steinschneider, *Catal. Bodl.*, 1009], published in Amsterdam, in 1651, 1654 and 1680 in 4° [not 1690 as Milman, *l.c.*]. I regret that, at present writing, I have no access to the Latin translation¹, so as to verify Milman's reference. The apologue of Abraham and the Fire-worshipper has become so widely known to English readers that it is interesting to note its first mention in the works of Jeremy Taylor, the eminent English divine, who died in the same year as the Latin translator of the Jewish Chronicle (1667). In his *Θεολογία Ἑλεγκτική, or a Discourse of the Liberty of Prophesying*, sect. XXII, ed. Bohn, London, 1867, vol. II, p. 418, he says, in speaking of communication with dissenting churches, that the following story he found "in the Jews' books." It is not at all unlikely that he copied it from the Latin

¹ For a review of the Latin version of *Shebet Yehuda*, see Dr. M. Wiener's German translation, Hannover, 1856, pp. xix-xxvii.

version of Gentius. "When Abraham sat at his tent-door, according to his custom, waiting to entertain strangers, he espied an old man stooping and leaning on his staff, weary with age and travail, coming towards him, who was a hundred years of age: he received him kindly, washed his feet, provided supper, caused him to sit down: but, observing that the old man ate and prayed not, nor begged for a blessing on his meat, he asked him why he did not worship the God of heaven. The old man told him that he worshipped the fire only, and acknowledged no other God. At which answer Abraham grew so zealously angry, that he thrust the old man out of his tent, and exposed him to all the evils of the night and an unguarded condition. When the old man was gone, God called to Abraham, and asked him where the stranger was: he replied, 'I thrust him away because he did not worship thee.' God answered him, 'I have suffered him these hundred years, although he dishonoured me; and couldst thou not endure him one night, when he gave thee no trouble?' Upon this saith the story, 'Abraham fetched him back again, and gave him hospitable entertainment and wise instruction.' Go thou and do likewise, and thy charity will be rewarded by the God of Abraham."

Jeremy Taylor's version of this beautiful legend is no doubt the source of Benjamin Franklin's account which is frequently quoted in his name. A recent contributor to a religious paper claims to have found it in the leaves of an old and forgotten magazine, where the following is related: Franklin's love for his fellow men was coequal with his knowledge, and it is not surprising that he was pronounced in his views upon religious persecution, citing such as inhuman and barbarous in the extreme. On one occasion when in the company of a circle of friends in Paris, the conversation had turned upon the subject of intolerance, and Franklin presented unanswerable arguments against what he asserted to be a practice so obviously repugnant to every dictate of humanity. After refuting opinions advanced by some of the circle and in support of the views he had advanced, he called for a Bible, and turning to the Book of Genesis, he remarked that he would proceed to read the following as authority for his statements:—

CHAPTER LXVII.

1. And it came to pass after these things, that Abraham sat in the door of his tent, about the going down of the sun.
2. And behold, a man bowed with age, coming from the way of the wilderness, leaning on a staff.
3. And Abraham arose and met him, and said unto him, Turn in,

I pray thee, and wash thy feet and tarry all night, and thou shalt arise early in the morning and go thy way.

4. But the man said, Nay, for I will abide under this tree.

5. And Abraham pressed him greatly; so he turned and they went into the tent; and Abraham baked unleavened bread, and they did eat.

6. And when Abraham saw that the man blessed not God, he said unto him, Wherefore dost thou not worship the Most High God, Creator of heaven and earth?

7. And the man answered and said, I do not worship thy God, neither do I call upon his name; for I have made to myself a God which abideth always in my house, and provideth me with all things.

8. And Abraham's zeal was kindled against the man, and he arose and fell upon him and drove him forth with blows into the wilderness.

9. And at midnight God called unto Abraham, Where is the stranger?

10. And Abraham answered and said, Lord, he would not worship thee, neither would he call upon thy name; therefore have I driven him out from before my face into the wilderness.

11. And God said, Have I borne with him these hundred, ninety and eight years, and nourished and clothed him, notwithstanding his rebellion against me; and couldst not thou, that art thyself a sinner, bear with him one night?

12. And Abraham said, Let not the anger of my Lord wax hot against his servant; lo, I have sinned; forgive me, I pray thee.

13. And he arose and went forth into the wilderness, and sought diligently for the man and found him.

14. And he returned with him to his tent; and when he had entreated him kindly, he sent him away in the morning with gifts.

15. And God spake again unto Abraham, saying, For this thy sin, shall thy seed be afflicted four hundred years in a strange land.

16. But for thy repentance will I deliver them; and they shall come forth with power, and with gladness of heart, and with much substance.

The *raconteur* concludes this story of Franklin as follows:—

“I was struck with the aptness of the passage to the subject, and did not fail to express my surprise that in all the discourses I had read against a practice so diametrically opposite to the genuine spirit of our holy religion, I did not remember to have seen this chapter quoted, nor did I recollect my ever having read it, though no stranger to my Bible. Next morning, turning to the Book of Genesis, I found there was no such chapter, and that the whole was a well-meant invention of my friend, whose sallies of humour, in which he is a great master, have always a useful and benevolent tendency.”

The same story is found with some variations in a rare volume of

tracts on religious tolerance, entitled: *Collection of Testimonies in favour of Religious Liberty, in the case of the Dissenters, Catholics, and Jews. By a Christian Politician.* London, 1790, pp. 88-89, Article XVIII, superscribed with the words: "A parable against persecution by Dr. Franklin, in imitation of Scripture Language; founded upon a Jewish tradition." To this the editor of the volume adds a note: "The following parable against persecution was communicated to me," says Lord Cairns, "by Doctor Franklin, of Philadelphia, a man who makes a great figure in the learned world; and who would still make a greater figure for benevolence and candour, were virtue as much regarded in this declining age as knowledge. The historical style of the Old Testament is here finely imitated; and the moral must strike every one who is not sunk in stupidity and superstition. Were it really a chapter of Genesis, one is apt to think that persecution could never have shown a bare face among the Jews and Christians. But alas! that is a vain thought. Such a passage in the O. T. would avail as little against the rancorous passions of men, as the following passages in the New Testament, though persecution cannot be condemned in terms more explicit," . . . &c. (On pp. 66-68 is printed another letter by Dr. Franklin on the subject of religious liberty, written in 1772.)

What is the origin of this parable? Both Jeremy Taylor and Benjamin Franklin claim to have seen it referred to as a Jewish tradition, and L. Weiss quotes it in an abbreviated form in his *Talmudic and other Legends* (New York, 1889¹), pp. 66-67¹. There is not the slightest trace of the story in Rabbinic sources. Neither Beer, nor Gould, nor even the painstaking Grünbaum, refer to it anywhere. To my astonishment I find the same story beautifully rendered into Hebrew by *Nachman Krochmal* (1785-1840), in a rare periodical published in 1844: *ירושלים הבנויה* (Jerusalem, 1844; printed at Zolkiew, *imprimatur* given in Lemberg, Nov. 29, 1844!). This contribution of Krochmal's is not mentioned either by Zunz or Fürst or Steinschneider (*Catal. Bodl.*, s. v., p. 1589-90), and deserves to be reproduced in full, if only for its classical diction:—

משל מוסרי

(א) ויהי אחרי הדברים האלה ואברהם יושב פתח האהל כבא השמש:

(ב) וירא והנה איש זקן ושבע ימים בא מבא דרך המדברה נשען על מטו:

¹ A brief version of the parable is given in Horace E. Scudder's *Book of Legends* (1900), under the title, "Abraham and his Visitor."

(ג) ויקם אברהם וירץ לקראתו ויאמר בי אחיני אל נא תעבד מעל עבדך סורה אלי רחץ רגליך ולינה פה הלילה והשכמת בבוקר וחלכת לדרכך: (ד) וימאן האיש ויאמר לא כי פה אלץ תחת האלה ויפצר בו מאד ויסר אליו האהלה: (ה) ויקח אברהם חמאה וחלב ושם לפניו ומצות אפה ויאכלו: (ו) והיו אחרי אכלו ואתרי שתי ויאמר אליו אברהם עתה נברך ליי עליך קונה שמים וארץ כי השביענו מטובו: (ז) וען האיש ויאמר לא ידעתי את אלהיך ואת שמו לא אברך כי אם אלהי אשר עשו אצבעותי השוקן עמי בבית ונותן לי כל מחסורי: (ח) ויחר אף אברהם באיש ויקם בחסותו ויגרשחו המדברה: (ט) ויבא אלהים אל אברהם ויאמר אברהם איה האיש אשר בא אליך הלילה: (י) וען אברהם ויאמר הן גרשתי מעל פני כי לא אבה להודות לשמך: (יא) ויאמר יי ראה הנה אנכי נשאתי את פשעו זה מאה וחשעים וחשע שנה הלבשתיו כלכלתי אף כי חסרה את רוחי ואתה בן אדם אשר בעון חוללת נלאית כלכל אותו לילה אחד?: (יב) ויאמר אברהם אל נא יחר אף אדוני בעבדך חמאתי הפעם בי אדוני סלח נא: (יג) ויסתר אברהם וירץ המדברה ויבקש את האיש וימצאו וישיבוו האהלה וידבר אתו טובות: (יד) והיו בבקר ושלחתו לדרכו וגם צדה נתן לו וילך: (טו) והיו דבר יי אל אברהם שנית לאמר יען כי נכנעת לפני ותעש הישר בעיני נם אנכי אוכור את בריתי לזרעך אחרך אשר בהענותם והוכחתם בשבט אנשים: (יז) אך את בריתי לא אפיר אתם והשיבותים לאדמתם המה יהיו לי לעם ואני אהיה להם לאלהים עד עולם:

Krochmal divides the parable into sixteen verses, as Franklin did, and must, therefore, have had before him either a German translation, or possibly a copy of the English version, since the above is almost a verbal translation of Franklin's narrative. Similar legends and apologies are quoted by Russian and Galician *Maggidim* in illustration of Scriptural texts in discourse. In the collection of homilies and anecdotes ascribed to Jacob Dubno, popularly known as the *Dubno Gaon*, entitled *אהל יעקב* (5 parts, Warsaw, 1874), there is no reference made to this apologue, though it is strange that it has escaped the attention of the "father of story-tellers" (אבי המושלים), as he was deferentially called. I am glad to be able to point out the probable source of the parable, so widely circulated through the genial Franklin, and it is remarkable that its *Persian origin* had not long since been suggested by the mention of a *FIRE-WORSHIPPER* in the version of Jeremy Taylor quoted above.

It is to be found in the *Būstān* (بوستان) of SA'DI (1184-1291?), where it is imbedded among other choice moral tales written by this "Nightingale of a Thousand Songs." The *Gulistān*, or *Rose-Garden*, was known to Occidental scholars in a Latin version as early as the second half of the seventeenth century. Of the *Būstān* or *Garden of Perfume* there are no translations earlier than this century. GEORGE GENTIUS, as we have seen above, was the Latin translator of Ibn Verga's Hebrew chronicle, *שכנא יהודה*, the first edition of which appeared at Amsterdam, anno 1651, in the very same year when he published his Latin version of Sa'di, entitled *Rosarium politicum*. It is easy now to explain how the story of Abraham's lesson in tolerance crept into the Preface of his translation of *Shebet Yehudah*, when the parable was fresh in his mind during the perusal of Sa'di's works.

I have no complete edition of the *Būstān* in English [cf. for a brief bibliography and interesting selections the article *Sa'di* in Charles Dudley Warner's *Library of the World's Best Literature*, vol. XXII (1897), pp. 12634-58, written by A. V. Williams Jackson] and I quote from the "compiled" version of Moncure Daniel Conway, in his *Sacred Anthology*, 1st ed., New York, 1874, pp. 61-62, no. XCVII, s.v. "Toleration":—

"For a week Abraham would scarce break his fast for fear some hungry traveller might pass needing his store. Daily he looked out upon the desert, and on a day he beheld the bent form of an aged man, his hair white as snow, tottering towards his door. 'Guest of mine eyes,' said Abraham, 'enter thou with welcome, and be pleased to share my bread and salt.' The stranger entered, and to him was given the place of honour. When the cloth was spread, and the family had gathered round the board, each uttered *Bismillah* ('In the name of God') save one: the aged guest uttered no word. Abraham said, 'Old man, is it not right when thou dost eat thy food to repeat the name of God?' The stranger said, 'My custom is that of the fire-worshipper.' Then Abraham arose in wrath, and drove the aged Geber from his house. Even as he did so, a swift-winged spirit stood before the patriarch and said—'Abraham! for a hundred years the divine bounty has flowed out in sunshine and rain, in bread and life, to this man: is it for thee to withhold thy hand from him because his worship is not thine?'"

Leigh Hunt, whose admirable adaptations from Oriental authors are as felicitous as any by Rückert or Bodenstedt, has written a charming paraphrase of this apologue in the form of a "dramatic parable," entitled: *Abraham and the Fire-Worshipper*. His source is undoubtedly Sa'di's *Būstān*, as he was familiar with all the fanciful creations of the East. He skilfully interweaves with his narrative

"Elijah's interview" with God, about which Campbell has written an exquisite poem, using "the still small voice" in the sense of a heavenly echo—a favourite figure of the Rabbis quoted by Wordsworth and Whittier (cf. a poem by the present writer on Elijah [1 Kings xix. 11-13] in the *American Hebrew*, Feb. 9, 1900). Leigh Hunt's poem is included in Isabel E. Cohen's *Readings and Recitations for Jewish Homes and Schools* (Philadelphia, 1895), pp. 44-48, no. 18.

GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT.

ZUR PORTUGIESISCH-JÜDISCHEN LITERATUR.

Das Interesse für die leidenvolle Vergangenheit und die wissenschaftlichen Leistungen der Juden ihres Landes erwacht in erfreulicher Weise auch bei den Portugiesen. Von unserem Freunde J. Mendes dos Remedios, Professor in Coimbra, erschien vor mehreren Jahren unter dem Titel "Os Judeus em Portugal" der erste Theil der Geschichte der Juden in Portugal (Coimbra, 1895). Er beabsichtigte, wie er mir im Juli 1896 schrieb, das sehr seltene Werk des Portugiesen Samuel Usque, "Consolaçam ás Tribulações de Israel," mit kritischen Noten versehen, neu zu ediren, er musste aber von seinem Vorhaben abstehen aus demselben Grunde wie ich den Plan aufgab, eine deutsche Uebersetzung des genannten Werkes zu veranstalten. Einzelne Kapitel aus Usque's Werk, und zwar die über den Auszug der Juden aus Portugal, hat Joaquim de Araujo in den von ihm redigirten "Annaes de Bibliographia Portugueza" (Porto, 1889) wieder abgedruckt.

Jüngst veröffentlichte D. Joaquim de Araujo unter dem Titel "Judeus Portugueses" (Famalicão, 1901) bibliographische Notizen, beziehungsweise solche Schriften, welche, wie es in der Einleitung zu denselben heisst, in dem "Diccionario Bibliographico Portugues" des Innocencio Franc. da Silva und in meiner "Biblioteca Española-Portugueza-Judaica" fehlen, theils weil sie wegen ihrer Seltenheit Silva und mir unbekannt geblieben, theils weil sie seit der Veröffentlichung der "Biblioteca" erschienen sind. De Araujo verfügt nicht nur über gründliche literarische Kenntnisse, er ist auch im Besitze mehrerer seltener portugiesisch-jüdischer Werke. Die äusserst seltene Schrift des Amsterdamer Arztes Lemuel da Silva gegen Uriel Acosta, "Tratado da immortalidade da alma," welche im Jahre 1861 mit 40 holländischen Gulden bezahlt wurde, erwarb er in Rom; ausser seinem Exemplare befindet sich in ganz Portugal nur noch eins in Lissabon, das vor nahezu hundert Jahren von dem gelehrten Akademiker Ribeiro dos Santos benutzt wurde. Er besitzt ferner "Espejo fiel de Vidas" des Daniel Israel Lopez Laguna¹, aus dem er die "Elogios" des Dr. J. de Sequeira Samuda (p. 7 f.) wieder abdruckt.

¹ *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XII, pp. 708-717.

Die Rede des Erzbischofs de Cangranor D. Diogo da Annuniação Justiniano bei dem am 6. September 1705 in Lissabon abgehaltenen grossen Auto da Fé, von welcher, wie De Araujo nachweist, zwei verschiedene Ausgaben in demselben Jahre in Lissabon erschienen — die erste Ausgabe, welche David Nieto vorlag, umfasst 89, die zweite 73 Seiten in 8^{vo} — wurde vom Londoner Haham R. David Nieto in der Schrift "Respuesta al sermon predicado por el Arçobispo de Cangranor . . . por el Author de las Noticias Reconditas de la Inquisicion" (*Bibl. esp.-port.-jud.*, p. 77) beantwortet. Unbekannt war bis jetzt, dass noch eine andere Antwort von einem Anonymus erschien unter dem Titel "Ante-exordio á Resposta do Sermam que o Arçobispo de Cangranor pregou no Auto da Fé que se fez em Lisboa em 6 de Setembro de 1705, só por Gloria de Dios, a quem toda a dedica, para que a ampare; por Credito da verdade em que toda a funda, para que claramente se veja; e por desengano de Superstiçõens, a todos os papistas para que se arrependam, e desenganem dos Erros, e Enganos, com que este seo Pregador, e todos os mais lastimosamente os trazem enganados. Impresso em Turim na Oficina de Jorge de Cervantes, Anno de 1709, 8^o gr., 115 pp. (Joaquim de Araujo, l. c. p. 5).

D. Francisco Xavier de Oliveyra, portugiesischer Gesandter in Wien, der die den Juden in Neapel eingeräumten Privilegien dem reichen Isaac de Souza Brito in portugiesischer Uebersetzung in einem Briefe (Haag, 1741) mittheilte (*Bibl.*, p. 79), beschäftigte sich auch in seinem dem D. Joseph de Portugal, conde de Vimioso, gewidmeten Reiseberichten, "Memorias das viagens" (Amsterdam, 1741, 8^{vo}), eingehend mit den portugiesischen Juden in Holland, besonders mit der Familie Nunes da Costa (De Araujo, p. 11); ebenso in seinem "Discours Pathétique" (1762), von dem 1891 eine neue Auflage (Porto) veranstaltet wurde.

Anonym erschien von João Pedro Ribeiro "Extracto de una Memoria sobre a tolerancia dos Judeus e Mouros em Portugal" (Lisboa, 1821, 4^{to}, 14 pp.), wieder abgedruckt in Ribeiro's "Reflexões historicas," I, p. 75 ff.). Ein Auszug aus "Lettres juives . . . entre un Juif voyageur à Paris et ses correspondants en divers endroits" (Lausanne, 1750) erschien in portugiesischer Sprache von Antonio de Portugal de Faria unter dem Titel: "Uma Carta de Jacob de Brito a Aarão Monseca" (Leorne, 1897, 8^{vo}, 14 pp.); in demselben Jahre erschien in Coimbra von Sousa Viterbo ein Schriftchen über den Dichter João Pinto Delgado in blos 50 Exemplaren (De Araujo, p. 9, n. 15), und im gleichen Jahre erschien in Porto "Origem e desenvolvimento da População do Porto" von Ricardo Jorge, mit interessanten Mittheilungen über das Leben der Juden in Porto.

Zur portugiesisch-jüdischen Literatur zählt Hr. Joaquim de Araujo (p. 13) auch "Giovanni III di Portogallo, il Card. Silva e l'Inquisizione," Memoria del Comm. A. Ronchini (Modena, 1879, 8^{vo}, 43 pp.), ein nur in wenigen Exemplaren abgedrucktes Schriftchen, das neue Documente zur Geschichte des zwischen D. João III und dem Bischof von Vizen geführten Kampfes über die Einführung der Inquisition enthält, sowie das nur 21 Seiten starke Schriftchen "Gli ebrei portoghesi giustiziati in Ancona sotto Paolo V," Foligno, 23 dicembre, 1884. C. Feroso, der auf dem Titelblatte genannte Name des Verfassers, ist pseudonym.

Der zweibändige historische Roman "O Judeu" von Camilli Castello Branco (Porto, 1866, 262 n., 276 pp.) behandelt den zum Feuertode verurtheilten dramatischen Dichter Antonio José da Silva, den Camillo mit Unrecht zum Freund des früher erwähnten Francisco Xavier de Oliveyra macht. Unerwähnt lässt Hr. J. de Araujo den erst vor einigen Jahren von dem talentvollen D. Antonio de Campos junior in Lissabon unter dem Titel "Guerreiro e Monge" (Krieger und Mönch) in Lissabon erschienenen vortrefflichen historischen Roman, der die Zeit von 1494 bis nach der Vertreibung der Juden aus Portugal und die der portugiesischen Entdeckungsfahrten umfasst. Die Schilderungen de Campos' beruhen auf gründlichen historischen Forschungen und liefern ein getreues farbenreiches Bild der damaligen Lage der Juden in Lissabon. Die Hauptrolle in diesem Roman spielt der reiche Salomon Zacuto, der in der Rua Nova der Hauptstadt Portugals das schönste Haus besass, und, mit Mathematik und Geographie vertraut, bei dem mürrischen Könige D. João II in grosser Gunst stand. Ihm übergab der König einen illegitimen Sohn namens Juan Affonso zur Erziehung; derselbe entbrannte zu der schönen Rahel, der einzigen Tochter Zacutos, in heisser Liebe und nahm sie, nachdem sie in fernem Lande den Vater verloren und den Glauben verlassen, nach mehrjähriger Trennung zum Weibe.

M. KAYSERLING.

BUDAPEST, den 1. April 1902.

ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ IN PSALM SALOMO'S, II, 6.

In dem Verse: (Οἱ υἱοὶ καὶ αἱ) θυγατέρες ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ πονηρᾷ, ἐν σφραγίδι ὁ τράχηλος αὐτῶν, hat das Wort Allen, die sich mit den Psalmen Salomo's beschäftigt haben, Schwierigkeiten bereitet und zu verschiedenen Erklärungsversuchen Anlass geboten. Alle Forscher — mit nur sehr wenigen Ausnahmen — suchen das Verständniss des räthselhaften Wortes aus dem als entsprechend angenommenen hebräischen zu gewinnen, ohne Zweifel mit Recht. Der neueste Kommentar von Kittel (in Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, II, 131) führt Wellhausen's "Ring" und Hilgenfeld's "Brandmal" als nicht befriedigend an und empfiehlt an erster Stelle die übertragene Bedeutung "Verschluss," bemerkt aber dann noch: "Man denke an die in b. T. Sabbath, 28 a (soll heissen 58 a) bezeugte Sitte, Halsband oder Kleid des Sklaven mit einem Siegel zu versehen." Hiernach wird ὁμηρ als das entsprechende Wort des Originals vorausgesetzt und dasselbe giebt auch Frankenberg (*Die Datierung der Psalmen Salomo's*, 67) in seiner Rückübersetzung. Aber die Belegstelle aus dem Talmud, die die eigenthümliche Bedeutung des Wortes bezeugen soll, besagt etwas ganz anderes, wie hier gezeigt werden wird. Es wird daher nothwendig, für σφραγίς ein anderes hebräisches Wort zu suchen, das ohne künstliche Deutung in den Zusammenhang sich einfügt.

Die Wörterbücher zum Talmud und Midrasch, die sich mit besonderer Vorliebe den griechischen und lateinischen Lehnwörtern widmen, dabei aber den mindestens ebenso wichtigen, interessanten und schwierigen hebräischen Wortschatz vernachlässigen, geben über das Wort חותם wenig Auskunft. Levy (II, 129 a, b) giebt als erste Bedeutung: Siegel, Stempel, und nennt hiefür auch die Stelle aus Sabbath, 58 a; als zweite verzeichnet er: Verschluss, Schluss, und führt unter den Beispielen auch b. Bega, 31 b an: שְׁבָרָקַע חותמות "Verschlüsse, die auf dem Erdboden liegen, zum Beispiel die Fallthüren der Gruben, ferner die Stangen oder die Stricke, die einen Verschluss der Höhlen bilden." Bei dieser Übersetzung und Erklärung der Stelle bleibt es jedoch unerfindlich, wie חותם sowohl Fallthüren, als auch Stricke oder Stangen bedeuten könne. Die betreffende Stelle lautet: אָמַר שְׂמוּאֵל, חוֹתְמוֹת שְׁבָרָקַע מֵחִיר אֲבָל לֹא מִפְּקֵעַ וְלֹא חוֹתֵךְ, שֶׁבְּבָלִים מֵחִיר

Baga, 31a. Es ist ferner zu beachten, dass es es zur Erklärung des Wortes כבול der Mischna verwendet, das, wie es auch ohne die bei Levy angeführten zahlreichen Belege aus der talmudisch-midrassischen Litteratur schon aus der Bibel klar wird, Fessel oder Bande bedeutet (Psalm cv. 18, cxlix. 8). Da der Amoräer Samuel das Wort, wie im ersten Falle, einer tannaitischen Quelle entnommen hat, ist diese selbst zu beachten. In Sabbath, 58a lesen wir: לא יצא העבד בחותם שבצוארו ולא בחותם שבכסותו . . . ולא בזון שבצוארו אבל יצא בזון שבכסותו . . . ולא תצא בהמה לא בחותם שבכסותה ולא בזון שבכסותה, "der Sklave gehe am Sabbath weder mit dem חותם an seinem Halse, noch mit dem חותם an seinem Gewande aus, auch nicht mit der Schelle an seinem Halse, doch darf er mit der Schelle an seinem Gewande ausgehen; das Thier darf weder mit dem חותם an der Hülle, noch mit der Schelle an der Hülle, noch mit der Schelle am Halse ausgehen." Hier wird חותם sowohl beim Sklaven, als auch beim Hausthiere zusammen mit זון, der Schelle, am Halse oder am Gewande genannt und es kann wohl als sicher angenommen werden, dass der חותם, wie die Schelle, an einer Schnur oder einem Riemen hängt und etwas der Schelle Ähnliches ist. Nun findet sich der חותם nochmals in Verbindung mit dem Sklaven in b. Menahoth, 43 b unten: R. Meir sagte: Die Vernachlässigung des weissen Fadens in den Schaufäden ist eine strafbarere, als die des blauen. Es gleicht dieses dem Falle eines Königs, der zwei seiner Sklaven zu sich ruft, לאחד אמר הבא לי חותם של טיט ולאחד אמר חותם של זהב, den einen beauftragt, ihm ein Lehm Siegel, den anderen, ein Goldsiegel zu bringen; beide unterlassen die Ausführung des Befehles, ist nicht der erste Sklave strafbarer? Dass die Siegel mit dem Stande der Sklaven zusammenhängen, haben schon Tossafoth zur Stelle bemerkt; und es ist einerseits klar, dass nur das Siegel aus Lehm das der Wirklichkeit entsprechende Abzeichen desselben ist, andererseits, dass dasselbe, wie gezeigt wurde, an einer Schnur am Halse getragen ward, oder am Kleide, wahrscheinlich vorne an sichtbarer Stelle. Diesem entspricht auch der Satz des R. Levi in Deuteron. rabba, IV, 2: Die Verheissung des Lohnes für Gehorsam und die Androhung der Strafe für Ungehorsam gleicht dem Falle eines Sklaven, dem sein Herr זכתיק של זהב, goldenes Halageschmeide verspricht und Eisenfesseln androht¹. Denn es ist nicht zufällig, dass dem Sklaven ein Halschmuck in Aussicht gestellt wird, nachdem diesen nur Freie tragen,

¹ Vgl. auch Genesis rabba, LXXXIX. 7, wo R. Samuel b. Nahman das Wort נָצַח in der Rede des Mundschenken über Josef in Genes. xli. 12 deutend ergänzt: Es ist in den geheimen Beschlüssen Pharao's geschrieben, dass ein Sklave nicht regieren und nicht נָצַח ein Halsband anlegen darf.

während der Sklave eine grobe Schnur oder ein Band mit einem Anhängsel aus Lehm trug¹. Sagt ja die Mischna Sabbath, VI, 9: *הבנים יראין בקשרים ובני מלכים בוונין וכל אדם אלא שדבריו חכמים בהווח*, "die Knaben dürfen am Sabbath mit ihren Knoten und die Prinzen mit ihren Schellen ausgehen"; das Letztere gilt für Jedermann, aber die Lehrer passten die Bestimmung den thatsächlichen Verhältnissen an. Die Stelle setzt voraus, dass jeder ein Halsband trug, an welchem etwas hing, ein Knoten oder eine Schelle, wie ja das Gleiche auch vom Sklaven gesagt wird; nur war dieser noch dazu verurtheilt, ein Siegel zu tragen, in das wahrscheinlich der Name seines Herrn eingegraben war. Es entsprach dieses den *στίγματα* der Heiden, eingestanzten oder eingebrannten Malzeichen, welche Sklaven als Zeichen ihrer Herren am Körper trugen und die der Jude, da sie dem Verbote in Leviticus xix. 28 zuwiderliefen, durch das Siegel ersetzte². Ist

¹ Wohl findet sich der Schmuck am Halse auch Nichtsklaven als Belohnung versprochen in Pesikta rabbati, XXIX, 138 a: Ein König liebt seinen Sohn und lässt ihm ein Halageschmeide machen; als derselbe aber den Vater erzürnt, nimmt er ihm das Geschmeide weg und legt ihm Fesseln an die Füße. Aber die Nebeneinanderstellung von Halageschmeide und Fesseln legt die Vermuthung nahe, dass es sich auch in diesem Satze ursprünglich um einen Sklaven gehandelt hat; oder ist das ganze Gleichniss nur die Nachbildung eines älteren von Seiten eines Lehrers, der die zu Grunde liegenden Verhältnisse nicht mehr kannte. Aruch (s. v. כִּמְצִי) führt noch eine Stelle aus Jeldamenu zu Leviticus xxi. 10 an: *היה הדבר לפני המוכיח ביום, אמר לו אילו ונית היה המוכיח הזה שלך וכו'* aber viel zu fragmentarisch, als dass errathen werden könnte, von wem die Rede ist. Ich glaube, dass derselbe Satz, allerdings in veränderter Gestalt, in Sifre Numeri, § 131 Anfang, erhalten ist. Rabbi Meir sagte: Es giebt viele Sätze in der Thora, die neben einander stehen, ohne irgendwie zusammenzugehören. *כיוצא בו איזה אמר ובה איש כהן כי חול לטה*. *הנכון חגול מאדו וכו' מה ענין זה לזה [וכי] אף הוא נשף. משל למה הדבר דומה לקיכרן שהשלים שבו ולא שימש פלוסותילון שלו אלא ברה הולך לו. שלח המלך הדיבא חייבו לקשרו ראשו. עד שלא יצא לדרך אמר המלך מלא לו מדה של רגלים דרב ודוצאו לפניו. אמר לו אילו ..* Hiernach würde es sich um die Auszeichnung eines Soldaten handeln.

² Als Abzeichen des Sklaven könnte noch ein vom Gürtel herabhängendes Gefäss aus Numeri rabba, 4 Ende, erschlossen werden (vgl. Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, II, 120): *אמר רבי יהודה כמין צלוחיה: אמר רבי יהודה אמר רבי שמעון בן יוחאי כמין צלוחיה: קבצה היה תולה באגרונו כמין שהיה חגור סמניו בוניו כעברו לפניו קטן להוריקו שאין גיאה לפניו*. "R. Simon b. Johai sagte: Der Hohepriestersohn Eleazar hatte am Gürtel eine Art Flasche hängen, denn er hatte die Lenden gegürtet, wie ein Sklave vor seinem Gebieter, um hiedurch auszudrücken, dass vor Gott kein Hochmuth gilt." Doch hat schon Einhorn in seinem Midraschkommentar zur Stelle gezeigt, dass der Text nicht in Ordnung ist und

demnach **דָּתָן** bloss das an der Schnur herabhängende Siegel, so kann *ἐν σφραγίδι ὁ τράχηλος αὐτῶν*, wo der Hals als in der *σφραγίς* befindlich genannt wird, nicht **כַּחֲסֵי חֵטְא** gelautet haben.

Der Midrasch hat, wo von der Wegführung der Juden in die Gefangenschaft gesprochen wird, für das Halseisen das lateinische *collare* קולר (vgl. besonders Echa rabbati, Prooem. No. 34). Es ist schwer, hiefür ein entsprechendes hebräisches Wort zu finden, wie Toa. Aboda zara, II, 4: וְאִין מוֹכְרִין לָהֶם לֹא סֶדֶן וְלֹא כְבֻלָּן וְלֹא קוֹלָרִין (vgl. besonders Echa rabbati, Prooem. No. 34). Es ist schwer, hiefür ein entsprechendes hebräisches Wort zu finden, wie Toa. Aboda zara, II, 4: וְאִין מוֹכְרִין לָהֶם לֹא סֶדֶן וְלֹא כְבֻלָּן וְלֹא קוֹלָרִין „man verkauft den Nichtjuden weder Holzblöcke, noch Fussfesseln, noch Halseisen, noch eiserne Ketten;“ am besten beweist, wo drei der genannten Gegenstände hebräisch bezeichnet sind, nur das Halseisen durch das Fremdwort¹. Man könnte hieraus mit Wahrscheinlichkeit schliessen, dass dasselbe den Juden bis zum Eindringen des Pompejus nicht bekannt war; sie mussten daher ein Wort zur Bezeichnung des Halseisens wählen, das den Begriff, soweit es eben ging, deckte. Ich denke auf Grund von σφαγῆς an סַבְעָה, das wohl allgemein entweder den Fingerring bedeutet und von den LXX in diesem Falle mit δακτύλιος übersetzt wird, oder den Reifen, wo LXX dieselbe Übersetzung hat, das aber in der Mischna den Ring im jerusalemischen Tempel bezeichnet, in den der Kopf des Opferthieres gelegt wurde, als dieses geschlachtet werden sollte (Middoth, III, 5, vgl. Sukka, V, 8)². Es wäre aber auch möglich, dass die Juden das Wort חֶקֶל, das den Haken bedeutet, den man den wilden Thieren (Ezech. xix. 4, 9; xxix. 4), aber auch Gefangenen (ii Regum, xix. 28; Jesaja, xxxvii. 29; Ezech. xxxviii. 4, und D. H. Müller, *Inscriben von Sendschirli*, 3 ff.) durch die Lippe und den Kinnbacken zog, und das LXX zu Exodus, xxxv. 22 mit σφαγῆς wiedergiebt,

nach jer. Sabbath, X, 12 c, 31 verbessert werden müsse; und dann bezieht sich der Satz: "wieder Sklave vor seinem Gebieter," nicht auf das Tragen der Flasche, sondern auf das Gegürtetsein Eleazars, der hiedurch als zum Dienste seines Herrn bereit sich darstellt.

¹ Das Prophetentargum übersetzt כחן in Ezechiel xix. 9 mit קהן; aber daraus lässt sich nichts schliessen, da es nur den Sinn und nicht das Wort wiedergibt.

³ Für כְּסֵהוּ spricht auch die Mischna Kelim, XII, 1, die folgende Zusammenstellung enthält: כְּסֵהוּ אֶרֶץ מַמָּא. כְּסֵהוּ בְּהֵמָה וְכֹל שֶׁלֹא לָהּ חַיִּים כְּסֵהוּ עֲלֵיהֶן מֵדוּחַ. קִרְת הַחַיִּים מַמָּא וְשֶׁל אֲרֻזִּין מֵדוּחַ. הַקֹּלר מַמָּא, שֶׁלֹא יֵשֶׁע בָּהּ בֵּית נִצְחָה מֵדוּחַ. "Ringe des Menschen, Ringe der Thiere und der Gefässe und alle Arten der Ringe, der Reifen (?) der Pfeile, der der Gefangenen, das Collare, die Kette, die einen Verschluss hat, die Kette, die als Fessel gebraucht wird." Hier ist wohl auch das Halseisen mit dem Fremdwort angeführt, aber im Zusammenhange mit den Ringen und Ketten.

auf das Halseisen anwendeten. Der Übersetzer hat es hier um so leichter mit *σφραγίς* wiedergeben können, als nach den Darstellungen auf den altsemitischen Denkmälern nicht Haken, sondern Ringe den gefangenen Königen durch die Lippe gezogen wurden, an denen sie, wie wilde Thiere an der Leine, geführt worden sind. Wir hätten sonach zwischen טבעת und חוץ zu wählen; für das letztere spricht die Übersetzung der LXX.

A. BÜCHLER.

WIEN, den 5. März 1901.

METHODS OF TEACHING THE TALMUD IN THE
PAST AND IN THE PRESENT.

In the *October* number of this REVIEW, 1897, Herr David Farbstein put the question how it came that the knowledge of Talmudical lore possessed by the pupils of the modern Rabbinical seminaries was so small and unsatisfactory? He found the cause of this deplorable phenomenon in the faulty method of teaching, and suggested an improvement mainly consisting in this, that a distinction be made between the subject-matter of the various laws contained in the Talmud, and that the non-ritualistic law be taught by a jurist in the way Roman law is treated at the universities. I will not enter upon the various assertions, made with the best intentions, in the afore-mentioned article, and will only briefly observe that no seminary has made it its object to teach Talmudical civil or penal law. As for the latter, it has not been applied for the last millennium and a half. Palestine indeed reserved the right for itself to judge in criminal cases according to the national law; in all other countries, even in Babylon, the home of the Babylonian Talmud, the rule applied אֵין דִּינָן דִּינֵי קַסְסוֹת, "penal cases are not tried." As to the Talmudical civil law, it has lost its practical significance in the whole of Western (and partly also in Eastern) Europe, ever since our co-religionists bring their cases before the courts of the country and not before the Beth-Din.

However, it is true enough that the teaching of the Talmud does not bear the fruits that are universally expected. But this is the case not only in the modern Rabbinical schools, but also in the old-established "Yeshivot," in the Talmud-Torah's, and in all Talmudical schools, whether old or new, whether in the west or in the east of Europe. It is usually overlooked that, in the old Talmudic schools, hundreds of pupils are engaged in the study of the Talmud, of whom only a comparatively insignificant minority acquire a moderate knowledge of the Talmud, though it should be easy for these pupils to make themselves familiar with a branch of knowledge to which they devote themselves from their very infancy. On the other hand, it is an

exaggeration to say that an average jurist has a more thorough knowledge of Roman law than a certified Rabbi has of the Talmud. I think the question ought to be put in a broader sense, in the sense I put it in an essay written by me several years ago (*Magyar Zsidó Szemle*, VIII, 208-222), namely, thus: "Why is the result of the tuition of the Talmud in our days unsatisfactory?"

We do not speak of the complete absence of all results, for this would be an exaggeration contradicted by fact on all sides. But it is certain that the results obtained give no satisfaction. This is evident from the numerous and general complaints that make themselves heard from time to time in the press in all countries. Such complaints do not, as Herr Farbstein thinks, apply merely to the students of the modern Rabbinical seminaries, but also to that of the pupils of the old-fashioned Talmudical schools. The general lament even applies to the Talmud-Torah institutions, where younger lads are supposed to be initiated in the mysteries of the Babylonian Talmud, but in truth it remains a book with seven seals. In my essay mentioned above I included all modern, and partly also some old, colleges of that kind within the circle of my investigations; but I shall now confine myself to the modern institutions only, because they are of the utmost importance for the present and for the future, and because I believe that a public discussion may tend to an improved state of things.

Everything has its causes, and the cause of the fragmentary knowledge of the Talmud displayed by its modern adepts has, of course, been sought for. Several causes were found. The *laudatores temporis acti* are of opinion that the youth of the present generation possesses less taste for the Talmud because their religious zeal is less; also that the modern pupil is less gifted than the youth of the times passed by. These reasons are based upon that conception, occurring in the Talmud in various forms, that "if the former generations were angels we are men, if they were men we are asses." It is difficult to understand how it is possible to deny to the present generation intellectual endowments in the face of the great triumphs achieved by the human mind, both in natural and mental science, and in particular it is very curious to find this theory of degeneration applied to a branch of knowledge which is, with our co-religionists, not a new acquisition but a very old one indeed. No more ought a want of religious zeal to be mentioned, because the modern Rabbis, as every thinking person will admit, have, as a matter of fact, saved Judaism in civilized countries.

As another cause for the decreased study of the Talmud, the circumstance is mentioned that less time is available for that class

of study than formerly. This must certainly be admitted; yet it only explains why the student of the present day cannot compete in that direction with those of former times. It offers no reason why so few modern scholars make the study of the Talmud their speciality. This latter question is frequently answered in this way—"that the Talmud is an extremely difficult and uninteresting discipline, and that it is, besides, a thankless study and without special value in modern times." The latter question we will not discuss; it is a sad fact that most of the modern congregations display much enthusiasm for the Talmud on paper, but not when electing a Rabbi. But the former assertion is decidedly erroneous. The Talmud and its literature comprises the spiritual activity of two millenniums; it is, after the Bible, the greatest creation of Judaism. It has imprinted its stamp upon the Jewish mind, and its effects can be perceived in many writings composed by profound thinkers and jurists of the Jewish race, who themselves had no knowledge either of the Talmud or of its influence upon their minds. The Talmud affords nourishment to the mind not a whit less intellectual than any modern literature, and is even more interesting, provided we understand how to arouse an interest for it in the minds of our generation. The study of Judaism has branches of much drier character than that of the Talmud; inquiries about names of persons and localities, about historical dates and titles of books, the collation of MSS. and old prints, &c., have not any more refreshing effect on the mind than the study of the Talmud, which is pervaded by the breath of ancient life. Nevertheless, a lively activity prevails in the field of those disciplines that are called history, philology, &c., whilst the Talmud is neglected, attracts only an occasional devotee, and has hardly any readers except among the specialists.

This question brings us to the crucial point. The Talmud, in the way in which it is generally taught, has neither object, nor material, nor method. The modern schools, whatever names they may bear, have adopted indiscriminately the system and method—in as far as they deserve these names—of the *Cheder* and the *Jeshiba*, without considering what a world of difference lies between the two. We will not speak of those schools that have, in modern times, taken the place of the *Cheder*, although they are of importance also as preparatory schools for the special study of the Talmud. We shall only consider the special schools. In the times when the tradition was living, in the age of the Mishna and the Talmud and even much later, the instruction consisted in committing to memory of the whole of the Rabbinic material and its dialectical treatment—a procedure which the ancients themselves admit to have been very

onerous. During the following centuries the treatment of the whole of the material of the tradition was still the object of the schools both in the East and in Spain, which was intimately connected with the former. But there was no longer the same amount of painful memory work, which, besides, had become impossible on account of the steady increase of the material. The aim rather was to acquire such a mastery over the material as was requisite for religious practices. It was this object which the authors of Codes, among which Alfasi's compendium takes the first rank, had in view. Those discussions of the Talmud which had no bearing upon the Halacha were therefore omitted, as were also those portions which were no longer valid. The very method of the Babylonian Amoraites was adopted, who, for the same reason, did not comment on, or, in other words, did not study the first and the last "Orders" of the Mishna, with the exception of one treatise in each which was still of practical significance. The highest point of development in this direction was reached by Maimuni's immortal code of laws. He, however, included also, for the sake of keeping the system intact, those religious laws that were no longer in force in his days, and prefaced, probably after the Arabic pattern, the whole work with a theological introduction. *In the days of tradition it was the handing over from mouth to mouth, in subsequent ages it was codification, which formed the basis of tuition.* In diametrical opposition to these two directions stands the Franco-German method of instruction. The latter attached most importance to profundity of discussion, to "learning." With this method it was no longer possible to make the entire mass of traditions the object of the school, for the short span of time would not have sufficed. This method is strikingly characterized by the legend that the Tosaphot to each treatise originated with a distinct author; there was a consciousness that in this way of studying a whole lifetime was required for composing notes to one single treatise.

The three directions, as sketched out here, coincide with the prevailing spirit of their respective ages. The oral law issued from the people, but the people know only tradition, not literary composition. The Sadducees had a written book of laws; the Pharisees, the men of the people, knew no such book. The origin of the oral law is tradition; the latter was adhered to even long after tradition had become a literature, and it was only consistent to prohibit perpetuation of the tradition in writing. Plato says justly that the invention of the art of writing brought about a weakening of the memory. In the circle of the Talmudists, writing did not serve the purposes of study, memory asserted its full force in consequence. Literary composition arose among the Jews through the influence of Syrians,

Arabians, and perhaps also by genuine development. Their mental powers being tasked otherwise, they found themselves compelled to make extracts out of the sea of the Talmud, to write manuals for the purpose of maintaining the latter in practical life. This was done by the Gaonim in their "Halachot," which were written under various titles, and in their other works. Prominent in this direction is Alfasi's compendium; still more prominent the *Mishna-Torah* of Maimuni. About the twelfth century flourished in France the *glossatores* of Roman law, and the Tossaphists, who were the *glossatores* of Talmudic law. The same spirit prevails in either school.

The school of the Tossaphists conquered in the course of time the whole of Europe, including Spain, and from the seeds sown by them sprang forth the method which has prevailed for the last 400 years. In spite of the admiration due to the piety and the diligence of these scholars and of the Talmudic heroes of the German-Polish period, it must be admitted that most of them were unable to uphold the comprehensiveness of view which distinguished the Talmudic scholars of the earlier periods. The later generations were bent under the iron oppression of the dark Middle Ages, confined in their ghettos, and more and more excluded from general culture. Circumstances were narrowing their minds from no fault of theirs, consequently their study also became narrow and degenerated into *micrology*. The neglect of culture, forced upon them from without, led to narrowness; the acumen of former times sank into subtlety. The every-day life was more than ever ruled by religious ceremonies, and the study of the Talmud became limited almost exclusively to those portions which bore upon the necessities of the times. The universal taste for subtleties was indulged in by the Talmudic specialists also, and it would have been wonderful indeed had it been otherwise. The protests of the Gaon of Wilna and of Isaiah of Berlin, who were perhaps already affected by the influences of the modern Jewish age, bore very little fruit. According to the spirit which prevailed, subtlety was the principal thing, the subject to be dealt with was of secondary importance. Several weeks were spent in the study of single pages of the Talmud, and all commentaries and decisions thereon, in as far as they were known, were taken into consideration. A learned Rabbi who stood at the head of a school did not allow himself to be guided by the educational requirements of his school, in reality all he did was to admit his pupils to his private studies. He chose his subjects without regard to his *Bachurim*, and it was a matter of mere chance whether he drew one or another drop from the sea of the Talmud wherewith to quench the thirst of his scholars. I willingly admit that there were exceptions,

but, on the whole, the description given here, answers to the method of teaching the Talmud which was in vogue when the new era commenced.

This educational method has not been entirely discarded even at the present day, although the general conditions and the demands made on the Rabbinical profession have been totally altered in this respect. It is true, the *Pshatshen*, which formerly had been so highly esteemed, have already become the exception, and only serve as a test of Talmudic knowledge. The scientific treatment has made a certain progress, but in reference to teaching, the state of affairs is essentially what it was before. I base this assertion upon the annual reports of the special schools, in which, try as one may, no fixed order of study can be detected in the sense in which it exists in the study of law, medicine, or in pedagogics or in technical pursuits. There is no well-defined syllabus of the subjects which it is intended to impart to the students, nor any previously determined course of study for the purpose of mastering it. One might imagine that certain portions of the Talmud would have been selected and divided over a course of five or six years, which were to be repeated after the lapse of the course, so that the same curriculum would always be gone through again with new students. But this is not the case. As in the old schools, it quite depends on chance which particular treatise and which folios thereof the students are made acquainted with. There being no defined subject-matter, there can be no ultimate object of tuition. But there is something more injurious than the absence of a defined subject-matter, namely, the continuation of the old educational method.

In reality it is not the Talmud which is taught, but the Talmud is employed as a text to the history of its exegesis. In the higher special tuition the Talmud does not form the principal subject-matter of the lecture, but it only affords the indispensable basis to illustrate to the audience, more or less completely, the attempts of a large number of commentators, *glossatores*, writers of *novellae*, &c., in their exegetical, codifying, or other pursuits. No special school of modern times has been able to rid itself entirely of these evils. Those commentaries which the first printer of the Talmud placed on the margin in accordance with the taste and the requirements of his time are still considered indispensable, in spite of the altered circumstances and different scientific conditions. Quite in the spirit of former methods they still form the standard for the distinction drawn between the "principal" and the "secondary" *Shiur*, and all that has been reformed is only the change of these terms into those of "*Statarisch*" and "*Cursory*." The Talmud is the only scientific discipline which is treated in this manner. No one

will seriously deny that the modern method of teaching all branches of biblical study has borne considerable results. The amount of biblical knowledge of the present age not only holds its own against that of the immediately preceding period, but surpasses it. Where would we be now if the student were to be dragged at every verse through the labyrinth of all old and new commentaries and, without receiving any guidance, were left to his immature judgment to decide which of the many explanations was the correct, or, at least, the most probable one? What should we say about such a method of teaching Greek, if, for the sake of finding a grammatical form, first the Alexandrine scholiasts would be consulted, then the opinions enumerated that have since accumulated, and in such a way as to cause the student to believe that all these opinions were of equal value? "What result," I wrote several years ago, "would be achieved, in teaching Roman law, by seizing at random some texts, and quoting thereon the French *glossatores* and the various remarks of the commentators and writers of *novellae* of all times without indicating the correct interpretation? What idea would a student obtain of Greek philosophy, to whom the opinions of some philosophers would be communicated from their own works, without making him acquainted with their system, their native countries, and the age in which they lived?" Such comparisons could be continued and the question put, Whether Geography is taught after such a method which would deal at every point with all the opinions that prevailed between the times of Strabo and Ritter? I do not fear contradiction when I say that the Talmud is the only discipline which carries the student through every source in the manner described. It is true, there is, within the prescribed limits, a certain variety in reference to the quantity and number of the commentaries, &c., that are consulted; but there is no essential difference, whether in this or in the unparalleled enthusiasm of the teachers of the Talmud who would like to transfer to their pupils all their knowledge and their power at one stroke. The objectionable method did not have the same injurious effects in the case of the old teachers who devoted their whole lives exclusively to the study of the Talmud. But at the present time it is impossible, even for the most highly gifted students, to acquire the necessary amount of knowledge and to become independent readers, in view of the fact that the time devoted to this study is snatched from that required for other branches of learning. We need not, then, further discuss that method of teaching which puts the students' judgment under the tutelage of every authority hundreds of years old, and leaves their independence no other field except the admiration of the ancients whose achievements

must be put to memory. But even the most modern and most acute critic formally teaches according to the usages of mediæval Jewish pedagogical methods.

We are of opinion that both in modern and old-fashioned schools considerably greater results could be achieved if the Talmudical texts were made the principal basis of tuition, and not their commentaries and supercommentaries. This is not a dogmatic, but a pedagogic, question. Far be it from us to slight the latter; on the contrary, we highly value all commentaries and *novellæ*, all compendia and codes; they are indispensable as auxiliaries to a correct understanding of the Talmud and of the religious laws. Yet we maintain that it is for the teacher, whose judgment is already matured, to consult them to any considerable extent, but not for the student. The lecture must certainly be based upon the study of all auxiliary sources at hand, but the latter may not form its subject-matter. Every possible question, interpretation, difference of opinion, and modification that was ever written down, should not be brought forward at every single passage of the Talmud, for by such procedure the amount of actual Talmudic matter is reduced to a minimum, the student loses the very ground under his feet, and his brains become confused. The most classical of all commentators (Rashi) may serve as a pattern; *he may have taken the Midrash of the Tannaites for his model*; he was also acquainted with the various interpretations, controversies, difficulties, &c.; and for all that, we can count on our fingers the passages in which he mentions two explanations. Why should not also at the present time a selection—a very limited selection—be made, since the teacher is at all events in a better position to do so than the pupils confided to his care. The objects the old commentators and codifiers had in view was the composition of a work which should be sufficient for a complete understanding of the Talmud, and make all other works superfluous; their works contain therefore neither polemics nor supercommentaries. *The only thing required is, consequently, to return to the more ancient methods* mutatis mutandis, a proceeding happily made easy by the matchless commentary of Rashi. Only a judicious selection from all the other commentators should be offered to the pupils. In spite of all admiration for the ancients, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that, in view of the limited time at disposal for the study of the Talmud, the customary method of noticing the commentators, the authors of epitomes, and the codifiers pushes the Talmud itself out of the place which it should solely occupy. In order to make the students acquainted with the contents and the spirit of the Talmud, it is quite sufficient to explain the text after regard has been paid to the auxiliary works. It is true, if this method be adopted, the modern

institutions will not send forth great Talmudic scholars after the pattern of those of past times; but this cannot be regretted, for even the customary methods, which take those famous Talmudic scholars as their ideal, are unable to achieve that object. The still existing institutions where the Talmud is taught after the old-fashioned manner are no exception to this rule. It is not true that the new method suggested by us would cause the Talmudic lectures to be less profound on account of the elimination of the pilpulistic commentaries, for the profundity of a lecture is always commensurate with the conception of the lecturer, to whom, besides, a free choice remains. Even Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* will appear shallow in the lecture of a shallow philosopher, so will Darwin's theory appear superficial when expounded by a superficial scientist.

Should this pedagogic principle be generally adopted, we might hope for the complete, or, at least, approximate, realization of the object of the teaching of the Talmud which was almost always aimed at in olden times, and which is still kept in view here and there in the schools in the East. This was to make the students acquainted with the contents of the Talmud, or, at least, with the most important parts thereof. According to the method practised at present, everywhere almost without exception, the aggregate of all the Talmudic texts mastered in fully ten years does not amount to more than two of the larger treatises. This can be easily verified by any one who does not mind taking the trouble to obtain statistics from the annual reports and other publications both of the modern and the old-fashioned institutions. The same period, with less trouble and fewer weekly hours, devoted to the Bible suffices to master all twenty-four books of the Bible, the bulk of which almost equals the half of the Mishna and the Babylonian Talmud, if we deduct from the latter the numerous parallel passages it contains. At the time when tradition was still alive, people devoted a much shorter period to these studies; they had, moreover, to attend to their secular occupations, after the fulfilment of which they applied themselves to the task. Yet they were able to commit to memory the complete material of the tradition word for word. Why should it be impossible to master at the present day the half of that material, not verbally, but the substantial contents, during twice the period, and by those whose whole life is devoted to study? Such possibility undoubtedly exists, provided the time for teaching and learning be not monopolized by the minute study of the commentaries.

Should the method of teaching the Talmud be altered in the sense of our suggestions, it would be necessary for a course of lectures to be held on the *History of the Exegesis of the Talmud*, so as to ensure

a general knowledge and independent understanding of those commentaries which formally domineered, but would now be banished from the ordinary lectures. Such course would be independent of the instruction in the Talmud, and we are not aware of any institution having taken up that subject as a separate discipline. All aids to the study of the Talmud are to its students at the present day so many phantoms hovering in the air, unassociated with time and space, except to specialists. It does not require a lengthy demonstration to prove that a knowledge of the age and country of the authors, as also a general idea of their points of view, is indispensable for a scientific understanding and estimation of those products of the mind. We should like to apply this conception of the exegesis of the Talmud to all compendia, codes, in a word to all works auxiliary to the understanding of the Talmud. It is a matter of course that the dictionaries must be included. The knowledge of the history of the treatment of the Talmud in its various directions is of not less importance for the study of that work than the history of biblical exegesis for Holy Writ.

If the knowledge of the texts of the Tannaites and Amoraites were made the chief object of teaching the Talmud, the teacher's task would perhaps become more difficult than it is now. For, in spite of the quicker march of his lectures, he would have to study for himself those exegetical works with the same thoroughness as before, and would, besides, be compelled at every step to choose with independent judgment the right interpretation. But still, this would present no difficulties in view of the zeal which distinguishes the teacher of the Talmud, and which is a heritage from the old teachers. He would only be too glad if his pupils made greater progress owing to the fact that the work was made easier for them. We are convinced that such reforms of the teaching methods would bring back our young generation to the Talmud, the vigour, richness of ideas, originality, and profundity of which has a magic effect upon those who are bent upon acquiring knowledge. It is only the undue importance attached to the *minutias* and the superabundance of commentaries that causes the studious youth to turn away from the Talmud. The objects of instruction would already be materially modified by the change in the mode of lecturing. It is known that the Talmud is not a homogeneous work, in which a certain branch of knowledge is being dealt with, but a whole literature, which comprises a selection of the mental products of at least six centuries, and which dwells on questions closely connected with life itself. The customary method treats the Talmud as the primary authority for the sum total of the practical religious injunctions; the object is—whether consciously or

unconsciously—the training of jurists of the ceremonial law. The *pilpulistic* method still flourishes, even if the teacher does not make any such observations of his own, for the auxiliary works he makes use of are more or less imbued with the pilpulistic spirit. The ceremonial law is studied as a conglomeration of legal precepts. The student is unable to form an independent judgment in that field; they become therefore infused with *pilpul*, a habit easier acquired than abandoned. The method suggested by us does away with that peril. The texts of the Tannaites and Amoraites, even in the most strictly legal portions, deal, with rare exceptions, with cases taken from real life. The student will gain a vivid picture of the life and habits of the ancients by going through a considerable amount of matter, without allowing his attention to be drawn off from the simple contents. This will rouse a thirst for learning, for everybody will find in that treasury something adaptable to his own special branch of study, something referring to the history of civilization, or some archaeological or historical data bearing upon his studies at the universities. There is plenty of material there requiring scientific treatment, not only in regard to theology, but also in regard to philosophy and philology. We may safely assume that all students of the Rabbinical seminaries attend philosophical and not juridical lectures; the above-mentioned *aperçus* will therefore fall on a more fertile soil than the juridical ones which predominate in the customary method. The Talmud must, already in the lectures, be placed within the cycle of all other literatures, so that the student may find in the Talmud ample points of contact with his other branches of study which are of the greatest interest to him, and he will be induced to strive after an independent treatment according with his own points of view. I will illustrate my view by some examples. There is no beginner who has not heard of such principles as enunciated in the sentences (1) *השואל את הפרה וכו'* (3), (2) *במל בששים*, (1) *סתם כלי של נכרי אינו בן יומ*. But it will not perhaps occur even to a well-informed student of the Talmud on applying the above principles that No. 1 gives an indication of the mode of life of the non-Jewish antiquity (pointing to the rarity of cooking); that No. 2 has arisen from the Babylonian mode of using the number 60 to indicate a round number, of which several more instances are found in the Talmud; and that No. 3 pictures the miserable condition of the Palestinian Jews, impoverished, as they were, by the Romans, and that it was quite usual for the former to be without beasts of burden of their own, so that they had to borrow or to hire them. They probably worked also with cows from poverty (and not because of the prohibition of castration, for the importation of beasts of burden was certainly allowed), so as to obtain both the milk and the

labour. There are plenty of other instances. In one word, we are of opinion that subjects of this kind have been altogether neglected. The literature is in this respect greatly in advance of the method of teaching. There is no reason why Talmudists should not be trained to satisfy modern requirements. The ancients did satisfy the requirements of daily life, and attached importance now to the ritual laws, now to civil law, &c.; in the same way at the present day the requirements of science should be taken into account with those of religion. Is it not a disgrace that it was left solely to a non-Jew to attempt to expound a system of Rabbinic theology? We should cease to consider as the *raison d'être* of a Rabbinical seminary only this, that it combines what, separately, existed before; in other words, we should cease to consider a Rabbinical seminary as an old-fashioned Yeshiba, in which, besides the Talmud according to the customary method, other branches of the knowledge of Judaism are also taught.

We again emphasize that our exposition is completely independent of the dogmatic standpoint from which the Talmud and its exegetical and legal literature may be considered. We have been dealing with the question from a purely educational point of view, and our suggestions have had for their object solely the method by means of which the instruction of the Talmud can be made more fruitful and the interest in it roused; they apply equally to the conservative and the critical methods, which latter is being applied, e.g. by the Chief Rabbi of Amsterdam in his work, and by other prominent conservative Talmudic scholars. This is a question for the teacher himself to consider. The knowledge of religious practice is henceforth also to be obtained by readings from the Codes. We are, however, of opinion that more favourable results could be obtained in that direction also, if the instruction were given rather in a practical way instead of the customary theoretical one. In the first place, the chief importance should be attached to those subjects which apply most frequently in the religious practices of every-day life, and, secondly, in ordinary cases only that rule should be given which is valid at the present day. The history of each question, i.e. the opinions that have arisen in the course of time, should be left to individual study of special subjects. It is a well-known Talmudic adage that you hold nothing if you grasp too much. But I will not, for the present, enlarge on this point, in order to leave space for an enunciation of the course of study to be followed.

According to our view, the *object* of teaching the Talmud is not to dialectically master single portions, but to acquire knowledge of its contents, its spirit, its doctrines and principles. The *subject-matter* chosen to attain that object should consist of selected Talmudical texts

(including *Jerushalmi*), comprising the greater portion of the whole work. This material must be distributed according to a fixed syllabus over the several years of study, after which it has to be repeated, so that uniform results be obtained for all students, a thing the importance of which ought not to be underrated. The teaching *method* is that ancient one which only knew of instruction from the mouth of the teacher. No commentary must be read. The teacher consults, as heretofore, all those auxiliary works which he thinks fit, but imparts to his pupils only that which is indispensable for the plain interpretation and elucidating of the text and the subject, pointing out the various *aperçus*, analogies, &c. The pupils must be prepared to read the text themselves. The difference between Talmud "*Statarisch*" and "*Cursory*," taken over from the Yeshibas, should be done away with. A second discipline should be introduced, running parallel with the one sketched out, called "*The general history of Talmudic literature*," in which everything should be taught in a methodical manner which bears reference to the schools, the age, and the country of the Talmudical authorities, the origin, collection, and tradition of the sources, the history of the commentaries, compendia, codes, *Responsa*, &c. The systematic use of this method will require selected portions from the works under discussion to be read in connexion with the Talmudic lectures. The third discipline is to consist of the *Shulchan Aruch*, which is to be taught in the manner we have suggested. The best work to serve as a basis is Karo's work (not Tur with *Beth Joseph*, which is too diffuse and not suitable for present circumstances).

The *course* of study varies according to the amount of knowledge possessed by the students on entering the special schools in different countries. But the principal standard should be the course recommended by the Talmud. We find in numerous passages the combination of Bible, Mishna, and Talmud (מקרא משנה תלמוד). But the present day is not like those olden times, when the Bible was learned in the elementary school, Mishna in the intermediate, and Talmud in the high school. Nor are Bible, Mishna, and Talmud equally distributed over a number of years. But the notion that everything is found mixed up in the Talmud, must at least more thoroughly be done away with than has hitherto been done. In the first place, a more thorough knowledge of the Bible should be aimed at. The next important point would be the study of the Mishna, or, more generally, the Tannaitic literature, which would, besides, serve to strengthen in the minds of the pupils the spirit of the Hebrew language. After this only the Talmud, the principal subject, should be attacked. As a matter of fact, the Mishna is based on the Bible,

as the Talmud is based on the Mishna. In view of changed circumstances and scientific requirements and opinions, the prejudice of the immediate past, as if the study of the Mishna were unworthy of the *Lamdan*, should be discarded, and we should here again return to the Talmudic notion, according to which it is better to have a thorough knowledge of the Mishna only, than a superficial knowledge of the latter coupled with the Talmud. This view applies substantially also to the present day. The syllabus could, therefore, be arranged so as to teach the Bible to beginners, the Mishna to the more advanced, and the Talmud to the highest class of pupils, although, of course, instruction in all three disciplines would be imparted in all three stages.

It will be seen that our exposition refers solely to the fundamental principles of the tuition of the Talmud; it is not our intention to propose a detailed and comprehensive syllabus. This would be impossible, because such syllabus is too much dependent on the special conditions under which the study is pursued in each case, and by which it would be materially modified. We are, however, firmly convinced that an exchange of ideas between specialists of the same and of different shades of opinion would throw considerable light upon the problem in question, and that to a great extent a consensus might be arrived at. We live in an age of international scientific congresses; why should not a conference be convened of representatives of the science of Judaism, where, among other subjects, the schemes of tuition at the Rabbinical schools could be discussed? A discussion on all disciplines that are taught at the seminaries would be eminently useful. Jewish theology and literature should make use of modern resources also in that direction to its own advantage, and we confidently hope that a competent authority will take the matter in hand and settle it for the benefit of all.

LUDWIG BLAU.

BUDAPEST, Dec. 1897.

[This article has been in type for a considerable time, but its publication has been accidentally delayed.]

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF HEBREW MSS. OF THE MONTEFIORE LIBRARY.

VIII (*continued*).

433. 1. ספר היסודות (by Josef, see *NC.*, 1330), a meteorological treatise in nine chapters. The introduction begins בחיזוי מתאבק בחיזוי חכמי תורחיו ושותה בצמא את דבריהם. בעפר רנלי חלמידי חכמי תורחיו ושותה בצמא את דבריהם.

2. Fol. 7. Judah al-Harizi's translation of אגרת המוסר, attributed to Aristoteles (printed).

Span. Rabb. char., 4to, ff. 8 [H. No. 81].

434. Berakhyaḥ Naqdān's ספר דודי ונברי, copied from Cod. Monac. No. 42².

German curs. char., 4to, ff. 40 [H. No. 250].

ASTROLOGY.

435. ספר נרלות חדש, beginning with diagram of a sun disc, emitting twelve rays, with directions for the use of the same in divination; fol. 4, צורה להחכם עשאה הרמב"ן ו"ל; *ibid.* v, מצאתי בספר ר' קלתימוס זה לשוני מצאתי כתוב בספר אחד נעשה בשנת תצ"א (1731) מחכם א' שמו אנמניאו ארקאמו מעיר פירארה שחזל מלה מושל על עיר סיפולי (Tivoli) פיורנצא פאינצא (Venice) שור על סינה (Siena) וידונה וכו'.

Ital. curs. char., 4to, ff. 15 [H. No. 38].

436. נרלות, Treatise on astrology and geomancy, attributed to Ibn Ezra, beg. משפטי הנורל ומעשהו; fol. 20, משפטי העדים; fol. 55, לדעת מחשבות, סתתק בכל צדדיו מספר בעל החמה וידעה השואל.

Ital. curs. char., 4to, ff. 74 [H. No. 396].

437. Treatise on astrology, beginning missing.

Colophon: 20 Iyyār, . . .

Writer: Šebi b. . .

Maghribine curs. char., 4to, ff. 54 [No. 435].

438. 1. ג'לוח, Fragment of a work on geomancy.
 2. Fol. 23^v. Fifty moral teachings in Arabic, each paragraph beginning with בנאדם יא.
 3. Fol. 29. Magic cures in Hebrew and Arabic, with diagrams of amulets.
 Maghribine curs. char., 4to, ff. 35 [No. 432].

IX.

MEDICINE.

439. 1. (פרקי משה), Hebrew translation of Moses Maimūni's medical work, beginning with ch. X, with variations from the printed edition.
 2. Fol. 26. Hebrew translation, by Maestro Solomon of Narbonne, of an Arabic medical work in fifty-one chapters (see Steinschneider, *Uebers.*, p. 752 sq.). The work is incomplete, ending in the middle of ch. X.
 3. Fol. 46. Headed הלוחות ביאור, Jacob b. David b. Jōm Tōb Pōel's Tables, beginning with the year 1361.
 Owners: Luzatto, Steinschneider (No. 23).
 Span. Rabb. char., 4to, ff. 79 [H. No. 148].
440. Various medical treatises. The MS. has been described at great length by Steinschneider, *Mag.*, X, pp. 102-12.
 1. On haemorrhoides, by Solomon b. Ayyūb.
 2. Fol. 15^v. On diseases of the womb.
 3. Fol. 24. Notes and prescriptions.
 4. Fol. 25^v. ספר התולדת, in form of a dialogue between Dināh and her father, probably to serve as a compendium of midwifery.
 5. Fol. 53^v. ספר האם, Hebrew version of Galenus' work on the womb, styled Gynaecaeas.
 Paper and vellum, Span. Rabb. char., 4to, ff. 62 [H. No. 253].
441. 1. Fol. 2. Medical treatise by Gentilis of Foligno (ג'טילי), ספולניו, see Steinschneider, *Mag.*, X, p. 160 sqq.). The work contains 592 (St. 292, misprint) prescriptions, the numbers of which are given on the margin. The work ends רפואות הפסיקן "Finished are the prescriptions of the physician."
 2. a. Fol. 54. זהו מעשה צירוגיאה ומעשה תחבשה מדינו, Treatise on surgery and bandaging by Dinus [de Gersho, see Steinschneider, l.c., p. 162], containing 118 paragraphs. It ends תמו דברי דינו

אבק טוב ומופֿלג כפי מ"ש Fol. 62, par. 119 to 140 דפיוריצה; *ibid.*, פרנציסקו צירוסק טוב שהיה בפירושא, וינצ'לי (Francesco, surgeon of Perugia); *c.* Fol. 62^v. Prescription by the compiler; *d.* Fol. 65^v, Appendix containing some more prescriptions; *e.* Fol. 66. Index to Nos. 1 to 29.

3. *a.* Fol. 69. מבוא במלאכה, Treatise in forty-one chapters by ברנא אלברט (Bernart Alberti) on the prescriptions contained in Ibn Sīnā's Canon, ch. iv. The Hebrew translation is by Abraham Abigedōr, whose introduction has been edited by Steinschneider, l. c., p. 165; *b.* Fol. 84^v. מפתח הסודות, Prescriptions. The parchment covers and fol. 1 are also covered with prescriptions, one of them being in the name of Abraham מלאקניל.

Vellum and paper, French Rabb. char., different hands; 4to, ff. 84 [H. No. 406].

442. ספר רפואות, Prescriptions and cures. Fol. 27^v, the (anonymous) author relates how he fell ill in ברשילי, and was cured by a barber of the name of Messer דאווידין; fol. 54, Jōel, physician to Pope Leon, mentioned; *ibid.*, כפי מה שסידר ר"נ ז"ל, וב"ד מ"ש אנקניו ששמו ר' יצחק הרומא מהרובם אבריוניא בעת התעסקו ברפואות הקטני מארמניאקה, cf. fol. 55; *ibid.*, Benjamin, physician to the duke מונילינה, who treated Messer Filippo Viscontō. On the verso, this Benjamin is described משער אריה (of Portaleone); fol. 54^v, ריקיבו; fol. 80^v, ארזילאמו, quoted.

The work contains 487 paragraphs, of which an index is given at the beginning. Several illegible notices on the parchment binding.

Ital. cura. char., ff. 69-73 in Italian, 12mo, ff. 121 [H. No. 369].

443. Medical treatise, beginning אמר לפי שהיה מחסר הבורא יתע' להמציא זה מציאות השפל על היותר שלם. On the margin, quotation from the work of Nathan b. Jōel Palqērā. Fol. 3, Definitions of the healing art, according to Aristotle, Isaac Isrāēli and Ibn Sīnā. At the end, list of drugs and their application, in alphabetical arrangement. The MS. is probably the author's autograph, and seems to date from the twelfth century.

Vellum, German Rabb. char., marginal notes written by the same hand, 4to, ff. 18 [No. 524].

444. ספר מקין נדרמים.

a. Medical treatise by Meir al-Guadez, translated from the Spanish original by Josef b. Joshua hak-Kōhēn. To each prescription a Latin version is added. Three Latin epigrams are to be found underneath the title (fol. 8). Fol. 9, Translator's intro-

duction; fol. 22, תמו דברי דין מאיר אלגואדז. What follows is the translation by Josef Röß, pupil of Meir al-Guadez, in Genoa, 1546. Many prescriptions are headed אב' יוסף הכהן, and therefore probably added by the translator.

b. Fol. 71. Josef hak-Köhen's Supplement to the preceding work in the same arrangement. Fol. 89, ננעי חולי צרפתי; fol. 97, לסרטן הוא קאנקיר; fol. 100^v, Prescriptions in Hebrew only [except one, fol. 102^v], and in a different hand; fol. 105^r, Italian notice referring to Dottore . . . di Castro di Verona; fol. 105^v, Various Italian and Hebrew prescriptions for ointments and powders.

Owners: Abraham [of] Nizza, Judah לבית צרפתי, נירבחי, David Jonah, together with his (not named) brother; Israel Jeremias of Nizza, Kislëv, 5369 (1608). Another owner gives (fol. 2), in consequence of a dream, descriptions of the courses illnesses are supposed to follow, which attack people on certain days of the month. Many particulars of this MS. have been given by Steinschneider, *Mag.*, X, p. 166 sqq.

Span. curs. char., 4to, ff. 110 [H. No. 407].

445. Joshua b. Hārōṣē Ibn Vivas al-Lorqi's treatise נרם המעלות. The work was composed in Arabic at the request of Benvenist b. Solomon hal-Lēvi de la Cavalleria, and translated into Hebrew by Josef, Benvenist's son (see Steinschn., *Uebers.*, p. 762, giving the date 1411).

Colophon: כאן נשלם מה שכווננו אותו בזאת האגרת הנקרא [ת] נרם המעלות מעניני הסמים הראשונים והמורכבים והשבה לאל לכבו (?) והיתה השלמת חבורם יום שני לשבת ראשון לחדש אדר ראשון משנת חמשת אלפים ומאה וששים ושמונה לבריאת עולם (Jan. 30, 1408) במקום אלקאניים.

Owner: S. D. Luzatto.

Span. Rabb. char., 4to, ff. 54 [H. No. 132].

X.

POLEMICS.

446. 1. Profēt Dūrān's letter כאבותך אל תתי, with Josef b. Shēm Tōb's Commentary, and Isaac Aqrīsh's preface (printed).

2. Fol. 46^v. Maestro Astruc Remōkh's (Francesco Corni) letter to En Shealtiel Bonafoux, with Solomon Bonfed's reply (see *HB.*, XII, p. 59).

3. Fol. 53. בקשה, Poetic prayer in alphabetical arrangement.
4. Fol. 54. בקשה, by Isaac Tarḥūn.
5. Fol. 55. מליצה, sent by Solomon b. Semah to Nāthān Najjār, in Constantinople, followed by the latter's reply.
6. Fol. 58. Hymn by Josef b. Shēsheth b. Latimi, beginning אאמיר את אדתי (see *NCat.*, No. 1402¹).
Ital. curs. char., 16mo, ff. 62 [H. No. 338].

447. כפר כלטת הנזים, Polemical treatise by Profēt Dūrān (cf. Renan, *Les Écrivains juifs*, p. 403 sq.). The name of the author is not mentioned in the preface, which is otherwise complete. The year in which the treatise was composed is indicated by the letters מ"ה חר"י הא"ף הנד"ל (Deut. xxx. 23) = [1]397 (see also *NCat.*, Nos. 2153-55). At the end a later hand has added the following verses, taken from a different MS. :—

אני חיל חומה	לנצרי דת תמה	משיבי מלחמה	בחצות ושערים
לגלות מסתרים	במימי הזרים	בהבלי שוא שומרים	כפי מאמר אומרים
תל דברי רי[נ]ות	אליהם מכאובות	ולחם לתשובות	אניה רבות צורים
ישובו בודים	כזבות האודים	ויכלמו זדים	ילדי העזרים
(הנכרים.)			
ללב נחה חכמה	להתיא תעלומה	ובנן לנקמה	כנגד הסותרים
יצוה אל חסדו	לחדש את חלדו	ואמר ברוב חסדו	לכח באורים

Ital. curs. char. (except the verses which are in Rabb. char.), 4to, ff. 22 [H. No. 192].

448. מכתב לחזקיהו, by Hezekiah b. Isaac b. Bāqūdāh, in Constantinople, being a refutation of Christianity and Islām in fifteen chapters. The work is preceded by the copies of letters from Abraham Monsōn, Jehiel Bassano, and Josef of Trani; further by a poem of thirty lines, each line beginning with כ, and ending with a paragraph in prose of which each word begins with the same letter. This is followed by two more poems of five, and twenty lines respectively, by Jōm Tōb b. יעיר.

The work was finished in Nisān, 5377 (1617), and is in autograph. On fol. 53^v, two short glosses on סומה and מנילה.

Span. curs. char., 4to, ff. 53 [H. No. 314].

449. תולדות ישו הנצרי, Life of Jesus, translated from Jacob Huldrika's (see *SBodl.*, col. 646) Latin work (Leyden, 1705), by Jacob Sobels of Wladislavow. Title-page by a later hand.

German curs. char., 8vo, ff. 28 [H. No. 141].

458. 1. **מנחת יהודה**, also styled **שונא נשים**, by Judah hal-Lēvi b. Isaac b. Shabbethai (printed in **מעם זקנים**).

2. Fol. 25. **עזרת נשים**, Refutation of the preceding work by Isaac . . .

Vellum and paper, Span. Rabb. char., the last two leaves considerably damaged, 4to, ff. 38 [H. No. 163].

459. **מגן אהרן** [by Aaron Berekhyāh of Modena], a polemical treatise against Isaac b. Mattathias Alterino's **כנף רננים**. The author speaks (fol. 3^v) of his works **אשמורת הבקר** and **מעבר יבוק**, but without disclosing his name. The work begins: **ממאמרות טהורות צרופות ומובחנות אשר יבינו ויכינו מפרש ע"ב (?) לאחז בכנפות רובי דברי ספר כנף רננים אשר העלים אב רם חסידה ונזה**. The following names are mentioned: Moses of **מאנקימו**, Liliāni Cazes, Baruch Gallidao, Elhānān David Foa, Hezekiah Foa in Castelnuevo, Eliezer Foa in Burgo, Hananiah Munzilzi, Abraham Sforno.

The writer's name, Isaac Shushān b. חת, was erroneously regarded by Halberstam as that of the author.

Ital. cura. char., 4to, ff. 44 [H. No. 89].

XI.

LETTERS.

460. **חשן משפט**, Three letters by Don Dūrān de Lunel [Simeon b. Josef]: a. To Don Vidal Solomon in Perpignan; b. Fol. 21. To Solomon b. Addereth; c. Fol. 23^v. To his relatives in Perpignan. Copied from Cod. Bodl., No. 2218, 2 d (col. 763).

Modern cura. char., 4to, ff. 26 [H. No. 347].

461. Letters.

A. 1. a. Letter against Maimūni, sent by R. Meir Hallēvi to Lunel (see *NCat.*, No. 2218, 2 w); b. Fol. 3. Letter sent by R. Aaron b. Meshullām of Lunel to R. Meir Hallēvi; c. Fol. 4. Reply by the last-named (printed).

2. Fol. 5. Letter by Moses b. Naḥmān, beginning **טרם אענה אני שונא** (printed).

B. Fol. 12. a. **חרם**, of David Nāsi (printed); b. Letter headed **נוסח הכתב ששלח אדוננו נזרנו וכתרנו ומאור עינינו ר' שמואל הכהן ראש הישיבה בן רבינו דניאל ראש הישיבה שלח לחכמי עכו ולבנו דוד בן הרב ר' אברהם נ"ע** (printed).

German cura. char., different hands, No. 1, 4to, Nos. 2 and 3, fol., ff. 17 [H. No. 154].

462. כתבים ומראות, Compiled by a certain Isaac. The beginning is missing.

I. כתבים, Letters: Josef Rabbino to Judah Monte Santo in סירמני; Isaac to Ismael חזק in Cinto; Josef Rabbino to Jacob Rabbino in Modena; fol. 5, Mattathias and his brother Ben Šiōn to Aaron b. Abraham Carpi; Isaiah Rabbio to his father Samuel in Ferrara; Isaac to Leon b. Solomon Rabbino; to Mordecai Dato; David of Fano, the compiler's pupil, to his father Josef in Ferrara; the same to his mother Hannah of Fano, and to his grandmother וירטורוסה in Ferrara; Moses de Castro, attendant of Rafael of Forli, to Ben Šiōn of Norzi in Ferrara; fol. 20, Isaac to his father-in-law Israel Samuel in Piedmont (פיאמונטא), referring to נורות חדשות נתחדשו על היהודים מזה מדוכות מסאווני; fol. 31^v, David of Fano to his grandmother לאדינינו; fol. 34, Samuel ארזיניאנו to his uncle Aaron of רביירה in Modena; Laura, wife of Jeqūthiel of רביירה, to Virturosa, wife of David of Senegalliano; Mahalēl of ריזיניאנו to his grandson Hananēl in Modena; Abraham de Rossi (מראדוסים), precentor in Lugo, to Josef in Fano; fol. 48, Judah מהמב of Ravenna to his two brothers.

II. Fol. 54. מראות, Aphorisms, and religious and moral teachings by the same author, written for the benefit of two brothers, Samuel and Josef (called Moses), the sons of Mahalēl; fol. 66^v, Judah b. Jeqūthiel of רביירה. After fol. 69^v, the מראות take the form of short homiletic notes on the weekly portions of the Pentateuch.

III. Fol. 99^v. Commentary on the accents.

IV. Fol. 100^v. הקדמה לר"ח אלול (dated 1587); מנהגים of Ferrara.

V. Fol. 102. מראות, written for David in Ferrara.

VI. Fol. 109^v. Note on תפלין, likewise written for David.

Owner: Samuel Beer.

Ital. curs. char., 4to, ff. 109 [H. No. 140].

463. 1. Letters and documents: *a*. Document of sale; *b*. Fol. 2. Letter by Judah Zarqo to the physician Josef המון on his wedding day; *c*. Fol. 3. Another by the same to the same; *d*. Drafts of various kinds of legal documents, as אירוסין, שדוכין, פקדון, משרה, פקדון, מוכת עין באופן נאות, חליצה, גט, הוראת בית דין, תנאי, כתובה מהייבם, מוכת עין באופן נאות, חליצה, גט, הוראת בית דין, תנאי, נצאת שכיב מרע, חוב, מתנה, מכירה, המפסה, אפטרופא דכי דינא, חלוקת קרקעות ונכסים, שובר, גובינא, פסיקא, בירורין הנקרא קומפרומיס, הפקעת קדושין.

2. Fol. 21. Texts for Sabbath sermons, Winter term, 5358 (1598).
3. Fol. 22. בתורה, beginning damaged.

Ital. cura. char., 16mo, ff. 22 [H. No. 156].

464. Copies of letters, names, as a rule, omitted: fol. 20, Addressed to Jacob Reiner in Mantua; fol. 22^v, To Gershōm b. Qalonymos; fol. 23, Dated 1 Ab, 5354 (July 18, 1594); fol. 24, Signed משה שפחה זצ"ל; fol. 25, Signed Benjamin b. Azriel; fol. 27, Samuel Judah Katzenellenbogen; fol. 28 [v. fol. 36^v], Jacob הלפרן; fol. 32^v, To Gershōm Kōhēn in Padua; fol. 36, To the same; ff. 37, 38, Letters by Samuel Archevolti; fol. 44, By Mordecai Kōhēn; fol. 46, To Judah Lēb b. Moses Meir of Jesnitz; ibid.^v, By Lēb שיינברג; fol. 54^v, By Samuel Archevolti; fol. 59, To Leon al-Gustantin; fol. 63, By Simon סנ"ל; fol. 68, By Nāthān Ottolenghi; fol. 69, By Gershōm Kōhēn and Mordecai Kōhēn; fol. 73, Samuel Archevolti to Mordecai Bassano (באשן) in Verona; fol. 74, To David Nurlingen, 14 Tēbēth, 5361 (Dec. 19, 1600). More letters by Samuel Archevolti.

German cura. char., 4to, ff. 90, many blanks [H. No. 390].

465. Letters written on behalf of the poor in various Spanish and Portuguese places to: fol. 1, Zikri b. Šahl in Gibraltar, 1356; fol. 2^v, Don Jacob מרמלך; fol. 3^v, Isaac b. Moses מרקש; fol. 6^v, Saragossa, 1 Tammūz, on behalf of Abraham מיטמנאש; fol. 8, Judah b. Josef, 1310; fol. 11^v, Josef b. Eliezer b. אבה, Saragossa, 1301; fol. 12^v, Moses מרקשניאל, Saragossa, Ab, 1348; fol. 13^r, Simon b. Zerahyāh, 1333; fol. 13^v, The women שלמה and בכליטה, 1309; fol. 15, Moses of Lisbon, Saragossa, Iyyār, 1410; fol. 15^v, Josef b. Isaac שוקראן, Saragossa, 1403; fol. 16^v, Samuel בירפה in מרביטרה, and Isaac אילי in Portugal; fol. 17^v, Jōm Tōb Lēvi and his daughter מוראה in Saragossa, 12 Adar I, 1303; fol. 19^v, Jacob b. Judah Astruc, 1333; fol. 21^v, Uzziel b. Hiyā; fol. 22 sqq. Remarks by the compiler, Solomon b. Solomon חזק, dated 1410, mentioning (fol. 23^v) the names Samuel b. Jacob Šarfāthi and Isaac b. Solomon מרקש; Copy of letter by Meir hal-Lēvi b. Todros in Burgos, mentioning Bonfed in Barcelona, dated Saragossa, 1406; fol. 40^v, על השר החכם, ר' בנושה בן לביא, 1306. At the end several poems and a Maqāma.

Owner: Ashkenazi b. Eliezer.

Span. Rabb. char., 4to, ff. 43 [H. No. 196].

sent to Tunis, Tetuan, Cairo, and Smyrna; *g*. Fol. 30. Receipt of Samuel Nunez Da Costa, for having received from Josef Franco some jewellery belonging to Solomon Laniado; *h*. Document concerning a money transaction between Abraham נאבישן and the heirs of Jacob תמסית in Algiers, dated Leghorn, 1756; *i*. Fol. 33. Letter addressed to David b. Rafael Meldola and Judah Lēb Susman, dated Leghorn, 1700 (?).

Orient. Rabb. char., various hands, 4to, ff. 33 [No. 451].

468. 1. Letters; beginning missing. No. 1, Signed Menahem of רוביץ b. Israel, mentions the names of Mordecai Finz, Judah of Rhodos (מרדכי), and Abraham Kōhēn, "who are men of influence at the courts of the Pope and the King of France"; No. 2, Signed Elijah b. Abraham; No. 3, Signed Eliezer חמי; No. 4, Signed Jacob Israel of Ancona b. Moses; No. 5, וסדרתי לחששות טיסונו, signed El. חמי in Parma; No. 6, Mentions Josef of Logo and Maleachi Finz; No. 7, Addressed to Solomon Finz, and refers to Isaac Finz, grandfather of addressee, Jequthiel, his father, פירט, his mother, and David, his grand-uncle; No. 8, Mentions the addressee's daughter Graciosa; No. 12, Abraham Kōhēn Hārōfe, Josef Kolon; No. 13, Samuel Finz; No. 16, Josef Finz; No. 18, Shabbethai of לוטרנ; No. 20, Signed Elijah b. Abraham, 4 Ellul, 5225 (Aug. 26, 1465).

2. Fol. 13. Commentary on Gen. xlii. 9 to xlvii. 5.

3. Fol. 15. ספר הנקרא אור (cf. *Cat.*, Neubauer, No. 1319'), but it breaks off in the middle of ch. iii.

Ital. curs. char., No. 3, different hand, 16mo, ff. 19 [H. No. 404].

469. 1. Correspondence regarding the Ḥayyūn affair, many letters being written in Italian.

2. Fol. 43. Nehemiah H. Ḥayyūn's שלהבת.

3. Fol. 63. מועד תרבה, Letters from the Rabbis of Smyrna and Jerusalem.

4. Fol. 105. Letter from R. Gabriel of Nikolsburg, 1 Ellul, 1703.

5. Ff. 123-6. Letters from Joshua Moses Marpurgo and Naftali Kōhēn.

Different Ital. curs. hands, 4to, ff. 174 [H. No. 32].

470. Thirty-three letters by Ḥayyim Josef David Azulai.

Span. Rabb. char., 8vo, ff. 15 [No. 458].

471. 1. Letters addressed to Ḥayyim Benveniste, Solomon al-Gāzi, Solomon b. Abraham Hakkōhen, and הר"י די אלבה, concerning the Shabbethai Šebi movement.

2. Fol. 13. The same in different hand.
3. Fol. 22. Letters, prayers, &c.
4. Fol. 76. כוונות, dated 1675.
5. Fol. 90. דרוש התנינים, Copied at Jerusalem, Marḥeshwān, 1695.
6. Fol. 105. רמז דמחמאות לאמיר"ה, by the compiler's father.
7. Fol. 116v. Piyyut.
8. Fol. 117. Letter to R. Herschel in Wilna, 1691, by Benjamin Kōhen in Reggio.
9. Ff. 120-6. Letter from Abraham Cardozo in Tripoli. Various (chiefly Ital. curs.) hands, 4to, ff. 135 [H. No. 40].

XII.

HISTORY.

472. *a.* סדר עולם בקצור, כללי סדר עולם, Four-and-twenty chapters, beginning מאדם ועד המבול אלף תרנ"ו שנה.

b. Fol. 7v. Chronological tables, headed זמנים לקבלה אמתית סדר עולם, from the creation of the world to the conquest of Palestine.

Ital. curs. char., 4to, ff. 9 [H. No. 341].

473. *a.* עולם הפוך, Account of the plague in Padua in 1631, by Abraham Catalano.

b. Fol. 10. Poem on the same event by the author's son Moses in Corti (16 strophes).

Ital. curs. char., 4to, ff. 11 [H. No. 399].

474. 1. Jēshūa b. Josef's ספר הליכות עולם (printed).

2. Fol. 38. Samuel han-Nāgīd's סבוא התלמוד (printed), with a postscript by Judah b. Josef has-Sefarādi of Estella in Navarra.

3. Fol. 41. Abraham b. Daud's (the elder) ספר הקבלה (printed).

4. Fol. 56. Gloss on a passage in Josippon.

5. Fol. 58. Isaac Abravanel's Commentary on Isaiah lii. 13.

6. Fol. 68. Gloss on Isaiah, ch. v, by the same (end missing).

Ital. curs. char., 4to, ff. 70 [H. No. 372].

475. 1. קתמרים נזירות תתנ"ץ, History of the persecutions in 1096 and 1146, by Eliezer b. Nathan (printed).

2. Fol. 5. *בזירות תתק"ץ*, by Efraim b. Jacob of Bonn, with notes by E. Carmoly.

3. Fol. 12^v. Names of martyrs in Francfort-on-the-Main in 1241, 13 *Sivān*. Attached is an autograph letter by Abbé Barges to Isidore Goldblum. Copied by R. Kirchheim (see also *Libl. d. Oriens*, 1845, No. 47).

German Rabb. char., 4to, ff. 12 [H. No. 249].

476. Samuel Algāzi b. Isaac's *תולדות אדם* (printed), with various ritual decisions.

German cura. char., 16mo, ff. 13 [H. No. 112].

477. Mordecai Samuel Ghirondi's *תולדות גדולי ישראל ובפרט נאמני איטליא ורבני פאדובה זכרון ימי חייהם שמות חבוריהם וזיוני תהלותם ז"ל*, being the author's autograph on which the printed edition (Trieste, 1853) is based. The work is preceded by an autobiographical sketch of the author.

4to, pp. 217 [H. No. 301].

478. *ספר זכרונות*, List of circumcisions performed by Michael of Siena, Mōhēl in the Ghetto of Rome, commencing 7 Kislēv, 5494 (Nov. 4, 1733), ending 5 Iyyār, 5506 (April 9, 1746).

Ital. cura. char., 12mo, ff. 55 [H. No. 28].

XIII.

MISCELLANEOUS MSS.

479. Vol. I of Collectanea compiled by Abraham Josef Solomon b. Mordecai Graziano of Pesaro, later on in Modena.

1. Fol. 2. *ספר פתרון*, Hebrew-Italian glossary of philosophic terms, copied from the collections of Aaron Berekhyāh b. Moses of Modena and Samuel Portaleone b. Elishā, with marginal notes by the copyist.

2. Fol. 12. *ספר אמרי בינה*, Commentary on the Zōhār by Issachar Baer b. Moses Petahyāh (printed).

3. Fol. 54. Explanation of Aramaic words in the Zōhār.

4. Fol. 63. *רזי תורה*, Cabbalistic Commentary on the Old Testament by Jacob פרייט of Asti, copied from the author's autograph.

5. Fol. 118. *חורשי תוספי תורה נביאים וכתובים*, Grammatical glosses on the Old Testament by Jacob b. Isaac Hallēvi Finzi of

Casale, ש"ץ אשכנזי, copied from the author's autograph at Modena, 1670. After fol. 133 one leaf missing.

6. Fol. 137^v. Gloss on a quotation from Jacob Lombroso's edition of the Hebrew Bible (מלא בה נחת), Venice, 1638-9, and other glosses addressed by Jacob Finzi to Jacob Levi Tedesco in Modena, Joseppo Ferma in Ancona (fol. 140^r) (cf. No. 5).

7. *a.* Fol. 144. Letter by the compiler to Jacob Finzi; *b.* Fol. 145. Notes on the accents; *c.* Fol. 146. טעמי חילים; *d.* Fol. 147. טעמי אמ"ת, i. e. the accents of the books of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job; *e.* Fol. 147^v. Music of the accents of the Psalms by Abraham Segre of Casale.

8. Fol. 149. Annotations to the German Maḥzor, copied by Jacob Levi Finzi.

9. Fol. 159. List of initials of Bible verses.

10. Fol. 162. ספר הדרוק, Grammatical treatise by Meir b. Jāir.

11. Fol. 176. ספר הנמוקים, Annotation to the Pentateuch by Jehiel Melli.

12. Fol. 182^v. Abstracts from the ספר המכלול, after which a list of the accents.

13. Fol. 184. The paradigm פקד, with Italian translation.

14. Fol. 186. Names of the vowels.

15. Fol. 186^v. דיני שחיטה בקיצור.

16. Fol. 188. Copy of two letters, *a.* by Elisha Gallico, denouncing the מאור עינים of Azariah de Rossi; *b.* by Samuel Portaleone, in defence of the Mōrēh Nebukhim, and Ibn Ezra's writings.

17. *a.* Ibid.^v דיני התרת נדר או שבעה נדר, abridged; *b.* Ibid. חידושי דיני התרת נדרים, by Israel Modena.

18. Fol. 189. The Hebrew alphabet arranged to form a prayer by ארנן פואה, as follows (vocalized) הָם עֲמָךְ זֶה אֱמָךְ וְכֵן צִרְתָּ נַפְשָׁם (vocalized) אֲרָנָה פּוֹאֵה דְגָלִי שִׁינְיָן.

19. Ibid. Abstract from the שלשלת הקבלה on Jehiel of Paris.

20. Fol. 192. Short memoranda on various Biblical and Talmudical topics, among which an astronomical calculation, dated Tuesday, 12 Ellul, 5279 (August 9, 1519).

21. Fol. 202. Poems: Ibn Ezra (cf. Friedländer, *Essay*, p. 147); fol. 103^v, Headed על מחלוקת הרב המורה פתח את פיהו בעל הלשון ושר (91 verses); fol. 205^v, headed מצאתי אחר' בשירים אלה הרברים, beg. כספר תחמוני, כה לך אבית חן לברך אחרי.

22. Fol. 206. Miscellaneous notes, finishing with several epigrams.

23. Fol. 265. פירוש על סוד פרה אדומה.

24. Fol. 272^v. *a.* with על חטא and other prayers; *b.* פירוש איסור כלל ואיסור מוסף; *c.* Miscellaneous notes; *d.* Enigma beginning לא רגלים; *e.* Poem beginning השקר יש לא רגלים; *f.* Elegy on the death of Josef Fatto by Rafael Josef Treves of Ferrara, beg. איש חם נאסף, copied from the ספר הזכרון of a certain R. Ishmael.

25. Fol. 286. *a.* The Hebrew alphabet in various arrangements with reference to Talmud Sabbath, fol. 104^r; *b.* Biblical measures and coins; *c.* Accents; *d.* Prayers; *e.* ידעו כל קהלות הקדש כי יום ר' אחר ט' באב היה נביא אמת דורש בעליית הר"ר מנחם הורדימסי אשרי יולדתו ורובנים יושבים לפניו המר' יעקב מפרובינש הר"ר יצחק מנשר אנטימי והר"ר מנחם ורובנים אחרים הר"ר אברהם בר ר' שמואל העתקה זו באה מפאריש הח'ר שמואל (Evreux) בח'ר יהודה מאייברוס.

26. Fol. 295. *a.* שיר על הזמן הבוגד; *b.* Poem by Rafael Josef Treves (cf. above, No. 24), in honour of the wife and children of R. Judah עלה of Cologne; *c.* Another poem by the same; *d.* Short poem found in a copy of Moses Qamhi's מחלך; *e.* Sections of the Talmud, in rhymes, by Benjamin Nehemiah; *f.* Poem by Azriel Graziano, son of Johānān Gallico, son-in-law of R. Azriel in ניפום in Ascoli.

27. Fol. 298^v. *a.* לקומי אוריות, Abstracts from Samuel b. Tabbon's introduction to Maimūni's Commentary on Abōth, and from the latter, accompanied by Italian translation of philosophical terms by Isaac b. David Rafael of Ventura Porto; *b.* Fol. 304. Glosses on the Prayer-book, Passover Haggādah, and the Italian Mahzōr; *c.* Fol. 316. Glosses on the same subject by Nehemiah of רוביאירה; *d.* Glosses on Solomon b. Gabirol's Azhārōth; *e.* Calendar notes copied from the notes of Elijah מולי in Mantua; *f.* סדר כוונת על שם הכתוב משמנה עשרה; *g.* Copy from the Siddur of Meir הירש, containing שמות, abstracted from the "Seventy-two Verses"; *h.* Fol. 410. Commentary on the יצוד of Sabbath Hanukkāh by Samuel Portaleone b. Elisha.

Ital. cura. char., after fol. 133 one leaf missing; 4to, ff. 414 [H. No. 227].

480. Vol. II of the preceding work (ff. 415 to 564).

1. Responsa by Abraham Menahem Porto hak-Kōhēn in Cremona.

2. Fol. 60. Responsa by other Italian Rabbis: Nathan b. Menahem, Meir b. Isaac of Venice, Moses Basula b. Abraham of Bologna, Meir of Padua, Meir b. Isaac Katzenellenbogen, Josef Finzi, Kuzi of Mantua, Aaron b. Samuel Nurlingen, Jōhānān Treves, Jacob Corinaldi, Calman of Mantua, Jacob Qalonymos b. Eliezer of סומנייט, Šemah b. Menahem, Azriel סריבטו of Ascoli, b. Jehiel, Samuel Del Vecchio of Ferrara, Solomon b. Israel of למרקא, Levi b. Elijah סריבטו, Aaron b. Israel Finzi of אריי, Benjamin b. Efraim Finzi of אריי, Isaac b. Josef of מינצילי (?), Samuel Judah Katzenellenbogen, Jacob b. Abraham Solomon hak-Kōhēn, Abigedōr b. Samson ציראל, Ishmael Hānīnā of וולמנטו in Ferrara, Moses b. Israel Finzi of אריי, Elijah Menahem Hālfōn in Venice, dated 21 Kislev, 5295 (1535), Abraham b. Moses hak-Kōhēn, Isaac b. Abraham of Viterbo, Barūch b. Jōsb, Jehiel b. Moses hak-Kōhēn of נוסקריי, Isaac b. Emanuel de Lattes of Carpentras, 14 . . . 343 (1583), Judah b. Shabbethai, Michael b. Shabbethai, Solomon b. Shemāyāh, Abraham b. Isaac Šarfāthi, Abraham b. Aaron of Rome, Abraham of Rovigo, Moses b. Abraham Šarfāthi in Ancona, Moses b. Mordecai Provençal, Samuel b. Solomon Isaac, Judah Hāsīd b. Leon Sinai of Cologne, David b. Eliezer Portaleone (משער אריה), the Physician, Eliezer b. Solomon of Estella.

3. Fol. 141. Glosses on the Shulḥan Arūkh, and short biographical notice on Nahmanides.

4. Fol. 141v. Glosses on Al Fāsi by Samuel Portaleone.
Ital. curs. char., 4to, ff. 150 [H. No. 228].

481. 1. זכרון סריי, Responsa and letters by Mordecai Samuel Ghironi.

2. Fol. 36 (invertedly bound). Short verses in alphabetical order on the contents of the weekly portions וישב בראשית. [This is repeated and continued, fol. 84, with a poem by Isaac Ḥayyim Romanin, headed על פרשיות התורה.]

3. Fol. 38 (inverted). Wedding song on the marriage of Rachel, daughter of Rafael Luzatti with a certain Solomon . . .

4. Fol. 39. Moses Maimonides' letter מנלה עמוקה (printed under the title סתרים).

5. Fol. 58 (inverted). קול ששן, Poems by Mordecai Samuel Ghironi.

6. Fol. 88. Alphabetic poem on הברכה.
8vo, ff. 88 [H. No. 228].

482. 1. עמר יעקב, Compilation of Responsa by Nathanael b. Aaron Jacob Segre, many of which are printed in עמם צדקה, and

Isaac Lampronti's **מנחת יצחק**; fol. 10, Responsa by Isaac Levi and Samuel Abohāb; fol. 15, Declarations by the Rabbinical authorities of Ferrara and Mantua; fol. 100, Table of contents.

2. Fol. 131. **פוסק**, beginning **נחמ יוסף כצאן פתח נא שערי רצון**.

3. Fol. 132^v. Two recipes.

Colophon: Finished 1686 in Cinto (fol. 131).

Owners: Abraham Firmicino and his brothers Rafael and Josef, sons of Gershon Firmicino, and the latter's brother Moses; Pelegrin Padoua.

Ital. curs. char., 4to, ff. 132 [H. No. 31].

483. 1. Abstracts (לְקוּמִים) from a. Isaac Latif's philosophical work **שער השמים**; b. Fol. 1^v. The **חורם** of David Nāṣī (cf. *Orient.*, 1845, p. 739, printed **חמשה קונטרסים**, fol. 109^v sq.); c. Fol. 2^r. **ארבע כתב איתעבידו בני**, beginning **מילי דיושע**; d. Fol. 3. **ישראל קד הוא קיימין על ימא דמוק**; e. Fol. 3^v. Family and historical notices copied from the colophon of a MS. (**מבחר הפנינים**); f. Fol. 4^v. Abstracts from **סמ"ק**; g. Fol. 6. Some historical notices. All these abstracts are accompanied by notes and comments in German.

2. Fol. 7. Poem headed **על בריאת העולם בששת ימי המעשה הקדמונים**.

3. Fol. 9. Copy of letter by R. Šebi Hirsch, Rabbi of Berlin.

4. Fol. 10. Poem beginning **שתי אחיות תאמנות אחת בתולה ואחת בעולה**.

5. Fol. 11. Various letters.

6. Fol. 21. Letter of recommendation of Gumpel (פליינק?), signature illegible; on the back the words **חבר נתן מר' יהושע מקראקא אב"ד מ"ץ אל ר' צדוק זקנו של תבחר צוירי אשר מת בברלין** **התקצ"ז**.

7. Fol. 22. Comical קדוש composed of incoherent verses.

8. Fol. 23. Abstract from **ס' אור נחמד**, Cabbalistic work by R. Tobias.

9. Fol. 24. Contents of Saadyāh's **ספר האמונות**, copied from a MS. written 1540 by a certain Isaac.

10. Fol. 25. Abstract from Samuel b. Mōtōt's **ס' משובב נתיבות**.

11. Fol. 26. Queries addressed by Jacob Hirz Ber (באר), President of the Berlin community, to Jacob Hayy Recanati in Verona; answer dated 21 Nov. 1816, and attested by Dr. Marco Cuzzen, Secretary to the Congregation.

12. Fol. 30. Rules to be observed with reference to a dying person and treatment of the corpse.

13. Fol. 32. Horace, *Epp.*, I, 7, in Hebrew.
14. Fol. 33^r. Acrostic on Frederic, King of Prussia, by Reuben Gumpertz, Rabbiner in Breslau; *ibid.*^v List of translations of the Bible in European languages.
15. Fol. 34. Short abstracts from ספר הראב"ן.
16. Fol. 35. Letter to Josef Jossmann Levi by Jacob Adler, dated Schleswig, 9 Nisān, 5583 (1893).
17. a. Fol. 36. Poems by Louis Levi; b. Fol. 37. By בר"ש, addressed to Zunz, 10 Ab, 1840; c. Fol. 38. Letter to the same by Josef Walsikanski, Apr. 28, 1841; d. Letter to the same by Baruch Schoenfeld.
18. Fol. 41. Hebrew translation of Zunz's sermon, *Die Einheit Gottes*, by Solomon חפץ in Padua.
19. Fol. 43. Notes to Zunz's *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge* in Jewish German.
20. Fol. 44^v. Note on the time of R. Simon had-Darshān by S. Rappoport (Hebrew).
21. Fol. 47. MS. of the monthly ישרון, No. 1 (1799).
22. Ff. 53-4. Gleim's poem, *Die Tugend*, with Hebrew version by S. M. Ehrenberg.
23. Fol. 54. Copies of gravestones.
24. Fol. 56. Two letters by Aaron Chorin to Zunz.
25. Fol. 60. Letters by Hayyim Baruch Maestro to Michael Simon and Solomon Winzinhausen in Cassel.
26. Fol. 67. Ahasverus' circular letters, Mordecai's and Esther's prayers.
27. Fol. 69. הכשרון, Poem by Samuel Gumpertz, written at the age of eighteen (1787).
28. Fol. 71. Poem with the name חיאל מיכל גוטל in large letters.
29. Fol. 72. רעיוני שחר, Various Hebrew poems.
30. Fol. 82. Letter by S. Silberberg, Hanover, 1820.
31. Poem in honour of the wedding of Dr. Jacobssohn with Miss Cohen in Hanover, Jan. 19, 1820. The MS. was compiled by Zunz, who added many notes.

4to, ff. 83 [No. 419].

484. 1. Abraham b. Ezra's grammatical treatise שפת יתר (printed), to which the copyist added an index of the verses quoted.

2. a. Fol. 11. יער לבנון [by Josef Solomon of Candia], philoso-

phical exposition of the Holy Ark, Table, and Candlestick (incomplete); *b.* Fol. 18^v. Three short notes of philosophic character; *c.* Fol. 20^v. Elegy on the death of his (the copyist's?) wife צילה (incomplete).

3. *a.* Fragment of Isaac Abravanel's ראש אמנה (ed. Altona, fol. 17); *b.* Fol. 23^v. Homiletic fragments.

4. Fol. 25. Fragment of Talmud Babli מסכים, ch. II, with Commentary.

5. *a.* Fol. 27. Solomon b. Addereth's חידושי אנרות on ברכות; *b.* Fol. 29. Fragmentary anecdote concerning a sudden summons received by Maimūni to appear before a prince (שר אחר), while engaged in astronomical pursuits; *c.* Ibid. Note on Kōheleth i. 8.

6. Fol. 30. Astronomical treatise ascribed to Levi b. Gershōn, headed מציאתי בחכמה חדשה לר' לוי בן גרשון בם' שלשים ואחד. The author is, however, Levi b. Abraham b. Hayyim, author of בתי הנגש והלחשים, which work is quoted fol. 32^r. The work, interrupted in the middle, is resumed fol. 44^v, and ends fol. 50^v with the words נשלם המאמר בחכמת החכמה ת"ל לר' לוי בר גרשון.

7. *a.* Fol. 37. Letter by Abraham b. Hiyya to Judah b. Barzillai of Barcelona; *b.* Fol. 38. Moses b. Samuel b. Tabbōn's translation of Maimūni's Commentary on פאה, I, 1.

8. Fol. 39. Metaphysical treatise, beginning missing. At the end of the introduction the words are to be read ואנוכי הצעיר בריה אבא משה בר נחמן.

9. Fol. 41^v. Abstract from Nissim b. Jacob's מנלת סתרים (see *SCat.*, col. 2067).

Owner: Abraham Josef Solomon Graziano.

Vellum and paper; No. 1, Ital. curs. char., 16mo; No. 2, the same, but by a different hand; Nos. 3, 4, Orient. Rabb. char., 4to; Nos. 5-9, Span. Rabb. char., 4to, ff. 50 [No. 448].

485. קופת הרובלים. Collective title of a volume containing the following items:—

a. Commentary on פרק חלק by Isaiah b. Elijah.

b. Fol. 6^v. David Qamhi's Commentary on מעשה בראשית.

c. Fol. 14. Homily attributed to Moses Nahmāni, beginning אמא ה' זכר נא העיר אשר אמרה.

d. Fol. 16. Prayer by Solomon b. Addereth, beginning חמלה לעני כי יעמוך.

e. Fol. 24. Responsa by R. Efraim on the lungs of slaughtered animals.

f. Fol. 24^v. פרה אדומה, מעם ענין פרה אדומה, beg. לך נאן להכניע נאן לב, ends האדם האדם.

g. Fol. 26. סוד לולב, by Isaac Todros, beginning מראי לך עד כאן לשונו הרב ר' אהרן, ends לרעת כי הוא סוד היחוד האמתי השלם כהן ברצלני.

The table of contents on fol. 1 is written in the same handwriting as the text, but the supplement, written by the former owner, Mordecai Samuel Ghironi in Padua, refers to No. 451, which originally formed one volume with this.

Squ. char., 4to, ff. 27 [H. No. 245].

486. 1. ספר מתוק לנפש, by Abraham Zaccuto, a work on eschatology (printed).

2. Fol. 38. משלי סנובר, Bidpai's Fables (printed).

3. Fol. 57^v. הדרת וקנים, Aristeeas' letter concerning the Greek translation of the Bible.

4. Fol. 105. אמרת מספרת ימותא דעדיקי דארעא דישראל, Description of Palestine, chiefly with regard to the graves of distinguished Jews.

5. Fol. 113. ספר של גורלות, attributed to Abraham b. Ezra.

6. Fol. 140. מעשה גדול ונורא, Josef דילתריינה.

7. Fol. 149^v. ספר תולדות האריאל, Biography of Isaac b. Solomon Loria.

Written by Abraham David b. Samuel Abraham, Tammūz, 5518 (1758), in Ancona.

Ital. cura. char., 12mo, ff. 100 [H. No. 185].

487. Collectanea.

1. שער השמים, by Jacob b. Shēsheth of Gerona. The beginning is much damaged.

2. Fol. 16. Commentary on the Thirteen Divine Attributes, by Judah b. יקר, in which is embodied a Commentary on the Eighteen Benedictions.

3. a. Fol. 28^v. Prayer; b. Fol. 31. Two cabbalistic prayers attributed to Saadyah; c. Fol. 41^v. סוד קרית שמע על הנסתר.

4. a. Fol. 52. עשר ספירות, שאלות וחשובות על עשר ספירות, by R. Pereš hak-Kōhēn; c. Fol. 61. Commentary on קריש, by R. Pereš hak-Kōhēn; d. Fol. 62. סוד הברכות, attributed to R. Azriel; e. Fol. 78. תפלות ראש השנה על דרך האמת, ביאור תפלות ראש השנה על דרך האמת; f. Fol. 82. Diagrams of cups, headed יוסף סמני רפואות מה"ר יוסף; g. Fol. 83. באור תפלה על דרך האמת.

5. a. Fol. 91. Commentary on the Ten Sefirōth by R. Azriel;

δ. Fol. 91^a. Commentary on the Thirteen Divine Attributes by Asher b. David b. Abraham b. David (see מאור נחמד, IV, p. 37);

c. Fol. 96. תפלת היחוד לר' נחמיה בן חזקיה.

6. Fol. 100. כתר שם טוב, by Shēm Tōb b. Abraham b. Joshua b. Saul b. Moses b. Abraham b. Gāōn, Supercommentary on Nahmānides' Commentary (printed).

7. Fol. 156^v. Biblical chronology up to 5092 (1332).

8. Fol. 177. Commentary on Canticles by Abraham b. Isaac bal-Lēvi (printed).

According to an earlier marking of the leaves in Hebrew letters, ff. 174-220 are missing. Fol. 99^v, Short Hebrew and Arabic notice by a later hand.

Vellum, Span. Rabb. char., fol. 90, two cabbalistic diagrams, 4to, ff. 211 [H. No. 53].

488. Miscellanies, compiled by a pupil of Moses of Korfu (see fol. 3), beginning with preface.

a. Poem headed המאמר החמישי במה שכלל אותו ספר המאמרות לארסמו עם הבמה אל השלמות הרלב"ג זצ"ל וזה הקדמ מפשרי לו (!)

הלצה עשה אברהם מסארטאנו (Sartirana ?) לתפארת. δ. Fol. 2^v. השיר הראשון שחברתי בימי ילדותי בלומדי עם. c. Fol. 3^r. מורי ואלופי הנאח כמורר' משה מקורפו י"ץ אשר אמן עצמו במלאכת

השיר וזה החלי בעוד צעדי ונאלץ. d. Fol. 3^v. Elegy on the death of Eliezer b. Jōhānān ע"ל; e. Fol. 12. Medical prescriptions; f. Ibid.^v

Epigrams; g. Fol. 13. תפלה למשה מריאמי ז'ל ושמה מען השואל. h. Fol. 15. Homilies and Contemplations; i. Fol. 21^v. Copies of letters:

to Josef אורא, by Don Benveniste, one of which is addressed to the latter's son אבניראל, and by Daniel of Bologna;

k. Fol. 23^v. Dissertations and letters of contemplative character;

l. Fol. 49^v. Letter by Isaac Abravanel; m. Fol. 50. קינה, by Judah

Minz; n. Fol. 53. Letter by Isaac אב"מ; o. Fol. 60. Elegy on the

death of Jacob, surnamed השוב, in Bologna; p. Fol. 61. Letter by

Jōhānān Judah אלמריני; q. Fol. 62^v. Moses Rieti's לבנון; r. Fol. 64. Poems by the same (printed, see מקדש מעם).

Ital. cura. char., fol., ff. 68 [H. No. 104].

489. 1. מעשה נסים, by Solomon Eliezer Ghironi, relating to an incident which took place in Venice, Sunday, 10 Ellul, 5444 (1684), the author being an eye-witness.

2. Fol. 6^v. Poems, 1. מה נעמו אלי זמירך (14 ll.); 2. עת בשוק בשם משה קראתיו (2 ll.); 3. ירד בין בני העין (3 ll.); 4. אראה צדק

אם רחוק ארצות. 6. (2 ll.) אחבר את מלצתי בחכמה. 5. (3 ll.) למען
ומן הרע תכונת איש יערע. 7. (5 ll.) מכירותי.

3. Fol. 7^v. אגרת בן הנפש ובן הנפח, attributed to Ibn Ezra; beg.
עמדו נא שרים וראו.

4. Fol. 11. Al Farābī's החכמות קריאת בסוד (see *Suebers.*,
p. 294).

[Owner: Mor. Sam. Ghirondi (38).]

Ital. curs. char., different hands, 8vo, ff. 22 [H. No. 233].

490. 1. Poem styled ספר הזרח על ספר איוב, by Zerah in
France. According to the colophon the poem was written 5212
(1452), but towards the end of the text the date of its composition
is stated to have been 5124 (1364).

2. Fol. 9. שירי תהלות, *Hymns and Cantiques* for festival days
and distinguished Sabbaths, &c., for the community of Brussels,
by H. Sommerhausen, Ph.D., in 1836 [as to the author see *SCat.*,
col. 2648].

3. Fol. 23. אורח צדיקים, by the Qaraite Simḥālī Isaac b. Moses,
on the difference between Rabbanites and Qaraites (printed).

4. Fol. 34. Catalogue of books.

Owner: Zunz (No. 14).

Nos. 1 (copied from Cod. Paris, No. 110, 8) and 2 modern squ. char.;
No. 3, curs. char., 4to, ff. 56 [No. 434].

491. α. Alphabetical list of names of persons, male and female,
contained in letters of marriage and divorce, and copied from the
records of the Secretary to the Jewish Community of Modena, esp.
on behalf of R. Josef Kōhēn (מורי"ך).

β. Fol. 46. Directions for writing letters of marriage and Haliṣāh.
The names are given in Hebrew and Italian spellings. The
following cities are mentioned: Ancona, Orbino, Ostiano, Bozzolo
(בזזולו), Bologna, Brescello (בריסילו), Gazzolo (גאזולו), Guastella,
Vignola, Mantua, Milano, Montrielli, Modena, נווילארא (Novellara),
ניזצא, Nizza (Provence), סאליציו (village near Modena), San
Giacomo, סרטידי, Scandiano, Sapuolo, San Agnese, San Faustino,
Savagna, San Martino, Finale, Florence, Pesaro, Padua, פריצו
(village near Modena), Parma, Firenzuola, Cinto, Cittanuova,
Correggio, Carpi, Corte Maggiore, Catarina, Guartirolo (village
near Carpi), Revere (פו ריירי = on the Po, according to R. Moses
Senigaglia), Reggio, Rovigo.

Late Ital. curs. char., 8vo, ff. 47 [H. No. 367].

492. 1. סימנים ורשימות כתבי הקברות, Records on (alleged) graves

of Biblical persons and Talmudical authorities in Palestine, by a certain Jacob, on behalf of R. Jehiel of Paris.

2. Fol. 15. Fairy tale, beg. מעשה בציר שצד עוף אחד שיועד לשון בני אדם.

3. Fol. 17. Itinerarium from Paris to Akko.

4. Fol. 19. Royal edict, countersigned by the Rabbis of Narbonne for the Jews of [Northern] France, Anjou, Poitou, and Normandy, concerning the dowry of a married woman, who died within the first year of her marriage; signed Jacob b. Meir, Isaac b. Baruch, Abraham b. Peres.

5. Fol. 22. Jacob Tam's חרם, beg. צץ חממה.

6. Fol. 28. Responsum by Solomon b. Isaac (Rashi, printed, see Carmoly, *Itinéraire*, p. 175).

Vellum, French curs. char., 32mo, ff. 29 [H. No. 378].

493. 1. Solomon Pappenheim's ארבע כוכות (printed).

2. Fol. 17. Moses Maimūni's אגרת חסד (printed).

3. Fol. 29. תפלה לעצירת נשמים, composed Leghorn, 1565.

4. Fol. 32. Abraham Maimūni's letter אגרת מלחמה ה' (printed).

5. a. Fol. 44. Abstracts from Georgius Amira's *Grammatica Syriaca*, Rome, 1596, pp. 43, 44, four lines; b. Fol. 45. Efraim Syrus' alphabetical hymns on learning, Syriac in Hebrew square characters (see Lamy, *Ephraimi Syri Carmina et Sermones*).

6. Fol. 49. Piyyutim: 1. ציון הלא חשאי (Judah Hallēvi); 2. שור אבקשך (Solomon b. Gabirol); 3. יה שמך (Jeh. Hall.); 4. אשר ערתי; 5. יצו האל (Jeh. Hall.); 6. יצרי ראשית צרי (the same); 7. יקר יום שבת (the same); 8. אשר במישרים (Abr. b. Ezra).

7. a. Fol. 56. Poem beg. בן אדם יום יום עד בא יומך, by R. שאראחל, sent to R. Nieto in Amsterdam in response to a sermon preached by the latter; b. Poem by Abraham of Cologne, beg. התרוממי בת שר; c. Poem by David Sinzheim on Elijah Aaron Latas in Venice.

8. Fol. 58. Hāi Gāōn's ethical poem, beg. ירא האל בני.

German Rabb. char., small 4to, ff. 59 [H. No. 230].

494. 1. Poem by Simon Šemah Dūrān.

2. Fol. 4. רקוד התשים והעזים, Treatise against dancing by Solomon Hazzān צני.

3. Fol. 10. חרחי זכרון, Title only, with the following rhymes:—

אקרא	זכרון
בעל	אני
זכרון	אמרן

and the date Amsterdam ת"ק ור"ם (1784).

4. Poem headed על בני אדם אשר שלחו ידם למלאכת חסיד והם לא ידעו מה היא. Sent by Isaac b. אלחנאב [at the end of אלחנאב] to Zerahyāh b. Danon. The name Zerahyāh appears as acrostic in the last portion of the poem.

[Owner: Carmoly, No. 242.]

German Rabb. and cura. char., 8vo, ff. 11 [H. No. 319].

495. 1. מעשי תהלים, one page only.

2. Fol. 5. Solomon b. Mushullam Dafieiria's (דפאיריא) dictionary of rhymes, styled אמרי נואש.

3. Fol. 84. פירין נפש, according to Nahmanides, prayers for sick persons.

4. Fol. 89. Abstract from יד חרוצים of Gershōm Hefes (printed, Venice, 1709).

5. Fol. 97. Fragment of an address, ending with a poem beg. אי היום עובר (6 ll.).

Ital. cura. char., 4to, ff. 97, many blanks [H. No. 308].

496. Dictionary of rhymes and quotations in alphabetical order. Sentences of the Talmud are accompanied by an indication of their places. Fol. 17^v, Quotations beginning with אין; fol. 18, אמרי אינשי.

Span. Rabb. char., fol., ff. 275 [No. 424].

497. 1. Moses Nahmanides' שער הנבואה (printed).

2. Fol. 55^v. ספר נ תעודות, by Jacob b. Eleazar, cf. Steinschneider, ZDMG., XXVII, 555, who has however omitted to remark that ff. 51-68 ought to be placed before fol. 34.

3. Fol. 39. ספר הישר, Religious and moral essays attributed to Jacob b. Meir Tām (printed), last chapter missing.

4. Fol. 107. ר' יוד קמחי ז"ל, עתה אשוב לפרש הנסתר, אשר מססוק ויצר יי אלחים עד זה ספר תולדות האדם.

5. Fol. 118^v. Medical hints in Ladino, Spanish, and Hebrew.

6. Fol. 124. Single leaf, probably belonging to No. 7.

7. Fol. 125. Fragment of some work on the names of angels.

Span. Rabb. char., after fol. 15 lacuna; ff. 122, 123 blanks; 4to, ff. 125 [H. No. 152].

498. פרדס ראבי"ה חלק שלישי, Continuation of Eljaqim Mehlisack's מכתב נ' מאת שלמה יהודה ראפפורט הכהן כולל ראביא"ה, beginning התנצלות על האגרת שבכרם חמד קובץ ראשון מכתב כ"ג. The work contains eight chapters.

German Rabb. char., 4to, ff. 12 [H. No. 387].

499. נעמי מדע, Four essays by students of the Talmud Tōrā in Trieste, containing eulogistic references to Sir Moses Montefiore: a. Discussion on the sending of messengers from Palestine for the purpose of collecting money, by Isaac מאיוניקא; b. Address to Zion, by Isaac קסמיליו; c. Short account of the Damascus affair, by Josef מעבוריא; d. Discourse on the conquest of Jerusalem by Titus, by Rafael Kōhēn.

Large cura. char., 4to, ff. 10 [No. 488].

500. משלי סנדרבאר, The travels of Sindbād (printed).

Late German cura. char., 12mo, ff. 12 [H. No. 113].

501. ספר כלילא ודמנא, Jacob b. Elazar's Hebrew translation, copied from Cod. Paris 1282¹ by Alexander Goldberg, with corrections by Ber Goldberg.

German cura. char., 4to, ff. 91 [H. No. 50].

502. Berekhyah b. Naṭrōnai han-Naqdān's ס' משלי שועלים; beginning of introduction missing. The heading of No. 13 is placed above the text of No. 14. Ff. 69 and 70 after 72. The index given at the beginning is inaccurate, and does not tally with the arrangement in the body of the codex. Many pages are almost illegible. The MS. seems to be later than ed. Mantua, 1557.

Orient. equ. char., ff. 80 [No. 522].

503. (Mattathias b. Moses'?) ספר אחימור וצלמן, religious controversy, beginning missing; beg. וקם אחד מן האנשים.

German cura. char., 4to, ff. 23 [H. No. 129].

504. 1. a. Rhymed conundrums, headed זח שלחה הרבנית מצרפת; b. Six lines of poetry on the calendar rule א"ת ב"ש; c. לחר' פרח נ"ע.

2. Fol. 2. a. Glosses on various topics, as ממטרון (1 Chron. xix. 11) with reference to the יצירה ס' (ibid. ii. 13); b. ענין פרה אדומה; c. ביאור יין המשמר בענין מששת ימי בראשית; d. Glosses on מזבח (2 Kings ii. 11; Zech. iii. 7; Exod. xxxiii. 22; Job xi. 15; 2 Kings ii. 9, followed by some lexicographical remarks; e. Some philosophical definitions in which R. Zerahya is mentioned; f. שאל אפלטון למה השכל והמושכל דבר אחד, followed by a discourse in fifty rhymed strophes, between three and six lines each. Str. xiv runs thus: שלום רב ר' שבתי השת' איפתך צדק והין צדק. With the first lines of str. li the MS. ends.

Vellum and paper, Franco-German cura. char., 4to, ff. 15 [H. No. 307].

3. Fol. 32. Translation of the elegy on the death of King Josiah by [?] of Cologne, printed in *L'Iraclite à Français*, 1817.

4. Fol. 39. Accounts of expenses in Jerusalem.

12mo, ff. 48, many blanks [H. No. 403].

512. List of Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem from Hungary, Bohemia and Moravia in 1875, written by Dr. L[ouis] Loewe.

4to, ff. 16 [No. 418].

513. Memorandum in connexion with "The Establishment of Jewish Colonies in Palestine by Lieutenant-Colonel Gawler," presented to the Earl of Aberdeen with the pamphlet on the 26th June, 1845.

4to, ff. 11 [No. 539].

514. Syllabus of study in the Beth Hammidrāsh of R. Josef Blumenthal in Jerusalem in 1866; containing also the names of overseers, teachers, and pupils.

8vo, ff. 6 [No. 500].

515. נמילות חסד, Statutes of the society נמילות חסד in Jerusalem, 1870. Dedicated to Sir Moses Montefiore on the occasion of this seventh visit to the Holy City.

4to, ff. 5 [No. 487].

516. Catalogue of printed books and MSS. of David Oppenheimer's Library (printed, Hamburg, 1782).

Owner: M. J. Bresslau, who presented it to Zunz [No. 11].

Squ. and German curs. char., 4to, ff. 1-12 and 26-33 missing; ff. 122 [No. 428].

517. 1. Catalogue of books belonging to Isaac and Jacob מריינס in Venice.

2. Fol. 2. מרבר תמוכות, by Isaac Levi b. Jacob. Account of quarrels and persecutions in various Italian communities between 1648 and 1651; fol. 10^v, Manifesto relating to the persecution of Simha Luzatto in Venice.

Ital. Rabb. char., 4to, ff. 18 [H. No. 262].

518. מנחת יהודה, Casuistic treatise in forty-three chapters, with references to Sir Moses Montefiore, Adolf Crémieux and the Rothschild family, by Solomon Hayy Al Qal'i (אל קלעי), Reader in Semlin.

Rabb. curs. char., 8vo, ff. 28 [No. 474].

519. Diary of Elisha b. Moses of Rieti, containing letters and memoranda; fol. 9^v, Glosses on the Zohar; fol. 27, על התפלה;

fol. 30. על השבת; fol. 31. פירוש פסוקים; fol. 45^v, Proverbs in Hebrew and Latin.

Ital. curs. char., fol., ff. 45 [H. No. 310].

MONTEFIOREANA.

520. Collectanea.

1. Glory to Moses, or "Tablet of Testimony."
2. Fol. 12. Translation of the Hebrew Tablet in the Soldiers' Synagogue at St. Petersburg, by Jonas Gurland.
3. Fol. 21. מנחת תורה, Poem by Meir Rabbinowicz in Suez, in honour of Sir Moses Montefiore.
4. Fol. 31. קול רנה, Poem by Meir Jacob Margoliouth, in honour of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore.
- [5. Hirsch Fleischer, *Selbstunterricht im Ausadern des Hintertheiles vom Viehfleische*, Budapest, 1879 (printed pamphlet).]
6. Fol. 37. שמש צדקה, An account of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore's last visit to Damascus and the Holy Land, by Jacob Hallévi Sappir in Jerusalem, 1849.
- [7. ניא חזקן, by Jacob Sappir Hallévi, Jerusalem, 1855, pamphlet, with dedication by the author to Sir Moses Montefiore.]
7. Fol. 48. עת לדרב, Paper by Davidson, London, 1843.
8. Fol. 56. Hebrew prayer with interlineary English translation, before undertaking a journey to the Holy Land.
9. Fol. 60. Frühlings-Gedicht by L. B. Germaise, in honour of Sir Moses Montefiore; written in Wilna, 1846.
10. Fol. 69. Fest-Geschenk zu den heiligen Pfingsttagen der Israeliten, 5617 [1857], verfasst und herausgegeben von F. M. Friedmann.
11. Fol. 75. מנחת מזכרת עני, Hebrew poem by Josef Kohen Büchner, presented to Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore for the New Year, 5618.
12. Fol. 79. The same as No. 8, but without the English translation, and excellently written on vellum.
13. Fol. 83. Viaggio di Gerusalemme eseguito da Sabato Isache Ambrou e Amadio Abbina.
14. Fol. 96. Italian sonnet by B. P. Sanguinetti, addressed to Sir Moses Montefiore.
15. Fol. 97. Sermon by Israel Moses טוביל b. Hayyim in Premysl, Sabbath נחמז, 5624 (1864).

16. Fol. 110. שיר ותהלה, Hebrew address composed by Abraham Bārūch Piperno, on behalf of the Jewish Corporation of Leghorn, to celebrate the deliverance of the Jews in Damascus and Rhodes, and presented to Sir Moses Montefiore. At the end mention is made of Crémieux, Dr. Loewe, and Dr. S. Munk.

Vellum and paper, 4to and 8vo, various hands, ff. 113 [No. 531].

521. שיר זמרה, Poem sent to Sir Moses Montefiore, together with the third scroll of the Pentateuch, written for him by Zebi Hirsch in Wilna, 1845.

Splendid squ. char., 8vo, ff. 4 [No. 472].

522. שירה, Poem in honour of Lady Montefiore, by Abraham Bārūch Piperno, Leghorn, 1825.

Large squ. char., fol. 6 curs. char., small 4to, ff. 6 [No. 467].

523. משה משה, Prayer recited and sermon delivered in the synagogue תפארת ישראל in Jerusalem, in honour of Sir Moses Montefiore and Dr. L. Loewe, by Elijah Sarason, 11th Marḥeshwān, 5635 (1875).

8vo, ff. 13 [No. 470].

524. תהלה למשה, Poem in honour of Sir Moses Montefiore's seventh journey to Jerusalem at the age of ninety-one, Sunday, 1st Tammūz, 5635 (1875), by Abraham M. Luncz. Richly illuminated. There is also an English title and preface.

8vo, ff. 11 [No. 473].

525. למה דרכיו, Lecture delivered in celebration of Sir Moses Montefiore's visit in Smyrna, by Ḥayyim מלאני, on Friday, 2nd Kislev, 5601 (1841).

Orient. curs. char., small 4to, ff. 27 [No. 471].

526. מנחת תורה, Lecture in honour of Sir Moses Montefiore, by Solomon Salmon Wolf b. Ezekiel Feiwei in Wilna.

Splendid squ. char., 8vo, ff. 16 [No. 478].

527. הערך פנקס של האברה לינת צדק, Pamphlet containing the laws of the society לינת צדק in Jerusalem, list of the members and the committee for 1875, a dedication to Sir Moses Montefiore and a prayer for him.

Written by Israel Simon Schajin.

Ornamental writing, many letters gilt, 8vo, ff. 11 [No. 498].

528-557. Statistical accounts of the Holy Land [beginning 1839], collected by Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore.

30 vols., fol. [No. 550-579].

558. The earnest prayer of an humble servant of God, the minister of Moses. Hebrew and English.

4to, ff. 10 [No. 475].

559. Sermon by P. Segura, Haham Basbi of Smyrna, delivered at the great synagogue on the arrival of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, 1841. English title-page, the sermon being in Hebrew.

Rabb. char., 4to, ff. 8 [No. 480].

560. Address to Sir Moses Montefiore on the occasion of his beginning to write a scroll of the Tora in Wilna, by Salmon Wolf b. Ezekiel Feiwel.

4to, ff. 5 [No. 482].

561. 1. חמט דמשק, An account of the Damascus affair, and the mission of Sir Moses Montefiore and Adolphe Crémieux, by Mordecai Aaron Ginzburg (printed).

2. a. Fol. 59. קקין, Criticism on the work מניד אמת (Leipzig, 1843); b. Fol. 67. תורה אחת, Glosses on various passages of Bible and Talmud.

8vo, ff. 70 [No. 495].

562. שיערי ליה, Quotations from the Bible with English translation, concluding with a Hebrew prayer by Abraham Belais.

4to, ff. 5 [No. 534].

563. ספר החלל והשמחה, Prayers and hymns in honour of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, composed and translated into English by Abraham Belais. Enclosed two letters, dated 18 Ellul, 5609.

8vo, ff. 17 [No. 535⁹].

564. The water supply of Jerusalem, by Henry Lumley, Jerusalem, 1871; fol. 27, Report on Sir Moses Montefiore's garden at Jaffa.

4to, ff. 28 [No. 536].

565. "The Providence of God with Israel," sermon delivered at the synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish Congregation in Bevis Marks, by D. A. de Sola, 15 Adar, 5601 (March 8, 1841). Preceded by a dedicatory letter to Sir Moses Montefiore.

4to, ff. 19 [No. 537].

566. Another copy of the same, preceded by a dedicatory letter to Lady Montefiore.

4to, ff. 21 [No. 537^a].

567. Lady Montefiore's Journal, Nov. 11, 1827 to Feb. 20, 1828. A Hebrew poem of three strophes is pasted over the inside of the left-hand cover.

4to, pp. 111 [No. 526].

568. Remembrance for future generations, and detailed description of the solemn decoration, the gold medal of merit to the Rev. Chief Rabbi of Great Kanisza, Hirsch B. Fassel, Apr. 15, 1863.

4to, ff. 71 [No. 533].

569. *a.* List of the members of Jewish families who emigrated from Austria and settled in Sefath; arranged for Sir Moses Montefiore; *b.* Fol. 37. Similar list of the Austrian Jews in Tiberias.

4to, ff. 37 [No. 497].

570. Sermon by Bärüch b. Abraham, presented to Sir Moses Montefiore.

4to, ff. 16 [No. 540].

571. ספר לויח חן צדה לדרך, Prayers and verses of the Bible with English translation, collected by Abraham Belais, in honour of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore's journey to Jerusalem in the year 1849.

Embossed paper, 8vo, ff. 11 [No. 541].

572. Similar work by the same author in celebration of the return of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore in 1850.

8vo, ff. 13 [No. 535].

573. Sermon by Emmuel Hyims (*sic*), delivered on the tenth anniversary of the dedication of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore's Synagogue, 27 June, 5603 (1873).

8vo, ff. 22 [No. 543].

574. Letters and petitions received by Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, in the Holy Land in the year 5599 (1839); ff. 1-6, Index by Dr. L. Loewe.

Fol., ff. 90 [No. 546].

575. Vol. II, 1839.

Ff. 96 [No. 547].

576. Vol. III, for the year 1849, containing many loose letters.

Ff. 91 [No. 548].

577. Vol. IV, 1849, containing many loose letters.

Ff. 91 [No. 549].

578. Diary of a journey through England, Holland, and Germany, giving the names of the towns visited, expenses incurred, and chief incidents.

4to, pp. 108 [No. 529].

579. The Qorān in Arabic, many letters in gold and red. At the end several prayers.

Maghribine Naakhi char., 4to, ff. 112 [No. 507].

580. 1. Appel adressé aux coreligionnaires charitables par plusieurs directeurs des hôpitaux pour des pauvres Israélites à Jérusalem. Hebrew and French.

4to, ff. 5.

2. ס' קורות האבות, Dramatic poem on Isaac and Rebecca, dedicated to Sir Moses Montefiore.

8vo, ff. 21.

3. Appeal to the Jews of England on behalf of the Rothschild Hospital.

fol., pp. 2 [No. 545].

HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD.

THE JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW

JANUARY, 1903

THE ARABIC PORTION OF THE CAIRO GENIZAH AT CAMBRIDGE¹.

THE work of classifying the Arabic fragments of the Cairo Genizah at the Cambridge University Library began in October, 1901. Roughly estimated, they count about 12,000, mostly written on paper, but many (about one-fourth) on vellum. The bulk of the fragments range from mere scraps to almost complete volumes, but there is no really complete work in the whole collection. As only a small portion of the fragments has as yet passed through the cleaner's hands, the contents of many have not been definitely ascertained, but the variety of subjects treated of in those already recognized surpasses every expectation.

At first sight it seemed advisable to divide the whole mass of fragments into two large sections, viz. those written in Hebrew characters, and those written in Arabic script. A closer inspection, however, revealed the fact that many fragments written in Hebrew script belonged to Moham-

¹ A German abstract of this paper was read before the Islamic Section of the Thirteenth International Congress of Orientalists at Hamburg, Oct. 8, 1902.

medan literature, whilst many written in Arabic characters were not only Jewish, but actually in the Hebrew language. Prominent in the latter group are a large number of legal documents written on behalf of, or dealing with, Jewish people. Many of these are written in Neskhi. They were drawn up by Mohammedan solicitors, it probably having been desirable to make them accessible to the authorities in case of legal proceedings. One of these documents relates to a deal between a banker (whose name is no longer legible) and Abūl Munaggā, the Jew. The latter is an historical person. As Makrizi tells us (*Description of Egypt*, I, 487), he was governor of the district of Damietta, and built the sluices named after him. This happened about 1120, and the document in question, being written on vellum, appears to support this theory.

On the other side, the fragments written in Hebrew characters, but of Mohammedan contents, reveal a feature of great interest. They show that the Jews of Egypt (who are principally concerned) were well acquainted with the literature of their country. We shall presently see that in this way they preserved literary productions not to be found elsewhere. We also see that the art of writing was uncommonly spread amongst them. Finally, among the enormous mass of fragments in various hands, we find specimens valuable for the study of palaeography, and the development of Arabic cyphers.

If, therefore, a division of the whole collection be made, it is best to distinguish between Jewish and Mohammedan fragments, irrespective of writing.

The following is an alphabetical list of subjects ascertained up to the present: Astronomy and Astrology, Bible (text, translation and commentaries), Bills and Accounts, Calendar, Children's exercises, Cufic pieces, Documents, Dreams (interpretation of), Fiction, Geography, Grammar, History, Homilies, Legends, Letters, Lexicography, Liturgy, Māsōrah, Mathematics, Medicine, Midrash, Mohammedan Tradition, Natural History, Philosophy, Poetry, Polemics,

Polite Literature (*Adab*), Proverbs, Qabbālāh, Qaraïtes, Qorān, Responsa, Sūfism, Talmud and Rabbīnics.

In order to illustrate this survey, I have selected a few specimens which merit a more detailed description.

I.

Paper, two leaves, 18 × 15 cm., in large Hebrew and rather clumsy square letters; several words are struck out and corrected, others missing where the paper is dilapidated. The language is pure Arabic. Many letters have Hebrew vowel-points. Diacritical points are rare, and are restricted to ʾ, which occasionally stands for ʾ; ʾ represents in some cases غ ʾ=ج, ج=خ. (Facsimile annexed.)

The fragment consists of three divisions:—

1. Address (Khutba) by a Jew converted to Islām.
2. Letter by Mohammed to Ḥaninā and the people of Kheibar and Maqnā.
3. Mohammed's genealogy.

Before discussing the historical value of the fragment, I will cite the first two divisions.

First Division.

In the name of the Merciful, Compassionate.

O assembly of Moslims, and Fugitives, and Helpers. O people of the Prophet (peace upon him), O bearers of the Qorān, O people of the Prophet (peace upon him), of fasters of the month of Ramadhān, I am a man who has detached himself from the sons of Ḥunai¹ b. Akhtab b. Ḥaninā of Kheibar, whom we came and overpowered, [to whom] our foot made war, and [whom] our horses carried away. We freely gave up our persons and provisions six days in the lustrous week. Then out

¹ This name is either *Ḥunī* (frequent in post-Biblical times), or abridged from *Ḥaninā*. In Moslim literature it is spelt *Hunay*, which form evidently owes its origin to ancient writing without diacritical points

came to us our mother, viz. the mother of Al Ḥunai¹ b. Akhtab, saying: "Sabbath has come and the time of prayer." We answered her: "We have neither Sabbath, nor feast, nor rest, nor sleep, until the Prophet of Allāh (may Allāh pray for him and greet him) fulfil that which Allāh has inspired him with." The Prophet of Allāh (may, &c.) accepted this, and our Sabbath was not incumbent upon us. He married Ṣafiyya, the daughter of our uncle², and gave her her freedom and marriage gift. And he wrote for us a treaty and covenant³. . . .

Ali b. Abū Ṭālib (may, &c.), that he should take the letter out, kiss it, draw it over his face, and read it [as follows]:—

Second Division.

In the name of the Merciful, Compassionate.

This is a letter from Moḥammed, the Messenger of Allāh to Ḥaninā and the people of Kheibar and Maqnā and their progeny as long as the heavens are above the earth, peace. I praise unto you God, save whom there is no God but he⁴. Now [I say that] he has revealed unto me that you are about to return to your cities and to the inhabitants of your dwelling-place. Return in safety, in the protection of Allāh and that of his Messenger. Yours is the safeguard of Allāh and that of his Messenger with regard to your persons, belief, and property, slaves, and whatever is in your possession. You shall not have the annoyance of land-tax, nor shall a forelock of yours be cut off. No army shall tread on your soil, nor shall you be assembled [for military service], nor shall tithes be imposed on you, neither shall you be injured in any way. No one shall leave his mark on you, you shall not be prevented from wearing slashed or coloured garments, nor from riding on

¹ Here with article.

² Ḥunai.

³ The words that follow are not clear, and probably corrupted.

⁴ Frequent Qoranic phrase; see my *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qorān*, pp. 30 sq.

horseback, nor from carrying any kind of arms. If any one attacks you, fight him, and if he is killed in the war against you, none of you shall be executed for his sake, nor is ransom to be paid for him. If one of you kills a Moslim intentionally, he shall be dealt with according to Moslim law. No disgraceful charges shall be brought against you, and you shall not be as other [non-Moslim] poll-tax payers. If you ask assistance, it shall be granted to you, and if you want help you shall have it. You shall not be punished for white, nor yellow, nor brown (garments), nor for a coat of mail, nor¹ Not a shoe-lace of yours shall be cut. You shall not be hindered entering the mosques, nor precluded from governing Moslims. You shall have no other ruler except out of your own midst, or from the family of the messenger of Allāh. Room shall be made for your funerals, except when they trespass on a sacred spot (mosque)². You shall be held in honour on account of your own high station and the station of Ṣafiyya, the daughter of your Uncle. It shall be incumbent upon the people of the house of the Messenger of Allāh and upon the Moslims to uphold your honour, and not to touch you (?)³. If any of you goes on a journey, he shall be under the safeguard of Allāh and his Messenger. "There is no compulsion in matters of religion"⁴. If any of you follows the religion of the Messenger of Allāh and his command, he shall have one fourth of what the Messenger of Allāh has ordered to be given to the people of his house, to be given when the Qoreish receive their portions, viz. fifty dinārs. This is a present from me for you. The family of the house of the Messenger of Allāh as well as the Moslims are charged

¹ The words that follow here are not clear. As to *לחץ לא חלץ* see *Beisḥuri*, p. 60 *وربع كراهم وحلقتهم* 60, and *ibid.*, p. 23 *ولرسول الله معلم* 23. *الصفر والبيضاء واللقة*.

² *الحق البقين*, cf. *Qor.* LVI, 95; LXIX, 51.

³ *مستكم*, *ويطفوا عن مستكم*, not quite clear; probably *مستكم*.

⁴ *Qor.* II, 257.

to fulfil all that is in this letter. Whoever deserves well of Ḥanīnā and the people of Kheibar and Maqnā, all the better for him ; but he who does them evil, all the worse for him. Whoever reads this my letter, or to whomever it is read, and he alters or changes anything of what is in it, upon him shall be the curse of Allāh and the curse of the cursing of . . .¹ and all mankind. He is beyond my protection and intercession on the day of Resurrection, and I am his foe. And who is my foe is the foe of Allāh, and he who is the foe of Allāh goes to hell² . . . and bad is the abode there³. Witness is Allāh, like whom there is no God, and Allāh is sufficient as witness⁴, and his angels . . .⁵, and those Moslims who are present. Ali, the son of *Abū Ṭālib*, wrote it with his writing, whilst the Messenger of Allāh dictated to him letter for letter, Friday, the 3rd of Ramadhān, in the year five of the Hijra. Witnesses: [Amm]ār b. Yāsir; Salmān the Persian, the friend of the Messenger of Allāh; Abu Darr al Ghifārī.

Now the date given at the end of the letter is, indeed, not quite correct, the third of Ramadhān, A. 5, having been a Monday. The number of the year was probably no more legible in the original (of which our text is a copy), but the month as well as the day of the week agree with the year *nine*, in which, as we know from other sources, Mohammed dispatched several letters of a similar nature. From two passages in the letter we can infer that it was written for the benefit of the Jews of Kheibar and Maqnā. The old Mohammedan traditions have also handed down the texts of such letters, but to each of these two places separately. A letter sent by Mohammed to Kheibar is reproduced by Ibn Ishāq⁶, but it is so badly authenticated that its spurious character scarcely needs any proof. More than half of it consists of a quotation of Qor. XLVIII, 29, and for that very reason cannot have originated with Mohammed. As to the letter sent to Maqnā, it has been preserved by

¹ Gap.² Two words missing.³ Qor. II, 120 and often.⁴ Qor. IV, 81 and often.⁵ One or two letters missing.⁶ Page 376.

Al Wāqidi¹, and it is noticeable that the opening phrase coincides verbally with the assurance of safety given in our letter. The chief difference consists in the circumstance that the impost of one-fourth of their fishing and palm revenues laid upon the inhabitants of Maqnā, is not mentioned in our letter. But this is easily accounted for by the comparative lateness of Al Wāqidi's version, and his ignorance of the real contents of the letter, which he supposed were similar to the conditions granted to other communities subdued by Mohammed. In another version of the same letter, of which the German translation is given by Sprenger², we find a promise that the people of Maqnā should have no other Amir than one out of their midst or one of Mohammed's family. The same phrase (with *Wālī* instead of *Amīr*) is also contained in our letter. Now the text of the letter, as given by Al Wāqidi, is reproduced by Al Belāduri³, but is prefaced by the following most remarkable statement: "A man from Egypt (*Maṣr*) has informed me that he saw their (the Jews') letter⁴ with his own eye, on red leather, with the writing worn. He copied it, and dictated his copy to me." From this statement we learn that the original of the letter had been removed from Kheibar to Egypt, evidently by Jews emigrating to this country. At the same time it becomes clear why the copies are more or less imperfect. This also applies in some measure to our text, and explains the corruptness of several passages.

In the first division of our fragment, as well as at the end of the letter, we find the seemingly incorrect spelling, Ali b. *Abū Ṭālib*. The same spelling (*Abū*) is also repeated in Belāduri's version. The copyist of one of the MSS. used by Prof. De Goeje infers from this that the letter

¹ MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 1617, fol. 231 vo. قالوا وكتب لاهل مقنا أنهم آمنون
بإيمان الله وإمان محمد وان عليهم ربع عزولهم وربع ثمارهم.

² *Leben und Lehre d. Mohammad*, vol. III, pp. 420 sqq.

³ Ed. De Goeje, pp. 59 sq.

⁴ See also *Jācūt*, I, p. 422, s. v. ايلة, cf. IV, 610.

is a fabrication: but just this circumstance speaks for its genuineness, since the last-named scholar has shown that Ali b. *Abū Ṭālib* was the common spelling in the first century of the Hijra. There are also other points to support the authenticity of the document. The absence of eulogistic phrases referring to Mohammed at the beginning of the *Khuṭba* is, as *Kremer*¹ has shown, in itself an argument of old age. The employment of the phrase, "May Allāh pray for him," after names other than Mohammed, is rigorously excluded in later writings. The spirit of the letter is so much against Moslim tendency that it is out of the question to assume that it was a Jewish fabrication, not to forget that the writer introduces himself as an apostate to Islām. There are finally the signatures, which are those of three old and trusty companions of Mohammed.

As to the *third division* of our fragment, containing the genealogy of Mohammed, it is likewise of great interest. In its first part it agrees with that given by Ibn Ishāq, which is the oldest known. The second part, however, which is made up of Biblical names², is much more correct as regards sequence of persons and spelling of names than that handed down by Ibn Ishāq. This is owing to the fact that the author of this genealogy was familiar with the Biblical names in their original forms. There can be no doubt that this part of the genealogy originates with a man who was born a Jew (perhaps Ka'b b. Al Aḥbār), who added it to that kept in Mohammed's family register. It is therefore easily intelligible that these Biblical names were corrupted by Moslim copyists to the form in which we find them in the oldest works on tradition.

The interest attached to our fragment is not exhausted by these remarks, as it also offers material for archaeological and palaeographical research. Its antiquity is so great that we may safely date it from the tenth century, if not still earlier.

¹ *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen*, p. 116.

² See Sprenger, *ibid.*, pp. cxxxii sqq.

II.

Two fragments on paper, written in Hebrew characters : A. one leaf, 17×13 cm. On the *recto* the title: *Interpretation of Dreams* (تفسير المنامات), by Ibn Sirin; on the *verso* eighteen lines of text.—B. three leaves, 18×14 cm., of which only foll. 1^r and 2^r contain the same text, only shorter by a few words, but with many variations.

It is hardly necessary to say anything here about the personality of the author to whom this work is ascribed, as he is known as one of the older Mohammedan traditionists, and was born A. H. 33. His skill in interpreting dreams (looked upon as a sort of prophetic afflatus) is recorded by Ibn Khalliqān¹, but Arab litterateurs and bibliographers have not handed down any title of a work by him². Even Hāji Khalfa only speaks of compendia (*jawāmi'*) of his dream interpretations. In Abū Sa'id Al Wāiz' work, تعبیر الاحلام (Cod. Brit. Mus. Or. 6262), Ibn Sirin is frequently quoted as an authority, but also without mentioning the title of any work. As regards our fragments, it is, of course, difficult to say whether they were copied from a genuine work. The fragment A is evidently the older of the two, and the variations, which are rather numerous for so short a piece, show that they were copied from different archetypes. The first original must have been written in Arabic characters, because it is not likely that a Jewish writer would have composed such a work under the pseudonym of a Moslim author on the subject. Oneiro-mancy seems to have been a favourite subject for the Jews in the East, because I have found hitherto in the same collection not less than *eight* other fragments, all in different sizes and writing. Neither can they have been copied from the same work, as some of them also differ in the

¹ De Slane's *Translation*, vol. II, pp. 586 sq.

² The title تعبیر الرؤيا mentioned in the *Kitāb al Fihrist* is not authentic. On the whole question see Bland, "On the Muhammedan Science of Tābir," *J. R. A. S.*, 1854, pp. 118 sqq.

matter of technical terms. In Jewish literature there also exist writings on oneiromancy, but, as far as I could ascertain, these are the only ones written in Arabic.

Our fragments only give a part of the introduction:—

“Know that the dream is clearest when the body of him who beholds it is clear of food, that the person is lying on his right side, that he is free that night from intoxicants or drinking of wine, and unencumbered by worry, grief, hemorrhoids, and physical disorders, which arise from bad food and disordered body. Know that God is master of secrets, and knows what will be, whilst man’s path, when he dreams much, should be to keep his mind pure and to search his soul. Such dreams are hints for him to be wakeful and attentive, and to free himself from undesirable conditions. Know that the dreams come true sometimes on the same day, and sometimes hold on for a week or a month . . .” Fragment A was probably the property of a certain Sār Shālōm.

III.

Two fragments, paper: A. one leaf, 23 × 16 cm., in Hebrew characters, superscribed אלהיך נא לך.—B. one leaf, 17 × 13, in Neskhi, with marginal notes in Hebrew writing. This fragment contains a poem, likewise by Al Ḥallāj, but is, unfortunately, in very bad condition.

Both of these fragments are of considerable interest, not only because they supplement in some way the very scant literature by and on the founder of Šūfism, but also because they show the spread of the Šūfic movement among Jews. As to A, it consists of a piece in prose with some verses attached. As the text is anything but in good condition, I confine my translation to the two passages at the beginning and end of the prose piece, as follows: It is handed down on behalf of Al Ḥallāj. “He who searches the truth by the light of belief is like him who seeks the sun by the light of the stars. . . . I searched the whole earth for any one who had found a firm position, but found none

such; I followed my desires, and they made me their slave. Had I been satisfied, I would have been free. I borrowed from Time, and it borrowed from me; but its gift was sweet and bitter."

Fragment B is in such condition as will hardly allow any coherent translation, a large portion being undecipherable. Of great interest are, however, the marginal notes written by a Jewish reader, viz. "Discussion of the ways of the Sūfis. When I had done with studies, I turned my mind to the ways of the Sūfis; but I am too weak to understand, much less to answer it." A similar remark, rather fuller, is on the lower margin, but not all of it is readable.

HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD.

I

T-S. 8 Ka. 1.

בסם אללה אלרחמאן אלרחים

יא מעאשר¹ אלמסלמין ואלמתאגרין ואלאנצאר יא אמה אלנבי עלה יא
חמלה אלקראן יא אמה אלנבי עולם יא צואם שהר רמצאן אנה רגל
לברי מן בני חני בן אכמב/ בן חנינא אלדי מן כיבר אלדין אחינא וקומא
וקאחלת רגלנא וחמלת אפראסנא ואבדלנא נפוסנא וואדנא סתה איאם/ פי
אלגמעה אלוהרא פכרנת אלינא אמנא וזי אם אלחני בן אכמב פקאלת
קר אדרכת אלסבת ווקת אלצלאה פקלנא לתא לא סבת לנא ולא עיד
ולא קראר ולא נום חתי יפי/ רסול אללה צלא אללה עליה וסלם במא
אוחא אללה אליה פקבל וילך מנא רסול אללה צלא אללה עליה ולם יחל
עלינא סבתנא, וחוון בצפיה אבנת עמנא ונעל עתאקא/ צדאקא/ וכתב לנא
עהרא ומיתאקא פרחם אללה עבר ורחם ואלרית/ חצר ואחצר וסמע ואסחמע
ואנבא ותרפק לינטר עהר/ רסול אללה צלא אללה עליה ברטב עלי אבן
אבו סאלב צלא אללה עליה ויכרן אלכתאב וקבלה ויססח בה עלי ונהא
ויקראח

בסם אללה אלרחמאן אלרחים

הוא כתאב מן מחצר רסול אללה לחנינא ולאחל כיבר ואל מקנא

¹ Orig. מעאשר.

(Verso.)

ולדאריהם מא דאמת אלסמאות עלי אלארץ סלאם אנתם אני אחמד
 אליכם אללה אלדי לא אלאה אלא הו . . / אסא בעד פאנה אנול עלי אלוהי
 אנכם ראנעון אלי קראכם, וסכנא דארכם פארנעו אמנין באמאן אללה
 ואמאן רסולה ולכם דעה אללה ודעה רסולה עלי אנפסכם ודינכם
 ואמאלכם / ודיקסכם וכל מא מלכת אימאנכם וליס עליכם אדא גויה
 ולא / תנו לכם נאציה ולא יטא ארצכם גיש ולא תחשדון ולא תחרשון ולא
 תעשרון ולא תצלמון¹ ולא ינעל אחד עליכם רסמא ולא תמנעון מן לבאס
 אלמסשקאט ואלמלונאט ולא מן רכוב אלכלי ולבאס אצנאף אלסלאח ומן
 קאתלכם פקאתלוה ומן קתל פי חרבכם פלא יקאר בה אחד מנכם ולא לה
 דיה ומן קתל מנכם אחד אלמסלמין תעמדה פחכמה חכם אלמסלמין ולא
 יפתדא עליכם באפחשא ולא תגלון מנולה אהל אלדעה ואן אסתענתם /
 תעאנו ואן אסתפרדתם תרפרון ולא תטאלבון בביצא ולא / צפרא ולא
 סמרא ולא כראע ולא חלקה ולא שד אלבשתין / ולא לבאס אלמשהדראת
 ולא יקסע לכם שסע נעל ולא / תמנעון דכול אלמסאנר ולא תחבון ען
 ולא אלמסלמין / ולא עליכם ואלי אלא מנכם או מן אהל בית רסול
 אללה / ויוסע לגנאיכם אלא אן תציר אלי מוצע אלהק אליקין ותכרמוא
 לכרמאתכם ולכראמה צפיה אבנת עסכם ועלי אהל בית רסול אללה ועלי

(Fol. 2 recto.)

אלמסלמין אן תכרם כרימכם ויעפוא ען מסיכם ומן סאפר מנכם הו פי
 אמאן אללה ואמאן רסולה ולא אכראה פי ארדין ומן מנכם אתבע מלה
 רסול אללה וצייתתה כאן לה רבע מא אמר בה רסול אללה לאהל ביתה
 תעמון ענר עטא קריש הו כמסון דינארא דלך בפצל מני עליכם ועלי
 אהל בית רסול אללה ועלי אלמסלמין אלופא בגסיע מא פי הוא אלקתאב
 פמן אטלע לחנינא ואהל כיבר ואלמקנא בכיר פרו אכיר לה ומן אטלע
 לה ב[שר] פרו שר לה ומן קרא כתאבי הוא או קרי עליה ונייר או
 כאלף שי סמא בה פעליה לענה אללה ולענה אללאענין מן [gap] ואלנאם
 אנמעין הו ברי מן דעתו ושפאעתי יום אלקיאמה ואנא כצמה ומן כצמני
 סקר כצם אללה ומן כצם אללה פה פי אלנאר ואל . . . [gap] . ה וביס
 אלמציר שהר [אל] לה אלדי לא אלאה אלא הו וכפ[א באהל] שהירא
 וסלאיכתה [gap] רשה ומן חצר מן אלמסלמין וכתב עלי אבן אבו טאלב

تظلمون¹.

בְּנֵה וְרוּסוּל אֱלֹהָ יִמְלִי עֲלֵיהָ חֲרָפָא חֲרָפָא יוֹם אֶלְנִמְעָה לְחֹלֶת' לִיאֵל
 בְּלֹת מִן רִצְצָאן סִנָּה כְּמִס מִצָּח מִן אֱלֹהֵנָרָה
 שְׁחַד [עֵם] אֶר אֲבִן יֹאסֵר וְסִלְמָאן אֵל

(Verso.)

מ(ר) ארסי: מולא רסול אלה ואבו דר אלנפארי
 מחמד אבן עבד אלה אבן עבד, אלמטלב אבן האשם אבן עבד מנאף
 אבן קצי אבן כלאב אבן כעב אבן לוי אבן נאלב אבן פורר אבן מאלך
 אבן אלנפר אבן כנאנה אבן נואמה אבן מדרכה אבן אליאם אבן סזר אבן
 נזאר אבן קערד אבן ערנאן אבן אד אבן אדד אבן אלהמסעס אבן בית
 אבן אלגמל אבן קירד אבן אסמעיל אבן אברהים כליל אלה צלא אלה
 עליה וסלם אבן תרח אבן נחור אבן שרור אבן קעז אבן פלג אבן
 ארפכשד אבן שם אבן נח אבן לקד אבן מתושלח אבן חנוף וזו אדריס
 צלא אלה [עליה וסלם] אבן ירד אבן סהללאל אבן קינ אבן אנטו אבן
 ש[ת] אבן ארם אבו אל[gap צלא] אלה עליה אבן אלתרעאב

II.

T-S. 8 Ka. 2¹⁻².

(Fol. i recto.)

שר שלום
 בר ישועה נ"ע
 תפסיר אלמנאמאח לאבן סירן

(Fol. i verso.)

בשמך רחם'
 קאל מבחריא

אעלם ארשדך אלה אן אגל מא כאן אלמנאם ואצחה וקת אן ינצרף¹
 אלגוי ען נסם אלנאמר' לולך אלמנאם ואן יכון דלך אלנאמאן נאיסה'²
 עלי ננבה אלאימן ויכון סאלם חלך אללילה מן אלסכר ושרב אלעביד
 וכאליא מן אלהם ואלנם ואלבוסאר' ואלאבלאט אלתי תתרכב מן סו
 אלגוי ואלחבליט עלי אלנסם אעלם ארשדך אלה אן אלה תעאלי הו
 עאלם אלגויב תעאלם מא יכון ואלנאמאן³ סבילה ארא⁴ . . . מנאמחה יב אן

¹ Orig. *לחם*.

² B *אליא*.

³ B *אלנאמאן*.

⁴ For *אלמנאמאן* on the verso.

⁵ B *נאם*, read *נאם*.

⁶ A illegible, B *ברח*.

⁷ B *חצר*.

⁸ B *ואלנאמר*.

יכלץ באמנה ויפתח ען נפסה פאן תלך אלמנאמאט אנבאמאט לה¹
 ליתיקן וינתבה ויקלע ען מא חו עליה מן אלאחואל² אלתי מא הי גידה
 ואעלם אן אלמנאמאט רבמא צלח פי יומתא וקד רבמא צבט אסכות
 שהר וקד תבטי

III. A.

T-S. 10 Ka. 1.

נקל ען אלחלאן

מן אלחמס אלחק בנור אלימאן כאן כמן טלב אלשמס בנור
 אלכואכב חם קאל יא שמס יא ברד יא נהאר אנת לנא גנה ונאר תנב
 אלאחם פיד אהם וכשיה אלעאר פיד עאר וכלע פיד אלעזאר קוס פכין
 מן מאלה עזאר ולא כתבת ולם אכתב אליך ואנמא כתבת אלי רוחי
 בגיד כתאב ודאך לאן אלרוח לא פרק בינה ובין] מתביהא? בפצל כמאב
 וכל כתאב ורד מנך צאדר אליך בלארד (אלעזאב) נואב ולה לביד לוביך
 יא סיד? ולו א. . . וננאיי לביד לוביך יא קעדי ומעאני? אדעוך בל אנת תרעוני
 אליך פהל: נאגית איאך אם נאגית איאיי יא עין עין ונודי יא מדי
 הסמי יא מנמקי ועבארתי ואנבאי יא כל כלי ויא סמע ויא בצרי
 פוהב ענר מא אכרנ וקאל חסב אלואגד אפראד אלואחר פמא סמע
 אחד הוה אלכלמה אחר מן אלמשאין אלא רץ לה ואנשד יקול נדימי
 גיר מנסוב אלא שי מן אלחוף? סקאני מתל מא ישרב כפעל אלצוף באלצוף
 פלמא דארת אלעזבא דעא באלנמע ואלסוף כרא מן ישרב אלראח
 מע אלחנן פי אלצוף וקיל אנה קאל טלבת אלמסתק³ בכל ארץ ולם
 ארא בארץ מסתקא⁴ אטעת ממאעמי פאסתעברני ולו אני קנעת לכנת
 דראי פנלת מן אלומאן ונאל מני פכאן מנאלה חלץ ומרא

שער לה

סכנת קלבי ופיה מנך אסראר פלי חנאך אלדאר בל יתנך אלנאר
 מא פיה נירך או סר עלמת בה אנטר בעינך חל פי אלדאר דיאר
 אני לראצי במא ידציד מן חלפי יא קאחלי ולמא תבתאר אכתארו

וקרב ען (?)

הוא אלחי? אנתבאני ואנהאני ואלכל בלכל אוראני וערפני
 לם יבק פי אלפואד אלאחשא נארחת אלא ואערפתו פיהא ויערפני

¹ ע. אמר אלה B

² מן אלמנאמאט אלמנאמאט אלמנאמאט B

III. B.

T-S. 8 Ka. 3¹.

(Recto.)

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 مِنْ مَنْصُورٍ لِلحَّالِجِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ شَعْرٌ
 رُكِبَ لِلْحَقِيقَةِ لِلْحَقِّ حَقٌّ وَمَعْنَى الْعِبَارَةِ فِيهِ تَدَقُّ
 رُكِبَتِ الْوُجُودُ بِعَيْنِ الْوُجُودِ وَقَلْبِي عَلَى قَسْوَةِ لَا يَرْقُ
 حَقًّا [.....] إِلَى مُسْتَنْبِرَةٍ صَاحِبَةٍ نَالَا خَبِيرَةٍ
 حَقِيقَةِ الْحَقِّ قَدْ جَذْنَا مُطْلَبٍ مِنْ أَمَامِهَا عَسِيرَةٍ
 نَعَمْ الْإِعَانَةُ رَمَزَ فِي خَفَالٍ لَطْدٌ ق
 لَاحَ فِيهَا مِنْ حَتَّى ظَلَّة

(Verso.)

وَلَمَّا لَمْ يَرْفُتْ طَوْرًا وَارْمَعَهُ مِنْ شَاقٍ حَتَّى عَلَى الْإِحْوَاظِ مِنْ فَلَّةٍ
 حَالِ أَبِي إِلَيْهِ فِيهِ هَمَّتْ عَنْ فَيْحِي مِنْ لَنْوِيَةٍ عَنْ مَلَّةٍ
 فَالْكَلَّ يَشْهَدُ كَلًّا وَاشْهَارُهُ نَالْحَقِيقَةِ لَا نَالشَّخْصِ مِنْ طَلَّةٍ
 عَبَتِ وَمَا عَبَتِ عَنْ ضَمِيرِي فَرَحَتِي سُرُورِي
 وَانْفَصَلَ الْفَصْلُ بِافْتِرَاقٍ نَعَا بِي عَيْبَتِي مَضُورِي
 وَأَنْتَ فِي سِيرَتِي حَيَّ إِخَا مِنْ الْوَهْمِ فِي

(Recto, top of page and between the lines, in square characters.)

אלקול פי טריק אלצופיה חם אני למא פרנת מן אלעלום אקבלת בהמתי
 טריק אלצופיה בל עזני ען פרמח פזלא ען נואכה

(Verso, on top.)

ואמא שרום אלעלוח

(On the margin.)

חם אני למא פרנת מן אלעלום אקבלת בהמתי טריק אלצופיה תעלמת
 אן טריקחם אמא תתם פמלכ .. עמלא וזאן האצל פי עלמחם
 יקמע עלא [ים] אלנפם ואלתגויה ען אזלאקתא

THE JEWS AND THE SPANISH INQUISITION (1622-1721)¹.

THE material which we have to use in writing the history of the Jews in the Peninsula is not found only in Hebrew documents, but also in those records and accounts which tell so vividly the story of what our people suffered in the days of the Inquisition. These documents are found in such large quantities in the archives and libraries that one almost stands aghast at the amount of work the student has before him ; but, unless this work is done, that history will always remain incomplete. Many of these documents have already been brought to light by Kayserling, Herculano, Fidel Fita, and others ; but a glance through the splendid catalogue prepared in so short a time by Joseph Jacobs² shows how much still remains to be gotten from these archives.

The documents dealing with the Inquisition at Toledo were formerly at Alcala de Henares ; but they now form part of the collection in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid. In Mr. Jacobs's Calendar (*Sources*, pp. 5, 64 et seq.) are a set of papers containing lists of various persons examined before the Inquisition in different cities. Mr. Jacobs has already (*ibid.*, p. xiii) expressed the view that it would be worth while to publish a complete list of the persons therein mentioned.

While in Madrid in September, 1900, I had a copy made of the whole set of documents, which I herewith publish.

¹ This article forms Part III of "Gleanings from Spanish and Portuguese Archives," which began in *J. Q. R.*, vol. XIV, p. 80.

² *An Inquiry into the Sources of the History of the Jews in Spain*, London, 1894.

Some differences will be found in titles and names from the entries in Mr. Jacobs's book, but these are of minor importance. I have kept strictly to the spelling and abbreviations of the original.

The documents are marked "Toledo (inq'ON. de) Judai-zantes. Indices de varios procesados por dicho deleto, 1622-1721. Lego. 189, Numero 889." They deal largely with persons of Portuguese extraction who evidently found their way back again in large numbers into Spain after the edict of Ferdinand and Isabella had made it impossible for the Jews to live there openly as such. Only part of the names are, of course, those of Jews or neo-Christians. It would have been difficult to distinguish definitely these names from those of the old Christians, because for various reasons the neo-Christians hid their identity behind good Spanish and Portuguese names.

The period during which the trials here referred to were held covers one hundred years; just the time during which the ravages of the Inquisition were most forcibly felt.

I have divided the document into sections in order to facilitate reference to the entries; and where the lines are not numbered in the original, I have checked off every fifth. The document is referred to on page 234 of the official catalogue of the papers bearing on the Toledo Inquisition, which is now being published in Madrid¹.

I have to thank Señor Vicente Vignau, the present head of the Archives, for his great courtesy in assisting my endeavours to learn something more about the documents under his charge; and Miss Elizabeth Hall of New York for the alphabetical index of names which I have attached to the present list.

(§ 1.) *Toledo: Penitenciados. Legajo 25^o.*

1. Francisco Rodriguez, natural de Toledo, en 13 hojas.
2. Fernan Rodriguez, clérigo, en 13 hojas.
3. Francisco Rodriguez, mercader, en 15 hojas.

¹ See also E. N. Adler in *J. Q. R.*, XIII. 424.

4. Francisco Lopez Valtodano Turado, de Toledo, en 205 hojas.

5. Fernando Rodriguez, texedor, en 20 hojas.

6. Francisca Rodriguez, muger de Toribios Marina, en 25 hojas.

Estos seis procesos se sacaron deste legajo 25 en 28 de Febrero de 1665 para acumular á las diligencias de D. Juan Vazquez de Acuña, vezino de Logroño, por auerlas pedido aquella Inquisicion en carta de 15 de Henero de 1664.

(§ 2.) *Procesos desta Complicidad.*

Pueblo.		Años.	Legajos.
A.			
1 Mora . . .	Antonio Garcia Isidro . . .	1721	96
Madrid . . .	Agustina Pimentel . . .	1721	95
Id. . .	Antonio Franco de Flores dif ^{to} . . .	1722	98
	Angela Garcia dif ^{ta} . . .	1722	96
5	Ana Maria de Leon . . .	1722	100
Madrid . . .	Antonio Luis de Flores . . .	1722	98
	Ana de Mendoza . . .	1722	99
Madrid . . .	Angela de Quiros . . .	1722	102
P ^{te} del Arpo . . .	Angela del Aquila . . .	1723	10 ó 100
B.			
10 Mora . . .	Beatriz Garcia . . .	1721	96
Morejon . . .	D. Bentura Frutos . . .	1722	93
Madrid . . .	Beatriz de Flores . . .	1722	98
C.			
Mora . . .	Cathalina Garcia . . .	1721	96
Puebla de Alcocer	Cathalina de Castro . . .	1722	100
D.			
15 Salamanca . . .	D. Diego Blanco . . .	1721	92
	Diego de la Mota . . .	1722	101
Madrid . . .	Diego de Quiros . . .	1723	103
E.			
	Enrique de la Mota . . .	1722	101
F.			
Madrid . . .	Francisco de Torres . . .	1721	94
20 Madridejos . . .	Fernando de Alba . . .	1721	96
Madrid . . .	Francisca Albarez de Castro . . .	1721	97
	Fern ^{do} Diaz Cortiza . . .	1722	99
	Fran ^{co} Diaz Cortiza . . .	1722	99
	Francisca Mendoza . . .	1722	99

(§ 3.) *Penitenciados. Legajo 2º.*

Letra A.

Antonio Garcia, vecino de Madrid, en 69 foxas, y el Licenciado Alonso de Billanueva, presbítero residente en Mad^d., en 166 foxas.

Letra B.

Bartolome Febos, portuguez, en 328 foxas.

Letra D.

Diego Rodriguez, Ciudad Real, en 130 foxas.

Letra F.

- 5 Fran^{co} Lopez, escribano, vezino de Madrid, en tres quadernos, uno 89 foxas, otro 69, otro 14 foxas.

Letra I.

Juan Chrisostomo, alias Juan Herrero, de la Orden de San Francisco de Paula, en 35 foxas.

Letra L.

Luis de Acosta, portuguez, en 269 foxas.

- 10 Luis Ramirez de Arellano, en 136 foxas.

Luis Fernandez Pato, portuguez, tiene un legajo solo su causa.

Letra M.

Manuel Fran^{co} de Silba, portuguez, en 144 foxas.

Letra Y.

Isabel Fernandez, en 40 foxas.

(§ 4.) *Memoria de las personas de la Nacion hebrea de Portugal que fueron presas y condenadas por el Santo Oficio de la Inq^{on}. de Toledo y de los que actualmente estan presas y asi mesmo de las que ellas testifican por obserbantes de la Ley de Moysen. Lisboa.*

Desde el año 1618 acá (*sicut*).

Juan Lopez, natural de Breganza, vezino de Seuilla, reconciliado, testifica en sus confesiones las personas siguientes.

Marin Lainez su Madre.

- 5 Antonio de Castro y su hijo Manuel de Castro, que residen en Burdeos y son mercaderes.

Luis Lopez, mercader, residente en Sant Juan de Luz.

Duarte Pereyra, mercader, residente en Sant Juan de Luz.

Fran^{co} Baez Machado, mercader.

- 10 Alvaro Gomez, su hermano, residente en Sant Juan de Luz.
 José Rodriguez, mercader de toda mercadería que ua y uiene de Francia, y reside en Burdeos.
 Antonio Baez, mercader, que reside en Sant Juan de Luz.
 José Mendez Chaues, residente en Sant Juan de Luz.
- 15 Simon Vas, residente en Burdeos, y su madre y hermanas y una tia del dicho Simon Uas, y a su madre le llaman la Seuillana.
 Franc^{co} Dorta, residente en Burdeos ó en Sant Juan de Luz.
 Fernando Dorta, hermano del dicho Francisco Dorta, residente en Ruan de Francia.
- 20 Luis de Fonseca, portugues, vezino de Madrid, reconciliado por el Santo Oficio, testifica las personas sig^{tes}.
 Francisco Nuñez Trancoso, natural de Trancoso en Portugal.
 Juan Rodriguez Trancoso, su hermano.
 El Licenciado Alvaro de Fonseca Ferraz, jurista, natural de Trancoso, residente en Pisa.
- 25 Juana de Fonseca, prima del dicho Luis de Fonseca.
 Juan Lopez, residente en San Juan de Luz.
 Gaspar Fr^{te} Faya, que es de tierra de Trancoso y está casado en la ciudad de Seuilla.
- 30 Domingo Fr^{te} Jaen, casado con hermana del dicho Gaspar Fr^{te} Faya, residente en Sant Juan de Luz.
 Fernan Rodriguez, Ciudad Real, residente en Sant Juan de Luz.
 Miguel Nuñez y su muger solian uiuir en Antequera y se huyeron de allí por miedo de ser presos por la Inq^{on}, hauiendo preso a su sueguro de Gonçalo Martin dormido.
- 35 Antonio Mendez Rodriguez, cuñado del dicho Miguel Nuñez, y su muger.
 Fernan Mendez Rodriguez, hermano del dicho Antonio Mendez.
 Antonio Fernandez Jaen, de tierra de Trancoso.
- 40 Jorje Mendez Chaues, el qual quando vino a Castilla se llamaba Jorje Madareyra.
 Su muger del dicho Jorje Mendez Chaues.
 Antonio Nuñez Soto, que está condenado en estatua por la Inq^{on} de Lisboa.
- 45 Manuel de Santos, sacerdote del lugar de Tomar.
 Diego Lobo, sacerdote del lugar de Tomar.
 Asensio Nuñez y Clara Alvarez, su muger, ella natural de Lisboa y él de Verdigueira.
- 50 Juan Mendez Enrriquez, natural de Trancoso.
 Balthasar Mendez Trancoso, natural de Trancoso, y su muger y Juan Mendez su hijo.

- Francisco Rodriguez que llaman Tembleque, natural de La Guardia.
 Miguel Fr^{te} Jaen, natural de Trancoso, y su muger.
 Felipe Gomez y su muger, de tierra de La Guardia en Portugal.
- 55 Simon Gomez, que reside en la Villa de la Bastida en Francia.
 Balthasar Aluarez y su muger, naturales de Tomar en Portugal.
 Alvaro Luis y su muger, naturales de Vergança, que residen en Bayona.
 Antonio de Brito, natural de Lisboa.
- 60 Basco Perez Ssidio, portugues, natural de la Villa de Moncoruo, residente en la villa de Madrid, reconciliado por este Santo Oficio, testifica las personas siguientes.
- Duarte Diaz, residente en Flandes, casado con Isabel de Paz, la qual tambien está testificada por el dicho Basco Perez Ssidio.
- 65 Juan Rodriguez, hijo del dicho Basco Perez.
 Lucas Mendez, mercader de Oporto.
 El Licen^{do} Manuel de Fonseca, Abogado en la Ciudad de Oporto.
 Felipa Enrriquez, muger del dicho Basco Perez Ssidio.
 Manuel Mendez, natural de Trancoso, vezino de Oporto.
- 70 Fran^{co} Rodriguez Villarrea, medico.
 Domingo Enrriquez, vezino de Oporto.
 Rodrigo Fernandez, natural de Oporto.
 Diego Cardoso, natural de Oporto, mercader.
 Gonçalo Fr^{te}, natural de Villarreal, hijo de Blanca Rodriguez.
- 75 Francisco Nuñez de Chaçi.
 Diego Enrriquez, natural de la Torre.
 Pedro Enrriquez, natural de la Torre.
 D^o de Matos, natural de Chaçi.
 Luis de Matos, natural de Chaçi.
- 80 Catalina Enrriquez, hija del dicho Basco Perez que uiue en Oporto.
 Isabel Baez, hermana del dicho Basco Perez, uiuda, natural de la Torre.
 Francisco Baez Noguera, natural de la Torre de Moncoruo.
 Antonio Mendez, hermano del dicho Manuel Mendez.
- 85 Pedro Rodriguez Pereyra, suegro del dicho Manuel Mendez.
- Simon Sueyro, *alias* Taro, actualmente preso por ceremonias de la ley de Moysen, testifica las personas sig^{tes}.
- Enrrique Baez, natural de Beja, q^e salió al auto de Eborá que se hizo el año 1629 ante Su Magestad.
- 90 Andres Aluarez del Bas, natural de Beja, que salió en el dicho auto.
 El Doctor Nauarro, Doctor en Leyes, natural de Beja, que está preso en Eborá.

- Guiomar Nuñez, muger del dicho Doctor.
 Jorje Lopez, su sobrino, que salió al dicho auto.
 95 Bernardo Lopez, que salió al dicho auto.
 Manuel Diaz Pereyra, que salió al dicho auto.
 Francisco Jorje, que salió al dicho auto.
 Theotonio Gomez, que está preso en Lisboa.
 Lanzaroto Rodriguez, que salió en el auto de Lisboa.
 100 Fernan Rodriguez Lobo, que salió al dicho auto.
 Antonio Correa, boticario, que está preso en Eborá.
 Felipe Ceiton, que está preso en Eborá.
 Fran^{co} Lopez Cerralbo, que salió en el dicho auto de Eborá.
 Manuel Gonçalez, higuero Cordouero.
 105 Maria Lopez, su muger, que ambos están presos en la dicha Inq^{on}
 de Eborá.
 Manuel Rodriguez Lobo, preso en la Inq^{on} de Eborá.
 Simon Rodriguez Lobo, su padre, salió en el auto de la dicha Inq^{on}.
 Diego Gomez Lobo, que salió en el dicho auto.
 110 Juan Gonçalez, su hermano, que salió en el dicho auto.
 Duarte Fernandez Nauarro, que salió en el dicho auto.
 Pedro Gonçalez, pan mole, que está preso en la dicha Inquisicion de
 Eborá.
 Fernan Lopez Cardoso, que está preso en la dicha Inquisicion.
 115 Ruy Lopez, escriuano.
 Benito Fernandez, que está preso en la dicha Inq^{on}.
 Luis Mendez Cordouero, que salió en el dicho auto de Eborá.
 Rodrigo Yañez, boticario, que está preso en la dicha Inq^{on}.
 Ysabel Lopez, su muger, que está presa en la dicha Inquisicion.
 120 Manuel Fernandez Comino, preso en la dicha Inquisicion.
 Juan Fernandez, su hijo, preso en la dicha Inquisicion.
 Un hombre, llamado Escarraman, que salió en el dicho auto de
 Eborá.
 Fernan Rodriguez Sigano, que salió en el auto de Lisboa.
 125 Diego Aluarez Oribes, ya difunto.
 Juan Gonçalez, su hijo, que está preso en la dicha Inquisicion.
 Luis Fernandez, cordonero, preso en la dicha Inquisicion de Eborá.
 Francisco Perez Machado, que salió en el ultimo auto de la dicha
 Inq^{on}.
 130 Manuel Nuñez, chançiller, que salió en el dicho auto.
 Catalina Fernandez, su muger, todos naturales de Beja.
 Gaspar Diaz, natural de Biana, residente en Madrid.
 Melchor Diaz, natural de Biana.
 Mayor Gomez, su muger, natural de Beja.
 135 Manuel Nuñez Pereyra, natural de Beja.
 Pedro Lopez Lençero, natural de Biana.

Gaspar Diaz, vezino de Biana, de Allito, preso por ceremonias de la ley de Moysen, testifica los siguientes.

- Manuel Nuñez Pereyra, suso dicho.
- 140 Luis Rodriguez, natural de Beja, tio del dicho Gaspar Diaz.
Ana Gomez y Violante Duarte, hijas del dicho Luis Rodriguez.
Juan Gonçalez, mercader, natural de Beja.
Francisco Fernandez Cuello.
Juan de Campos, que uiue en Allito.
- 145 Manuel Lopez Cabeçon, primo hermano del dicho Gaspar Diaz.
Sebastian Alvarez, primo hermano del dicho Gaspar Diaz que uiue en el Allito.
Pedro Lopez, natural de Montemar, que reside en Biana.
Diego Galbes Olibas, natural de Beja.
- 150 Geronimo Machado, *alias* Hieronimo de Torres, mercader de paños y otras cosas.
Manuel Nuñez.
Gonçalo Damaya, confitero, está preso en esta Inquisicion.

Pedro Lopez, natural de Biana, preso por ceremonias de la ley de Moysen, testifica los siguientes.

- Mayor Gomez y Margarita Gomez, su hermana, naturales de Montemar.
Francisco Gomez Figueroa, marido de la dicha Margarita Gomez.
Violante Diaz, suegra del dicho Pedro Lopez.
- 160 Ines Diaz, muger del dicho Pedro Lopez.
Melchor Diaz, Balthasar Diaz y Manuel Lopez, hermanos de la dicha Ines Diaz.

Manuel Nuñez Pereyra Gochecha, preso por ceremonias de la ley de Moysen, testifica los siguientes; es natural de Beja, residente en Madrid.

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| | Violante Duarte. | Margarida Gomez. |
| | Melchor Diaz. | Fran ^{co} Lopez Zerraluo. |
| | Diego Gomez. | Leonor Ruiz. |
| | Duarte Fernandez. | Luis Ruiz. |
| 170 | Pedro Gomez. | Antonio Ruiz Lopez. |
| | Juan Gomez Lobo. | Ana Gomez. |
| | Fran ^{co} Gomez Figueiro. | Manuel Nuñez. |
| | Simon Ruiz. | Violante Duarte. |
| | Manuel Fr ^{te} Mosquito. | Melchor Diaz. |
| 175 | Manuel Lopez Barros. | Luis Ruiz Patiño de Acuña. |
| | Juan de Campos. | Antonio Lopez. |
| | Luis Fr ^{te} . | Gaspar Fr ^{te} Marceyro. |

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------------------------------------|
| | Andres Aluarez del Val. | Fernan Ruiz Lobo Osigaño de Acuña. |
| | Ana Gomez. | Maria Diaz. |
| 180 | Leonor Ruiz. | Manuel Nuñez. |
| | Francisco Perez. | Manuel Fr ^{te} . |
| | Francisco Gomez Lobo. | Francisco Suarez. |
| | Luis Ruiz Patiño. | Simon de Valtrapero. |
| | Pedro Diaz de Cimero. | Gaspar Fr ^{te} Carne Gorda. |
| 185 | Manuel Mendez. | Maria Quarezma. |
| | Manuel Ruiz. | Catalina de la Cuesta. |
| | Luis Mendez. | Enrique Ruiz. |
| | Enrique Val. | Violante Ruiz. |
| 190 | Hilaria Diaz; Beatriz Manuel; Catalina Fr ^{te} ; Maria Fr ^{te} ; Catalina Gomez; Leonor de Sosa, muger de Francisco Baez Cabeça, natural de Beja; Manuel Diaz Pereyra; Luarte Fr ^o ; Pedro Nuñez; Francisca Lopez; Isabel Lopez; Mençia Pinta; Luis Rodriguez; Antonio Rodriguez; Diego Gomez; Juan Gonçalez; Enrique Baez; Bernardino Lopez; Francisco Gomez; Garçia Rodriguez; | |
| 195 | Diego Aluarez, platero; Felipa Diaz; Matheo Rodriguez, natural de Fandon en la Ribera de Portugal. | |
| | Maria Lopez y su marido Pedro Fernandez Castro. | |
| | Fernan Rodriguez Çigano, natural de Veja. | |
| | Lanzarote Rodriguez. | |
| 200 | Diego Hernandez del Bas. | |
| | Mençia Nuñez, muger del dicho Diego Hernandez. | |
| | Mayor Gomez, muger de Melchor Diaz, mercader en Biana de Aluito, presa, testifica los siguientes. | |
| 205 | Diego Gomez y Nuño Aluarez, hermanos de la dicha Mayor Gomez, ya difuntos. | |
| | Maria Luis, tia de la dicha Mayor Gomez, difunta. | |
| | Pedro Lopez, vezino y natural de Biana. | |
| | Gaspar Diaz, natural de Biana. | |
| | Felipa Gonçalez, tia de la dicha Mayor Gomez, ya difunta. | |
| 210 | Antonio Diaz, vezino de Montemar, que fué casado con la dicha Felipa Gonçalez. | |
| | Gonçalo Nuñez, vezino de Abrantes, primo de la dicha Mayor Gomez. | |
| 215 | Maria Figueras, muger que fué de Antonio Lopez, y madre del dicho Gaspar Diaz. | |
| | Ana Gomez, muger del Gregorio Diaz, prima de la dicha Mayor Gomez. | |

Mençia Nuñez, muger de Diego Hernandez de el Bas, *alias* Mendoça, vezina de Madrid, testifica los siguientes, y actualmente está presa.

- 220 Duarte Baez, difunto, tío de la dicha Mençia Nuñez, vezino de Beja.
 Ines, su hermana, y Guiemar, su hermana.
 Catalina Lopez, muger de Hernan Gomez.
 Maria Lopez, hermana de la dicha Catalina Lopez.

(§ 5.) *Memoria de las personas presas y detenidas en este Santo Oficio por delitos de Judaismo.*

1. Maria Guiomar Arias, muger de Don Francisco de Miranda, nat^l de Madrid.
2. Luisa Juana de Miranda, natural de Madrid, muger de D. Antonio Nicolas de Zisneros; proveedor de los Exercitos en Zafra.
3. Maria de Riuera, natural de Jaen, viuda de Melchor de Torres, Adm^{or} de Rentes Reales en Estepa.
4. Don Fran^{co} de Torres y Riuera, natural de Estepa, que se hallaua en la casa de la Penitencia cumpliendo la que se le hauia impuesto por el despacho de Corte.
5. Isauel de Riuera, muxer del dicho Francisco de Torres, natural de Estepa.
6. Melchor de Abeiro, natural de Pamplona.
7. Isauel de Castro, natural de Pontebedra, viuda de Fernando Alvarez; Adm^{or} que fué de la Sal en Asturias.
8. Francisca Antonia Alvarez de Castro, natural de Pontebedra, viuda de D. Fran^{co} de Lara, Thesorero de Arcas Reales.
9. Leonor de Flores, natural de Cadiz, viuda de D. Antonio de Flores, Contador ó Oficial mayor de la casa del Marques de Valdeolmos.
10. Antonio Luis de Flores, natural de Seuilla.
11. Maria de Flores, natural de Seuilla.
12. Beatriz de Flores, natural de Seuilla.
13. Ines Maria de Flores, nat^l de Seuilla.
14. Fran^a Gomez, nat^l de Seuilla, viuda de Fran^{co} Gutierrez, de oficio mercader en Cadiz.
15. Doña Manuela Hurtado de Mendoza Pimentel, natural de Cadiz, muxer de D. Miguel de Robles, Theniente de Director que fué de los Reales Exercitos en Salam^{ca}.
16. Doña Maria Feliziana Hurtado de Mendoza Pimentel, natural de Seuilla, viuda de D. Antonio Pimentel, Capitan de Cauillos corazas.
17. Agustina Pimentel, natural del Puerto de Santa Maria.
18. Maria Petronila Norberta de Villa Real, natural de Seuilla.
19. Mariana Rodriguez de la O, criada de las dichas Pimenteles detenida en la casa del Alcayde, natural del lugar del Acavehar en Extremadura.

20. Beatriz Fran^{ca} de Quiros, natural de Riudeo.
21. Doña Angela de Quiros, natural de Riudeo, viuda de D. Thomas Muñiz.
22. Doña Maria Josepha de Quiros, natural de Betanzos.
23. Don Diego Quiros, natural de Betanzos, Agente de la casa del Marques de Valdeolmos.
24. Manuel Suarez, natural de Oporto.
25. Serafina Suarez, natural de Miedes, viuda de Antonio Martinez, tratante.
26. Josepha Hernandez, natural de Atienza, se hallava cumpliendo la penitencia que se le impuso por el despacho de Corte.

(§ 6.) *Memoria de diferentes personas vecinas de la Ciudad de Malaga testificadas de sospechas de Judaismo en esta Inquisicion de Granada.*

1. Doña Gabriela de Torres.
2. Doña Isidra.
3. Doña Paula.
4. Doña Maria.
5. Doña Blanca Mendez, mercadera, viuda de Manuel Rodriguez, y padres de Antonio Rodriguez que a el presente se halla preso en esta Inq^{ca} por judaizante.
6. Alonso de Cabrera, platero.
7. El Doctor Don Francisco Lamera, difunto, penitenciado que fué por esta Inq^{ca}.
8. Don Diego Lamera, medico.
9. Doña Ana Alvarez, muger del susodicho, hija de Nuño Alvarez, reconciliado que fué por este Santo Off^o.
10. Doña Leona Lamera, viuda.
11. Doña Maria y
12. Doña Juana Lamera.
13. Don Antonio Gutierrez, Portugues, vendedor de hilo por las casas.
14. Doña Maria Alvarez Pereira.
15. Maria de la O.
16. Francisco de Zaias, de oficio sangrador, marido de la susodicha, que a el parezer an sido penitenciados por este Santo Officio.
17. Fernando de Zaias, *alias* Torres, *alias* de la Peña.
18. Don Juan Simon de Andrade.
19. Doña Josepha Enrriquez, muger del susodicho.
20. Leonor y
21. Ines, hijas de los susodichos.

22. Don Feliz de Miranda, nieto de Juan Rodriguez de Miranda que salió penitenciado por este Santo Off^o.
23. Antonio de Rueda.
24. Doña Ana de Toro, *alias* Torres, muger del susodicho.
25. Balthasar de los Reyes.
26. Matheo de la Rosa, guarda de la renta del tauaco de la Ciudad de Malaga.
27. Doña Mariana de Castro, muger del susodicho.
28. Don Vizente de Paz, de exercicio medico, casado con hija de Benito de Castro penitenciado por este Santo Off^o.

(§ 7.) *Memoria de las personas testificadas en el Santo Oficio de la Inqq^{on} de Murcia por Maria Marg^{ta} Lopez, presa en carzeles secretas de ella.*

1. Ines Alvarez Pereyra, hija de Nuño Alvarez, difunto, reconciliado que fué por este Santo Oficio, mujer de Manuel Silbeyra, presa en dicha Inqq^{on} de Murcia.
2. Manuel Silbeyra, preso en el despacho de Corte, marido de la dicha Ines Alvarez.
3. Nuño Alvarez Pereyra, difunto, reconciliado por este Santo Oficio el año de 1691.
4. Maria Alvarez Pereyra, mujer de Antonio Gutierrez.
5. Francisca Alvarez Pereyra, hermana de la dicha Maria.
6. Luis Alvarez Pereyra, hijo de dicho Nuño Alvarez, Administrador General que fué de la Renta del tauaco del Reyno de Jaen, de donde pasó a (Lisboa) Portugal, y casó en Lisboa, y está votado á prision.
7. Manuel Alvarez Pereyra, recaudador de la Renta del tauaco de los reinos de Jaen y Cordoua, preso en carzeles secretas de este Santo Oficio.
8. Maria de Silbeyra, mujer de dicho Manuel Alvarez, presa en carzeles secretas de la Inquisicion de Cordoua.
9. Ana de Silbeyra, herm^a de dicha Maria, soltera, presa en la Inquisicion de Cordoua.
10. Isauel Maria, esclava de Doña Isauel Correa, que sirbió á los Alvarez, presa en estas carzeles.
11. Doña Ana de Santillana, difunta, mujer que fué de Juan de Silbeyra, reconciliados que fueron por este Santo Oficio en el año de 1692.
12. Antonia Serrano, difunta, criada de los dichos Silbeyras.
13. Josepha de Silbeyra, presa en carzeles secretas de este Santo Oficio, casada con Henrrique Pedro Alvarez Pereyra, administrador y recaudador de la renta del tauaco de Malaga.

14. El dicho Henrrique Pedro Alvarez Pereyra.
15. Pedro Alvarez Pereyra, padre de dicho Henrrique, difunto, Administrador que fué de la renta del tauaco de Malaga.
16. Beatriz de la Rosa, mujer de Pedro Alvarez y madre de Henrrique.
17. Angela, madre de dicha Beatriz.
18. Leonor de la Rosa, herm^a de Beatriz.
19. Antonia de la Cruz, criada que fué de las dichas.
20. Manuel Rodriguez, herm^o de Antonio Rodriguez, preso en estas carzeles, Contador de la fabrica del tauaco de Malaga.
21. La muger de dicho Manuel, herm^a de Beatriz de la Rosa.
22. Antonio Rodriguez, preso en estas carzeles, en cuja caueza se pidió correccion y la de su mujer, Beatriz Nuñez, en el año pasado de 1716.
23. Quatro hijas de los dichos, solteras, q^e las dos se llaman Ana é Ines.
24. Otra hija llamada Leonor Rodriguez, casada con Nicolas Geronimo de la Peña, *alias* Zaias, preso en estas carzeles.
25. Don Joseph Sabariego, residente en Cordoua, de donde hizo aora fuga, que tubo el año de 15 asta el 17 la Renta del tauaco con Don Manuel de Silbeyra, en el Reyno de Murcia.
26. Luis de Castro, que salió reconciliado en este presente año, por el Tribunal de Cordoua.
27. Cathalina de Torres, su mujer, reconciliada el año de 17 por este Santo Officio.
28. Leonor Josepha é Isauel de Torres, sus hermanas reconciliadas, la Leonor en dicho año de 17 en este Tribunal, y las otras dos en el de Cordoua, en este año de 18.
29. Isauel de Medina, madre de dicha Maria Marg^{ta} Lopez, ia difunta.
30. Manuel y Marzela Lopez, sus hermanos, que el dicho Manuel usó del apellido Duarte, y dicha Marzela, Isauel Marzela.
31. Maria de Luna, muger de dicho Manuel Lopez.
32. Geronima de Luna, viuda de Geronimo Gomez.
33. Leonor de Luna y Gomez.
34. Clara, cuio apellido se ygnora, su padre se llamaua N. Garcia.
35. Don Diego Lamera, medico.
36. Doña Ana Alvarez Pereyra, muger de dicho Don Diego.
37. Doña Juana, hija de los dichos D. Diego y Doña Ana, soltera.
38. Doña Leonor, madre de dicho medico.
39. Doña Antonia, herm^a de dicha D^a Leonor.
40. Don Antonio Gutierrez, marido de dicha Maria Alvarez Pereyra.
41. Manuel, Isauel y Theresa, hermanas de dicho D. Antonio Gutierrez.

(§ 8.) *Las personas sigtes están testificadas de sospechas de judaismo en este Santo Oficio.*

42. Christoual Rodriguez, hermº de Antonio Rodriguez, preso en estas carceles.

43. Isidora de Castro, su mujer.

44. Tres hijos de los referidos, el uno llamado Manuel, de 16 años, el otro llamado Pedro, de 14 años, y el otro no se saue como se llama, si que tendrá 12 años (*sicut*).

45. Un hombre llamado Diego, que se ygnora su apellido, parece ser *Soria*, el qual pesa el tauaco por menudo en la fabrica de Malaga.

46. Antonio de Rueda, fué reconciliado en la Inq^{ca} de Sevilla.

47. Doña Isauel de Torres, su mujer.

48. Lucas Preciado, Maestro de Coches.

49. Don Thomas Polanco, Clerigo de Menores Ordenes, Administrador ó fiscal de la venta del tauaco de dicha ciudad.

(§ 9.) *Memoria de las personas presas en esta Inq^{ca} por Judaizantes, y otras mandadas prender en cuiu caueza estan mandados recorrer los Registros de las Inquisiciones.*

Ana Francisca de Silvera, nat^l de la Villa de Archidona, hija de Juan de Silvera y de Ana Nuñez de Santillana, reconziliados en la Inq^{ca} de Granada.

Maria de Silvera, su herm^a, mujer de Manuel Alvarez Pereira, 5 Administrador del tauaco del Reyno de Cordoua, preso en Granada.

Joseph de Silvera, su hermº, nat^l de Archidona, vezino de Jaen, donde era Administrador del tauaco, está preso en esta Inquisicion.

Isabel Gonzalez, hija de Juan Gonzales y de Margarita Silvera, natural de Antequera.

10 Don Joseph de Sauariego, está mandado prender con sequestro y se ausentó de esta Ziudad, donde estaua retraido por vna caussa de tabaca que le hizieron en Murzia, dejando su ropa con el moltibo de diferentes prisiones que le executaron por el Santo Oficio.

Francisca de Silva, hija de Agustin de Silva y de N. Fernandez, 15 criada de dichas Silveras; está detenida en casa de un Ministro.

Juan Perez de Andrade, natural de Malaga y Administrador del tauaco de ella, está preso.

Josepha Guiomar de Avila, alias Josepha de Andrade, su muger, natural de Puerto Real.

20 Clara de Andrade, su hija, muger de Pedro Gutierrez Rodriguez, natural de Cadiz, está presa.

Blanca de Andrade, herm^a de la antezedente, muger de Manuel Rodriguez Prieto, Administrador del tauaco de Baeza (Jaen), está presa.

1. Antonio Fernandez Matos, *alias* Martos.
2. Bernardo Antonio del Yerro.
3. Gaspar, el tuerto, que llaman el de las Pasaderas.
4. Antonia de T., hermana ó parienta del dicho Gaspar.
5. El marido de la dicha Antonia.
6. Thomasa de Betis, vez^a de Seuilla.
7. Thomasa de T., hixa de la dicha Betis.
8. Don Alvaro Isidro de Velasco.
9. Gaspar Ventura, hierno de Simon de Andrade.
10. Diego Martinez Paez, escriuano en Oliuares.
11. Ynes.
12. Isauel.
13. Cathalina, *alias* Leonor, y
14. Diego de Leon, todos hermanos, vezinos de Seuilla.
15. Sebastian de Campos, Theniente de vna Compañia de Soldados.
16. Simon de Alarcon, hixo de Isauel de los Rios.
17. Blanca de Auila, vez^a de Seuilla, hermana de Diego de Auila.
18. Cathalina y
19. Maria de Luna, herm^{as}, vez^{as} de Seuilla.
20. Enrique Diaz, suegro de dicha Maria de Luna.
21. Manuel de Soria, primo de Manuel de Oliueros.
22. Pedro de Valderrama, vez^o de Seuilla.
23. Cathalina de T., madre del dicho Pedro.
24. Isauel de T.,
25. Blanca de T., tias del dicho Pedro.
26. Justa de T., su sobrina.
27. Juan.
28. Maria y
29. Vitoria de T., hermanas, mercaderes en Seuilla.
30. Dos viejas hermanas, vez^{as} de Seuilla, que llaman las *Mirandas* en la plazuela de San Leandro.
31. Cecilia de Auila, vez^a y mercadera en Seuilla.
32. Isauel de T., madre de la dicha Cezilia, vez^a de Seuilla.
33. Manuel y
34. Rodrigo de Fonseca, hermanos, mercaderes.
35. Isauel de Auila, herm^a de dicha Cecilia,
36. Enrique de Pinedo, marido de la dicha Isauel, vezinos de Seuilla.
37. Francisca de Auila, hermana de la dicha Cecilia,
38. Antonio de Pinedo, su marido, vezinos de Seuilla.
39. Juan de Auila, herm^o de la dicha Cecilia.

40. N. Borja y
41. Leonor Melo, su muger.
42. Rafael Gutierrez y
43. Luisa de T., su muger.
44. Francisco Ferrer.
45. Francisco de Salcedo.
46. Gaspar del Caño.
47. Leonor Roldan, su muger.
48. Beatriz de T., sobrina de la dicha Roldan.
49. Francisco,
50. Ana y
51. Leonor de Matos, todos tres hermanos.
52. Juan Pinto, vecino del Puerto de Santa Maria.
53. Francisca de T., muger de Manuel de Soria.

(§ 10.) *Personas en cuiu cabeza se an de recorrer los Registros de las Inquisiciones de Castilla y Portugal.*

1. Don Antonio Velasco, criado del Marques de los Valbases.
2. Doña Geronima de T.
3. Vn mercader de lienzo, que vive junto á Santa Cruz de Madrid, que por mote llaman el Moscon.
4. Fadrique de Quiros, hermano de Diego de Quiros.
5. Vna hermana de Juan Marquez Cardoso, casada en Portugal con vn letrado.
6. Manuel Rodriguez, vecino de Lisboa, hermano de Gabriel Rodriguez et de Denia, que vino á casarse con Fran^{ca} Albarez.
7. D. Arias, de ofizio medico.
8. Gonzalo Montesinos, vecino de Seuilla y Cadiz.
9. Lavru Montesinos, su muger.
10. Doña Inés de Velasco, hermana del dicho D. Antonio de Velasco, criada de la Marquesa de los Valbases y muger de Don Luis de Pedrosa.
11. Alexandro de Guzman, primer galan de la compañía de Prado, veco de Madrid.
12. N. Serqueira, guitarrista de dicha compañía, vecino de Madrid.
13. El Zongo, violon de la compañía de Parges, vecino de Madrid.
14. Dos hermanas Portuguesas, penitenciadas en Lisboa, criadas de la Duquesa de Medinasidonia.
15. N. San Pedro ó San Per, mercader en Marchena.
16. Vn pariente de Fran^{co} de Miranda, vecino de Ecija ó Antequera.
17. Todos los mercaderes de la calle ancha de la feria de Seuilla.
18. Gaspar Bentura, de estado viudo de vna hija de Simon de Andrade, vecino de Malaga.

19. Francisco de Castro, hijo de Juan de Castro, mercader en Granada (tachado).
20. Justa Valderrama, hermana de Pedro Valderrama.
21. Lucia de T., viuda de Fran^{co} Alvarez Vitorero, vecina de Seuilla.
22. Clara, su marido y hijos, mercaderes en Seuilla en la calle ancha de la feria.
23. Angela, su marido y hijos, mercaderes en dicha calle ancha de la feria.
24. Manuel, mercader en dicha calle ancha de la feria, hermano de Gaspar, el de las Pasaderas.

(§ 11.) *Mariana Pacheco y Manuela Pimentel, difuntas.*

1. Alonso de Cordova, difunto f.
2. Theresa Alvarez, difunta f.
3. Phelipa Altemez, difunta f.
4. Maria Altemez, difunta f.
5. Violante de Paz, madre de los Quiroses f.
6. Sebastian de Quiros, dif^{to} en Madrid, de oidas.
7. Antonio del Quiros, dif^{to} en Sevilla f.
8. Antonio Nabarro, dif^o f.
9. Maria Nabarro, su muger, dif^{ta} f.
10. Juan de la Torre, difunto f.
11. Luis Fernandez Pato, difunto f.
12. Ana de Miranda, su muger, difunta f.
13. Gaspar Roldal, dif^{to} en Madrid f.
14. Alonso Roldal, difunto en Madrid f.
15. Isabel Maria Pimentel, difunta en Seuilla, madre de las Pimenteles f.
16. Francisco de Sepulveda, difunto en el Puerto de Santa Maria f.
17. Manuel Enrriquez, difunto en el Puerto de Santa Maria f.
18. Fernando de Leon, dif^{to} en Sevilla (tachado).
19. Manuel de Leon, dif^{to} en Sevilla, hermano de este (tachado).
20. Pedro de Campos, difunto en Sevilla.
21. Maria Cutiño, difunta en Madrid.
22. Leonor de Campos, hija de los dichos Pedro y Maria, difunta en Madrid.
23. Manuela de Campos, hermana de la dicha Leonor, difunta en Madrid.
24. Cathalina de Soria, difunta en Granada.
25. Cathalina de Oliveros, difunta, hija de Manuel de Oliveros.
26. Isabel de Luna, difunta en Sevilla.
27. Manuel de Espinosa, difunto en el Puerto de Santa Maria.

28. Antonio Fernandez, difunto, primer marido de Maria de Meneses.
29. Theresa de Valderrama, difunta en el Puerto de Santa Maria.
30. Francisco de Fonseca, difunto en Sevilla.
31. Diego de Pinedo, difunto en Sevilla.
32. Diego Phelipe Montesinos, difunto en Seuilla.
33. Francisco Alvarez Bitorero, difunto en Cadiz, hijo de Fernando Alvarez, marido de Isabel de Castro.
34. Joseph de Leon, difunto en Seuilla.
35. Fernando de Leon, su hermano, difunto en Seuilla.
36. Manuel de Leon, así mismo difunto en Seuilla.
37. Phelipa de T., viuda de N. Altemez, difunta en Madrid.

(§ 12.) *Inquisicion de Cordoba.*

Melchor de Torres.

Maria de Riura.

Ygnes de Flores.

Beatriz de Flores.

Antonio de Flores.

Manuel Suarez de Ameiq^{ta}.

1. Gracia de Silba, soltera.

2. Francisca de Silua, su hermana.

3. Manuel Pimentel, cuñado de las dichas Gracia y Francisca, estanquero que fué en la ciudad de Toro.

(§ 13.) *Inquisicion de Sevilla.*

1. Pedro de Balderrama, que abrá 4 años que abjuró de levi en la Inquisicion de Sevilla.

2. Don Enrique Enrriquez, hermano de Don Pedro Enrriquez Yerro, y se suele llamar tambien D. Antonio Arguelles y está siendo arrendador del partido de Estella.

(§ 14.) *Inquisicion de Cuenca.*

1. Ysabel N., estanquera del lugar de Miedes, casada con Gonzalo de T.

2. Gonzalo de T., marido de la dicha Isabel, estanquero en dicho lugar de Miedes; detenido con embargo.

(§ 15.) *Inquisicion de Zaragoza.*

1. Alvaro de Cazerres.

(§ 16.) *Detenidos.*

1. Violante Rodriguez, hermana de Gabriel Rodriguez el de Denia, y mujer de Gabriel Rodriguez el Viejo, estanquero en vn lugar de Aragon.
2. Francisco de Herrera, hermano de Maria de Herrera.
3. Juan Pinto, vezino del Puerto de Santa Maria y con exercicio en la Aduana, hermano de Manuel Henrriquez, difunto.

(§ 17.) *Testificados vivos que se an de votar a prision como ausentes fugitivos.*

1. Fernando Nabarro, vecº que fué de Sevilla.
2. Beatriz de Anaya Nabarro, su muger.
3. Manuel Isidro Nabarro, *alias* de Velasco.
4. Diego Pato, hijo de Francisco Pato.
5. Antonio Pimentel, padre de Antonio Nicolas de Cisneros, y de Agustina Pimentel.
6. Francisco de Castro, hijo de Juan de Castro, mercader en Granada.
7. Maria de los Angeles, madre de los Cordovas.
8. Rafael Gutierrez, reconciliado que a sido por la Inq^{na} de Valladolid.
9. Luisa, su muger, reconciliada en Valladolid.
10. Francisco Ferrer, residente en Portugal.
11. Francisco de Salzedo, fugitivo en el barrio de Santi Spiritus.
12. Gaspar del Caño, fugitivo en Bayona.
13. Leonor Roldan, su muger, fugitiva en Bayona.
14. Beatriz, sobrina de la dicha Leonor.
15. Ines Alvarez, testificada en las Inquisiciones de Cordova y Murcia por delitos de Judaismo, por Ysabel de Torres.
Manuel de Silveyra, tiene la testificacion antecedente de Cordova (*sicut*).
Maria Alvarez Pereira (idem).
Francisca Alvarez Pereira (idem).
Manuel Alvarez Pereyra, testificado de sospechas de Judaismo en Cordova.
20. Don Joseph Sabariego, testificado en Murcia.
Isabel de Torres, natural de Estepa, soltera, detenida por Judaizante en la Inq^{na} de Cordova.
Cathalina de Torres (idem).
Leonor Rodriguez, hixa de D. Antonio Rodriguez y de Doña Beatriz Nuñez, testificada en la Inq^{na} de Granada.

- Leonor Rodriguez, hixa de Doña Beatriz de Roxas, testificada de Judaismo en Sevilla.
- 25 Ana de Siluera, presa en la Inq^{ta} de Granada por culpas de Judaismo.
- Maria de Silvera, testificada de Judaismo en Murcia por Maria Margarita Lopez, presa en aquellas carzeles.
- Don Joseph de Sabariego, testificado de Judaismo en la Inq^{ta} de Murcia.
- Franc^a de Silva, hixa de Agustin de Silva, alguazil de Corte en Madrid, testificada de Judaismo en el proceso de Phelipa de Campos, reconciliada en el año 1680.
- Juan de Andrade.
- 30 Josepha de Auila, *alias* de Andrade, su muger.
- Clara y Blanca de Andrade, sus hijas, testificadas de Judaismo en la Inquisicion de Sevilla.

(§ 18.) *Testificados por Francisco Alvarez que están presos en las Inquisiciones.*

- Zaragoza. 1. Manuel de Torres.
- „ 2. Francisco de Cordova.
- „ 3. Ana de Cordova.
- „ 4. Francisco de Villarroel.
- „ 5. Luis de Villarroel.
- „ 6. Isabel de Molina.
- „ 7. Joseph Mareli.
- „ 8. Manuel de Baleazar y Santander.
- „ 9. Francisco de Robles.
- Cuenca. 1. Antonio del Caño.
- „ 2. Isabel Rodriguez, su muger.
- „ 3. Manuel Felix de Soria.
- Valencia. 1. Diego de Paz.
- „ 2. Vna hixa del dicho.
- Granada. 1. Los Alvarez de Cordova y de estos solo Manuel Alvarez.
- „ 2. Joseph de Molina.
- „ 3. Flor de Rivera, su muger.
- Cordova. 1. Los Alvarez de Cordova.
- „ 2. Manuel de Oliveros.
- „ 3. Beatriz de Campos, su muger.
- Sevilla. 1. Simon de Andrade.
- „ 2. Su muger.
- „ 3. Vna hixa.
- „ 4. Manuel de Andrade.

- Sevilla. 5. Leonor, su muger.
 „ 6. Raphael de la Oliva.
 „ 7. Gaspar de la Oliva.
 „ 8. Maria Alvarez, muger de
 Raphael de la Oliva.
 Llerena. 1. Balthasar de Castro y su familia.
 Murcia. 1. Antonio Paez.

(§ 19.) *Testificados por Isabel de Rivera, presos en las Inquisiciones.*

- Zaragoza. 1. Manuel de Torres.
 „ 2. Ysabel de Molina.
 „ 3. Manuel de Baleazar y Santander.
 „ 4. Su muger.
 „ 5. Francisco de Villarroel.
 „ 6. Luis de Villarroel.
 „ 7. Fran^{co} de Cordova y su familia.
 „ 8. Fran^{co} de Robles.
 „ 9. Joseph Mureli.
 Cuenca. 1. Maria Luis.
 „ 2. Juan de Rivera.
 „ 3. Fran^{co} Lopez Laguna.
 „ 4. Maria Laguna, su muger.
 „ 5. Fran^{co} del Castillo.
 Santiago. 1. Leonor de Martos.
 Llerena. 1. Balthasar de Castro y su familia.
 Granada. 1. Joseph de Molina.
 „ 2. Flor de Rivera, su muger.
 Sevilla. 1. Don Pedro Enrriquez Yerro.
 „ 2. Raphael de la Oliva.
 „ 3. Maria Alvarez, su muger.
 Ad perpetuam, &c.:—
 Joseph Maldonado.
 Don Antonio Garcia.
 25 Joseph Garcia.
 Juan Garcia, padre de dicho Joseph.
 Luis Garcia.
 Mencia Mendez, muger de Luis.
 Manuel Garcia.
 30 Maria Vazquez, muger del dicho.
 Geronima Garcia.
 Raphael Vazquez, marido de la dicha.

- Juan Garcia, difunto.
 Manuel Garcia, difunto, hermano bastardo del D^r Garcia.
 35 Beatriz N., muger del dicho.
 Sebastian, hijo de los dichos.
 Antonio Garcia, difunto, hermano de Sebastian.
 Manuel Garcia, herm^o de Sebastian.
 Blanca de T., su muger.
 40 Luis Garcia, soltero.
 Francisco Garcia.
 N., hermana de Blanca de T., su muger.
 Geronima y Maria.
 Luis, hermano de los dichos.
 45 Antonio Vazquez,
 M^a Garcia, muger del dicho, difuntos.
 Beatriz Vazquez, muger de Don Joseph Ruiz.
 Antonia Vazquez, muger de Martin de Aroca.
 Ana Maria Vazquez, difunta, muger de Fran^{co} Lopez, medico,
 50 fugitivo a Flandea.
 Maria Luisa, soltera.
 Joseph Vazquez, difunto, fué soldado.
 Manuel Vazquez, *alias* Cabeza de borrego.
 Antonio Vazquez.
 55 Maria, muger del dicho.
 Diego Vazquez Lopez, difunto.
 Clara de Peralta, muger del dicho.
 Maria Vazquez, hija de los dichos.
 Manuel Garcia, marido desta.
 60 Raphael Vazquez.
 Geronima Garcia, muger del dicho.
 Melchor, Geronima y Luis Vazquez.
 Francisco Vazquez, de of^o zapatero.
 N., muger del dicho.
 65 Joseph Vazquez ; Fran^{ca}, muger deste.
 Beatriz de T., viuda de Mⁱ Garcia.

(§ 20.) *Testificados por Manuela Hurtado Pimentel
 presos en las Inq^{ta} de Castilla.*

- Zaragoza. 1. Francisco de Robles.
 „ 2. Francisco de Cordova.
 „ 3. Manuel de Baleazar y Santander.
 Granada. 1. Joseph de Molina.

- Sevilla. 1. Don Pedro Enríquez Yerro, su muger y familia.
 Angela y M^a G^a, difuntas.
 Cathalina y M^a Lopez, hijas de
 Fadrique Lopez.
 Diego Lopez Gil.
 Diego Botija.

(§ 21.) *Testificados por Agustina Pimentel presos en las Inquisiciones de Castilla.*

- Murcia (sacado). 1. Antonio Paez.
 2. Maria ó Ysabel de Figueroa, muger de Juan de la Torre, difunto.
- Zaragoza (sacado). 1. Ysabel de Molina.
 „ 2. Luis de Villarroel.
 „ 3. Fran^{co} de Villarroel.
 „ 4. Francisco de Robles.
 „ 5. Santiago Mureli.
 „ 6. Francisco de Cordoba.
 „ 7. Manuel de Baleazar y Santander.
 „ 8. Ana de Cordova.
 „ 9. Manuel de Torre.
- Cuenca (sacado). 1. Francisco del Castillo.
 „ 2. Juan de Rivera.
 „ 3. Maria Luis, su muger.
- Granada (sacado). 1. Joseph de Molina.
 „ 2. Pedro de Valderrama.
- Valencia (sacado). 1. Gabriel Rodriguez, estanquero de Denia.
 „ 2. Alexandro de Figueroa.
 „ 3. Los Pazos, presos en Valencia.
- Sevilla. 1. Simon de Andrade.
 „ 2. Maria Alvarez.
 „ 3. Raphael de la Oliva.
 „ 4. La familia de los Oliveros.
 „ 5. Gaspar Bentura.
- Cordova. 1. Manuel de Oliveros con el nombre de la familia de los Oliveros.
- Llerena. 1. Balthasar de Castro.
- Santiago. 1. Fernando ó Servando Alvarez.

(§ 22.) *Memoria de los testificados por Ag^{na} Pimentel.*

1. Juan de Castro.
 2. Raphael I. Castro.

3. Francisco, no saue sus apellidos.
4. Don N. San Per ó San Pedro, vecº de Marchena.
5. Gonzalo Montesinos.
6. Laura Montesinos, su muger, y
7. Diego Phelipe Montesinos, su hermano, difunto.
8. Alexandro de Guzman, primer galan de la Compañia de Prado.
9. Sorquira, guitarrista de dicha compañía.
10. El Zongo, violon de la Compañia de Garzes.
11. Antonio de Quiros.
12. Sebastian de Quiros, difunto.
13. Violante de Paz, su madre, difunta.
14. Fadrique de Quiros.
15. Antonio Pimentel, fugitivo.
16. (Falta.)
17. Dos damas de las hixas del Duque de Medinasidonia.
18. Monsieur de la Borda, a Leonor de Ledesma y a Ines de Flores.
19. Fernando Nauarro, fuxitivo.
20. Beatriz de Anaya, fuxitiua.
21. Manuel Ysidro de Velasco, fuxitivo.
22. Gaspar el Tuerto y que llaman de Las Posaderas,
23. Su muger, vecinos de Seuilla, mercaderes.
24. Thomassa,
25. Pasquala y
26. Luis, hixos de Thomassa de Betis.
27. Angela y
28. Su marido y
29. Hixos, vezinos de Seuilla.
30. Clara y
31. Su marido y
32. Hixos, vezinos de Seuilla.
33. Angela, mercadera en Seuilla.
34. Don Isidro de Velasco, mercader en Sevilla.
35. Lucia, viuda de Francisco Alvarez Vitorero (tachado).
36. Francisco de Espinossa, vecº de Cadiz.
37. Francisca f.
38. Zezilia y f.
39. Rodrigo de Auila ó Dauila, hermanos, mercaderes en Granada, y
40. Francisca en Sevilla f.
41. Manuel de Auila, hermano de los dichos.
42. N. Sepulbeda, difunto.
43. Doctor Peralta, de oidas (tachado).
44. Gaspar Ventura, vecº de Sevilla.
45. Diego Martinez, escriuano en vn lugar zerca de Seuilla.

46. Manuel Rodriguez, que vino á casarse con Francisca Alvarez, dize es observante, pero no dize por que lo sabe.

47. Vn pariente de Francisco de Miranda, vecino de Antequera ó Ecija.

48. Todos los mercaderes de la calle ancha de la feria de Sevilla.

49. Manuel, mercader en dicha calle, hermano de Gaspar, el de las pasaderas.

50. Angela, su marido, é hijos, mercaderes de encajes y lienzo en la calle ancha de la feria de Sevilla.

51. Clara, su marido é hijos, mercaderes en Sevilla en dicha calle ancha de la feria.

52. Juan f.

53. Bictoria y f.

54. Maria, mercaderes en Sevilla, todos tres hermanos en dicha calle ancha f.

55. Las dos hermanas Mirandas, vecinas de Seuilla, parientas de Francisco de Miranda f.

56. Justa de Valderrama, hermana de Pedro de Valderrama.

57. Lucia, viuda de Fran^{co} Alvarez Vitorero.

(§ 23.) *Memoria de los que han de ser presos.*

1. Francisco de Valenzuela.
2. Isauel de los Rios.
3. Juan Diaz, caxero.
4. Ana Nuñez.
5. Francisca Nuñez.
6. Mariana Nuñez.
7. Blanca Nuñez, madre de las dichas.
8. Doctor Don Diego de Zapata, medico.
9. Doctor Don Juan de Peralta, medico.
10. Doctor Cruz, medico.
11. Francisco de Robles.
12. Maria de Herrera, su agnada.
13. Maria Arias.
14. Phelipa Arias, *alias* Beatriz Arias, su hermana.
15. Beatriz de Leon y Contreras.
16. Manuel Pimental.
17. Francisca de Silua y
18. Grazia de Silua.
19. Juan Lopez.
20. Ana, *alias* Leonor, *alias* Susanna, su muger.
21. Josepha Arias, *alias* la Josephona.

22. Doña Theresa Gentil, muger del Doctor Bargas.
23. Miguel de Castro.
24. Margarita Pimentel.
25. Ysabel de T.
26. Thomassa de Vetis.
27. Juan,
28. Maria y
29. Vitoria, hermanos, mercaderes de Senilla.
30. Fernando,
31. Joseph,
32. Leonor,
33. Isauel y
34. Ines de Leon, hermanos, vec^{os} de Sevilla.
35. (Falta.)
36. Las Mirandas, vecinas de Sevilla, son hermanas.
37. Aluaro de Cazeres.
38. Don Enrique Enriquez, vecino de Niebla, Arrendador de los Tauacos de aquel partido.

(§ 24.) *Testificados por Manuela Pimentel.*

Ausentes fugitivos.

1. Antonio Pimentel, padre de Antonio Nicolas de Cisneros y Agustina Pimentel, fugitivo en Bayona de Francia.
2. Fernando Nauarro, fiel de la Aduanilla, fugitivo de estos Reynos f.
3. Beatriz de Anaya, su muger, fugitiva con su marido f.
4. Manuel Isidro de Velasco, sobrino adoptivo de el dicho Fernando Nauarro, fugitivo, v^o que fué de Seuilla f.
5. Diego Pato, hixo de Francisco Dato, fugitivo f.
6. Francisco de Castro, hijo de Juan de Castro, mercader en Granada, fugitivo en Lisboa f.

(§ 25.) *Testificados por Manuela Pimentel.*

Vivos.

1. Juan Pinto, vecino de el Puerto de S^{ta} Maria, con exercicio en la aduana f.
2. Antonio Fernandez Matos, vecino de la ciudad de Carmona . . f.
3. Bernardo Antonio Yerro, vecino de el Puerto de Santa Maria, en el exercicio de la Aduana f.
4. Gonzalo Montesinos,

5. Laura Montesinos, su muger, vecinos que fueron de Seuilla y Cadiz.

6. Doña Ynes de Velasco, muger de Don Luis de Pedrosa, criada de la Marquesa de los Balbasses.

7. Don Antonio de Velasco, vecino de Madrid, criado de el Marques de los Balbasses.

8. Alejandro de Guzman, primer galan de la Compañia de Prado, vec^{no} de Madrid.

9. N. Serqueira, guitarrista de dicha compañía, vezino de Madrid.

10. El Zongo, violon de la Compañia de Garzes, vec^o de Madrid.

11. Dos criadas Portuguessas de la Duquesa de Medina Sidonia, hermanas penitenciadas en Lisboa.

12. Gabriel Rodriguez el Viejo, cuñado de Gabriel Rodriguez el estanquero de Denia, tambien estanquero . . . f.

13. Violante Rodriguez, su muger.

14. Gaspar el Tuerto, que llaman el de las Pasaderas, mercader, vec^o de Sevilla.

15. Antonia de T., hermana ó mui parienta del dicho Gaspar, mercadera en la ciudad de Seuilla.

16. El marido de la dicha Antonia, de oficio mercader en Seuilla . . . f.

17. Don Albaro Ysidro de Velasco, de oficio mercader en la ciudad de Cadiz . . . f.

18. Gaspar Bentura, viudo de una hija de Simon de Andrade, residente en Malaga . . . f.

19. Diego Martinez Paez, escriuano de la villa de Olinares . . . f.

20. Cathalina de Leon, vez^a de Seuilla . . . f.

21. Diego de Leon, hermano de la dicha Cathalina, vec^o de Seuilla . . . f.

22. Sebastian de Campos, hijo de Pedro de Campos y Maria Coutino, soldado en el empleo de Teniente . . . f.

23. Simon de Alarcon, vez^o de Madrid, hijo de Isauel de los Rios . . . f.

24. Juan de Castro, mercader, vez^o de Granada . . . f.

25. Raphael de Castro, hijo del dicho Juan, residente en Granada . . . f.

26. N. San Pedro, mercader, vez^o de Marchena . . . f.

27. Vna hija y vn hijo de Angela de Toledo, alias de Castro, difunta, que viuen en Madrid con Francisco de Robles el Alcahuete.

28. Blanca de Abila, muger de Juan de Tapia, vec^a de Sevilla . . . f.

29. Cathalina de Luna, vezina de Seuilla . . . f.

30. Maria de Luna, herm^a de la dicha Cathalina, vec^a de Seuilla . . . f.

31. Enrique Diaz, vec^o de Seuilla, vendedor de lienzo por las casas . . . f.

(§ 26.) *Testificados por Manuela Pimentel.*

Difuntos.

1. Isauel M^a Pimentel, difunta, vec^a que fué del Puerto de Santa Maria f.
2. Francisco de Sepulveda, v^o que fué del Puerto de Santa Maria. f.
3. Manuel Enriquez, vec^o del Puerto de Santa Maria, el qual tubo exercicio en la Aduana f.
4. Theresa Alvarez, muger que fué de Antonio Fernandez Matos. f.
5. Diego Felipe de Montesinos, ve^o que fué de Seuilla y Cadiz.
6. Francisco Alvarez Victorero.
7. Antonio de Quiros, herm^o de Diego de Quiros f.
8. (Falta.)
9. Sebastian de Quiros f.
10. Violante de Paz, madre de los dichos Quiroses f.
11. Fernando de Leon, vec^o que fué de Seuilla f.
12. Manuel de Leon, herm^o que fué del dicho Fernando, vec^o de Seuilla f.
13. Pedro de Campos, vec^o que fué de Seuilla f.
14. Maria Coutiño, su muger f.
15. Leonor de Campos, hija de los dichos Pedro de Campos y Maria Coutiño f.
16. Manuela de Campos, hermana de la dicha Leonor f.
17. Cathalina de Soria, madre de Beatriz de Soria f.
18. Cathalina de Oliueros, hija de Manuel de Oliueros y Beatriz de Soria f.

(§ 27.) *Memoria de las personas presas en carzeles secretas desta Inq^{ta} de Cuenca, con sequestro de vienes detenidos en ellas y mandados prender en dichas carzeles.*

1. Rosa Diaz, nat^l de Cuenca, sus padres de oficio mercaderes.
2. Agueda de Castro, natural de Cuenca.
3. Gabriel Luis, natural de Zifuentes, hijo de Miguel Luis, reconciliado por este Santo Oficio, mercader que fué, y al tiempo de su prision arquero de rentas reales.
4. Rosa Rodriguez, nat^l desta ciudad, muger del dicho Gabriel Luis.
5. Bentura Luis, hija de los dichos.
6. Maria Laguna, natural de Junquera.
7. Francisco Lopez, hijo de Francisco Lopez y Maria Laguna, su muger, vecinos de Sigüenza.
8. Rafael Muñoz del Caño, *alias* Saluatierra, vec^o de Atienza.

9. Miguel Suarez Sierra, vezº que fué de Gargoles, casado con Manuela Rodriguez.

10. Manuel de la Peña, vecº de Berlanga, reconciliado por la Inq^{on} de Valladolid.

11. Catalina Pinedo, su muger, tambien reconciliada por dicha Inquisicion.

12. Francisco de la Peña, hijo de los dichos.

13. Diego Rodriguez, vecino y mercader de Cuenca.

14. Josepha Diaz, su muger, natural de Cuenca.

15. Agueda Pacheco, vecina y mercadera de la ciudad de Cuenca.

(§ 28.) *Testificacion General de Ysauel de Riura.*

Zaragoza. Manuel de Torres.
 „ Manuel de Valeazar y Santander, y su muger.
 „ Francisco de Villarroel.
 „ Luis de Villarroel.
 „ Isauel de Molina.
 „ Francisco de Cordova y su familia.
 „ Francisco de Robles.
 „ Joseph Mureli.

(§ 29.) *Testificacion de Francisca Alvarez.*

Zaragoza. Manuel de Torres.
 „ Francisco de Cordova.
 „ Ana de Cordova.
 „ Francisco de Villarroel.
 „ Luis de Villarroel.
 „ Isauel de Molina.
 „ Joseph de Mureli.
 „ Manuel de Valeazar y Santander.
 „ Francisco de Robles.

(§ 30.) *Testificacion de Isauel de Castro.*

Zaragoza. Francisco de Cordova y su familia.
 „ Isauel de Molina, muger de Luis de Villarroel.
 „ Francisco de Robles.
 „ Ana de Cordova.
 „ Francisco de Villarroel.
 „ Manuel de Torres.

(§ 31.) *Testificacion de Augustina Pimentel.*

Zaragoza.	Isaue! de Molina.
"	Luis de Villarroel.
"	Francisco de Villarroel.
"	Francisco de Robles.
"	Santiago Mureli.
"	Francisco de Cordova.
"	Ana de Cordova.
"	Manuel de Valeazar y Santander.
"	Manuel de Torres.

(§ 32.) *Testificacion de Mariana Pacheco.*

Zaragoza.	Francisco de Cordova.
"	Ana de Cordova.
"	Manuel de Torres.
"	Francisco de Robles.
"	Luis de Villarroel.
"	Isaue! de Molina.
"	Manuel de Valeazar y Santander.
"	Beatriz de Campos.
"	Santiago Mureli.
"	Joseph Mureli.

(§ 33.) *Testificacion de Franc^{co} de Torres.*

Zaragoza.	Francisco de Cordova.
"	Ana de Cordova.
"	Manuel de Valeazar.
"	Francisco de Villarroel.
"	Luis de Villarroel.
"	Isaue! de Molina.
"	Joseph Mureli.
"	Francisco de Robles.
"	Manuel de Torres.

(§ 34.) *Testificacion de Manuela Hurtado Pimentel.*

Zaragoza.	Francisco de Robles.
"	Francisco de Cordova.
"	Manuel de Valeazar.

(§ 35.) *Testificacion General de Antonio Rodriguez y de Mariana Pacheco.*

Valladolid. Raymundo Suarez de Mezquita.
 „ Alejandro Suarez de Mezquita.
 „ Ana de la Peña.
 „ Beatriz Laguna.
 „ Las de Mariana Pacheco son
 „ Raymundo Suarez de Mezquita y
 „ Alejandro Suarez de Mezquita.
 Valencia. Alejandro de Figueroa.
 „ Phelipe da Paz.
 „ Guiomar de Andrade.
 „ Josepha Enrriquez.
 „ Gabriel Rodriguez, estanquero de Denia.

(§ 36.) *Testificacion de Francisco de Torres.*

Valencia. Alejandro de Figueroa.
 „ Antonio de Paz y su familia.

(§ 37.) *Testificacion de Isauel de Castro.*

Valencia. Alejandro de Figueroa.

(§ 38.) *Testificacion de Isauel de Rienera.*

Valencia. Alejandro de Figueroa.

(§ 39.) *Testificacion de Fran^{ca} Alvarez.*

Valencia. Diego Paz y vna hija sua.

(§ 40.) *Testificacion de Fran^{co} de Torres.*

Santiago. Fernando Alvarez.

(§ 41.) *Testificacion de Mariana Pacheco.*

Santiago. Fernando Alvarez.

(§ 42.) *Testificacion de Isauel de Rienera.*

Santiago. Leonor de Martos.

(§ 43.) *Testificacion de Isauel de Castro.*

Santiago. Fernando Alvarez.

(§ 44.) *Testificacion de Mariana Pacheco.*

Murcia. Fernando Melo.
 „ Francisco Melo.
 „ Vna hermana de Alexandro de Figueroa.
 „ Antonio Paez.

(§ 45.) *Testificacion de Augustina Pimentel.*

Murcia. Antonio Paez.
 „ Maria ó Isauel de Figueroa.
 „ Juan de la Torre.

(§ 46.) *Testificacion de Francisco de Torres.*

Murcia. Maria de Figueroa y
 „ Vna hermana suia.

(§ 47.) *Testificacion de Francisca Alvarez.*

Murcia. Antonio Paez.

(§ 48.) *Testificacion de Isauel de Castro.*

Murcia. Isauel de Figueroa.
 „ Rosa de Figueroa.

(§ 49.) *Testificacion de Agustina Pimentel.*

Valencia. Gabriel Rodriguez.
 „ Alexandro de Figueroa.
 „ Los Paces de Valencia.

(§ 50.) *Testificacion de Fran^{ca} Alvarez.*

Granada. Manuel Alvarez.
 „ Joseph de Molina y
 „ Flor de Riura.

(§ 51.) *Testificacion de Manuela Hurtado.*

Granada. Joseph de Molina.

(§ 52.) *Testificacion de Isabel de Castro.*

Granada. Joseph de Molina y
 „ Flor de Rivera.

(§ 53.) *Testificacion de Isabel de Rienera.*

Granada. Joseph de Molina y
 „ Flor de Rienera.

(§ 54.) *Testificacion de Agustina Pimentel.*

Granada. Joseph de Molina y
 „ Pedro de Valderrama.

(§ 55.) *Testificacion de Francisca Alvarez.*

Cordova. Los Alvarez y
 „ Manuel de Oliberos.
 „ Beatriz de Campos, alias Soria, su muger.

(§ 56.) *Testificacion de Mariana Pacheco.*

Cordova. Los Alvarez de Cordova,
 „ Antonio,
 „ Luis y
 „ Pedro Alvarez, y
 „ Las mugeres de estos.
 „ Manuel de Oliberos.
 „ Beatriz de Soria, su muger.

(§ 57.) *Testificaciones de Francisca Alvarez.*

Sevilla. Raphael de la Oliba.
 „ Maria Alvarez, su muger.

(§ 58.) *Testificacion de Isabel de Rienera.*

Sevilla. Pedro Enrriquez y
 „ Raphael de la Oliba.
 „ Maria Alvarez.

(§ 59.) *Testificacion de Manuela Hurtado.*

Sevilla. Pedro Enrriquez.
 „ Su muger y familia.

(§ 60.) *Testificacion de Isabel de Castro.*

Sevilla.	Maria Alvarez.
„	Raphael de la Oliba.
„	Simon de Andrade y
„	Vna hija sua.

 (§ 61.) *Testificacion de Mariana Pacheco.*

Sevilla.	Maria Alvarez.
„	Pedro Enrriquez Yerro.
„	Blanca, su muger.
„	Simon,
„	Phelipe, y
„	Manuel de Andrade.
„	Leonor, su muger.
„	Gaspar Bentura y
„	Isabel Andrade.

 (§ 62.) *Testificacion de Antonio Rodriguez.*

Cuenca.	1. Gabriel Luis.
„	2. Rosa Rodriguez.
„	3. Bentura Luis, su hixa.
„	4. Diego Rodriguez.
„	5. Josepha Diaz, su muger.
„	6. Antonio Rodriguez, pie de Gorrino.
„	7. Francisco Lopez el Biejo.
„	8. Francisco Lopez el Gordo.

 (§ 63.) *Testificacion de Josepha Hernandez.*

Cuenca.	Gabriel Luis.
---------	---------------

 (§ 64.) *Testificacion de Mariana Pacheco, contra.*

Corte.	Francisco de Miranda.
„	Antonio Nicolas de Cisneros.
„	Agustina Freyle.
„	Leonor de Ledesma.
„	Francisco Gutierrez.
„	Isabel Enrriquez y
„	Aldonza, su hija.

(§ 65.) *Testificacion de Agustina Pimentel.*

Corte.	Agustina Freyle.
„	Francisco de Miranda.
„	Isabel y Francisca Arias.
„	Antonio Nicolas de Cisneros.
„	Leonor de Ledesma y
„	Don Joseph de Alva.

(§ 66.) *Testificacion de lo que ultimamente añadió
Antonio Rodriguez.*

Corte.	Gabriel,
„	Joseph,
„	Agustina y
„	Beatriz Rodriguez.

(§ 67.) *Testificacion de lo que ultimamente añadió
Francisco de Torres.*

Corte.	Francisco de Miranda.
„	Antonio Nicolas de Cisneros.
„	Francisca Arias.

(§ 68.) *Testificacion de Fran^{co} de Torres.*

Llerena.	Balthasar de Castro.
„	Maria de Salazar, su muger.
„	Antonio de Castro.

(§ 69.) *Testificacion de Francisco de Torres.*

Seuilla.	Maria Alvarez.
„	Raphael de la Oliua.
„	Manuel de Andrade.
„	Doña Maria, su muger.

(§ 70.) *Testificacion de Manuela Hurtado.*

Sevilla.	Diego de Avila.
----------	-----------------

(§ 71.) *Lista de las personas que están votadas á prision por culpas de Judayismo, confirmada por los Señores del Consejo.*

Leonor de Espinosa.

Maria Antonia de Espinosa.

Gaspar Francisco Lopez y

Maria de Espinosa, su muger.

Ana de N., de quince á diez y seis años,

Maria de N., de doze años, hijas de Leonor de Espinosa y Fran^{co} de Mendoza.

Manuela de N.

(§ 72.) *Memoria de las personas testificadas de delitos de Judaismo en el Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion de Toledo, por Mariana Pacheco, Fran^{ca} de Torres, Agustina Pimentel, Cathalina Garzia, Antonio Rodriguez, Josepha Hernandez, Isabel de Castro, Maria Petronila Villarreal, Fran^{ca} Alvarez, y Manuela Hurtado Pimentel, presas en carzeles secretas de dicho Santo Oficio.*

1. Isabel Gomez Pacheco, difunta.
2. Thomas de Valenzuela, difunto.
3. Francisco de Valenzuela, su sobrino.
4. Isabel de los Rios.
5. Ana Gomez, difunta.
6. Alonso de Cordoua, difunto.
7. Maria de los Anxeles, fuxitiba.
8. Don Juan Francisco Eminente, dif^{to}.
9. Juan Diaz Caxeres, que fué de el dicho Eminente.
10. Don Francisco Diaz de la Puebla, Arrendador que fué de las Rentas de la Mesa Maestral, Probedor de el Exercito de Flandes, dif^{to}.
11. Don Luis Fernandez Paramo, *alias* Don Luis Lopez, medico en Bruselas.
12. Geronimo Alvarez, fuxitibo.
13. Francisco de Lara, difunto.
14. Don Antonio de Matos, mercader que fué en Seuilla, difunto.
15. Theresa Alvarez, su muger, dif^{ta}.
16. Miguel de Robles, fuxitivo.

17. Phelipa Alttenez, difunta.
18. Maria Altunex, difunta.
19. Antonio Pimentel, preso que a sido en la Inquisicion de Seuilla.
20. Doctor D. Antonio de Zespedes, medico.
21. La madre del dicho Doctor Zespedes.
22. Leonor de Zespedes, herm^a del dicho Doctor Zespedes.
23. Diego Fernandez Pato.
24. Francisco Fernandez Pato, dif^{to}.
25. Ana Nuñez.
26. Fran^{ca} Nuñez, herm^a de la dicha Ana.
27. Mariana Nuñez.
28. Thomassa Nuñez, difunta.
29. Blanca Nuñez, madre de las dichas Nuñez.
30. Biolante de Paz, difunta.
31. Sebastian de Quiros, difunto.
32. Fadrique de Quiros, capitan en los Estados de Flandes.
33. Rodrigo de Cordova.
34. Don Antonio de Velasco, criado mayor del Marques de los Valbases.
35. Doctor D. Diego Zapata, medico en Madrid.
36. Francisco Raphael de Sossa, *alias* Valenzuela, difunto.
37. Beatriz de Campos, difunta.
38. El Doctor Don Juan de Peralta, medico en Madrid.
39. Antonio Nauarro, difunto.
40. Maria Nauarro, su muxer, difunta.
41. Beatriz Nauarro.
42. Fernando de Anaya y Nauarro.
43. Manuel, sobrino de los referidos.
44. Sr^o Borja, fuxitibo.
45. Leonor de Melo, su muxer, fuxitiba.
46. El Doctor Don Antonio de Vargas, difunto.
47. Sr^o Jeutil, suegro del dicho Doctor Vargas, tambien difunto.
48. Luis Fernandez Pato, difunto.
49. Ana de Miranda, su muxer, dif^{ta}.
50. Fran^{co} de Robles, vecino de Madrid.
51. Juan de la Torre, difunto.
52. Anxela de Castro, difunta.
53. Maria de Herrera, su hixa.
54. Joseph de Herrera.
55. Isabel de Herrera, fuxitiba.
56. Mariana, madre de la dicha Isabel, fuxitiba.
57. Antonio de Flores, difunto.
58. Maria Arias, soltera.
59. Phelipa Arias, hermana de la dicha M^a.

60. Beatriz Arias, madre de las dichas, difunta.
61. Cathalina Arias, difunta.
62. Fernando Arias, difunto.
63. Francisco Arias, difunto.
64. Raphael Gutierrez, fuxitibo.
65. Luysa, muxer del dicho Raphael, difunta.
66. Juan Marquez Cardoso.
67. Vna hermana del dicho, residente en Portugal, casada con vn letrado.
68. Beatriz de Leon y Contreras.
69. Francisco de Flores, natural de Sancti Espiritus.
70. Francisco Ferrer, resid^{to} en Portugal.
71. Doctor Cruz, medico en Madrid.
72. Juan, de oficio tintorero.
73. Doña Geronima B., viuda de vn repostero de un señor.
74. Manuel Rodriguez, resid^{to} en Lisboa.
75. Diego Martinez, escribano.
76. Phelipa Nuñez.
77. Agustin de Silba, difunto.
78. Francisca de Silba.
79. Grazia de Silba, hermana de la dicha Francisca.
80. Beatriz de Silba, difunta.
81. Manuel de T., marido de la dicha Beatriz.
82. El Moscon, mercader de lienzo.
83. Gaspar del Caño, fuxitivo.
84. Leonor Roldan, muger del dicho Gaspar, fuxitiva.
85. Thomas Roldan, difunto.
86. Alonso Roldan, difunto.
87. Beatriz R., sobrina de la dicha Leonor, fuxitiva.
88. Gaspar Bentura, viudo.
89. Miguel de Castro, resid^{to} en Barcelona.
90. N^o Sepulbeda, vecino del Puerto de Santa Maria.
91. Pedro de Valderrama.
92. Blanca, su madre, presos que an sido en la Inquisicion de Sevilla.
93. Francisca de Abila.
94. Zezilia de Abila, resid^{to} en Granada.
95. Rodrigo de Abila.
96. Francisco de Espinosa, de oficio contrabandista.
97. Luzia, viuda de Francisco Alvarez.
98. Don Isidro de Velasco, mercader en Cadiz.
99. Justa de Valderrama.
100. Gaspar, que llaman el de las Pasaderas, vecino de Seuilla.
101. Margarita Pimentel, residente en Cordova.
102. Las Mirandas, vecinas de Seuilla.

103. Fernando de Leon.
104. Joseph de Leon, difunto.
105. Leonor de Leon.
106. Isabel de Leon.
107. Ynez de Leon, soltera.
108. Angela R., vec^a de Seuilla.
109. Juan y
110. Bictoria y
111. Maria, todos tres hermanos, mercaderes y vecinos de Seuilla.
112. Angela,
113. Su marido, y
114. Sus hixos, todos vecinos de Sevilla, mercaderes de lienzos, rasos, y paños.
115. Clara,
116. Su marido, difunto, y
117. Sus hijos, vecinos todos de Sevilla, con tienda de los referidos jeneros.
118. Manuel, hermano de Gaspar el Tuerto.
119. Thomassa de Betis, vezina de Sevilla.
120. Luis y
121. Pasquala, su hermana, y
122. Thomassa, hermanas.
123. Manuel Isidro, sobrino de Fernando Nauarro, fuxitivo.
124. Monsieur de la Vorda, de nazion frances.
125. Vn pariente de Francisco de Miranda, vezino de Antequera ó Ecija.
126. Juan y
127. Raphael, hijo del dicho, vezinos de Granada, mercaderes.
128. Francisco, hixo del dicho Juan, fuxitivo.
129. Don N. Samper ó San Pedro, mercader, vecino de Marchena.
130. Joseph Maldonado, resid^{te} en Sevilla.
131. Dos damas de la Duquesa de Medina Sidonia.
132. Gabriel Suarez y
133. Violante, su muxer, hermana del dicho Gabriel Rodriguez, estanqueros.
134. Alexandro de Guzman, primer galan de la Compañia de Prado.
135. N. Serqueira, guitarrista de dicha compañía.
136. N. El Zongo, biolon de la Compañia de Garzes.
137. Albaro de Cazerres.
138. Leonor de Matos y
139. Ana de Matos, herm^a de la dicha Leonor.
140. Don Antonio de Castro, vecino de Merida.
141. Juan de Medina, fuxitivo.
142. Raphaela de Molina, fuxitiva.

143. Simon de Molina.
144. Don Bernardo de Robles, *alias* fuerte Bolo.
145. Monsiur Marin, de nazion frances.
146. Don Diego Enrriquez.
147. Don Juan Thomas Gonzalez, *alias* Tropas, vecino de Cordova.
148. Luis Antonio de Rivera, difunto.
149. Ana de Lima, fuxitiba.
150. Manuel Fernandez Pato, difunto.
151. Miguel Luis, fuxitivo.
152. Sebastian Gutierrez.
153. Josepha Arias, prima hermana de Maria Arias.
154. Don Antonio de la Vega Calo, difunto.
155. Don Melchor Raphael de Macanaz, fuxitivo.
156. Manuel Pimentel, estanquero.
157. Maria, cuñada de dicho Manuel Pimentel.
158. Grazia, hermana de la dicha Maria.
159. Manuel de la Peña, alguazil mayor de la Villa de Atienza, reconciliado que a sido en la Inq^{on} de Valladolid.
160. Cathalina Piñero, muger del dicho Manuel.
161. Gaspar de la Peña.
162. Isabel de T., vez^a del lugar de Miedes.
163. Manuel de Medina, fuxitibo.
164. Miguel Luya, reconciliado en la Inquisicion de Cuenca.
165. Carlos Antonio del Valle, alguazil que fué de corte, fuxitibo.
166. Antonia Rodriguez, suegra de Antonio Rodriguez, difunta.
167. Isabel Fernandez, difunta.
168. Beatriz Fernandez, difunta.
169. Francisco Laguna, difunto.
170. N^a Lopez, difunta.
171. Clara Laguna, difunta.
172. Sebastian Garcia, vec^o de Murcia.
173. Don Francisco Lopez, médico en Bruselas.
174. Diego, hermano de el dicho Francisco.
175. Fran^{ca}, hermana de los dichos.
176. Juan Garzia, de oficio zerero.
177. Maria Melo, hixa de Fernando Melo, platero, que fué en Murcia.
178. N^o Melo, de oficio platero.
179. Fernando Melo, difunto.
180. Manuel Garzia, residente en dicha ciudad de Murcia.
181. Don Enrique Enrriquez.
182. Juan Lopez, estanquero, reconciliado que a sido en la Inq^{on} de Cuenca.
183. Ana ó Leonor, su muxer, reconciliada en dicha Inquisicion de Cuenca.

(§ 73.) *Sumaria contra diferentes complices en delitos de Judaismo.*

Testigos que deponen en esta sumaria.

1. Mariana Pacheco.
2. Agustina Pimentel.
3. Isauel de Riñera.
4. Josepha Hernandez.
5. Antonio Rodriguez el de Tembleque.
6. Francisco de Torres.
7. Catalina Garcia.
8. Gerónima Garcia.
9. Antonio Garcia.
10. Luis Garcia.
11. Doctor Manuel Garcia.

Contra.

1. Juan Diaz, cartero de D. Fran^{co} Eminente.
2. Ana, Fran^{ca} y Mariana Nuñez y Blanca Nuñez, madre de las tres.
3. D^{or} Zapata, D^{or} Peralta y D^{or} Cruz.
4. Fran^{co} de Robles y Maria de Herrera, su agnada.
5. Maria y Beatriz Arias, *alias* Phelipa Arias, prima de la muger de Miranda.
6. Juan de T., tintorero.
7. Juan Lopez, estanquero, y su muger, Ana ó Leonor, reconciliados en Cuenca.
8. Doña Theresa Gentil, muger del Doctor Bargas.
9. Josepha Arias, *alias* la Josephona.
10. Carlos Antonio del Valle, alguacil que fué de corte.
11. Beatriz de Leon y Contreras, reconciliada por el Santo Oficio.
12. Manuel Suarez Sierra, vecino de Sigüenza (ya está preso).
Manuel Pimentel, resid^{te} en Cordova.

(§ 74.) *Memoria de las personas que se han de votar á prision en carceles secretas con sequestro de vienes, y en su cabeza recorrer los registros de las Inquisiciones de Castilla y Portugal.*

1. Francisco de Valenzuela, sob^o de Thomas de Valenzuela.
2. Isabel de los Rios, muger de Thomas de Valenzuela.
3. Juan Diaz, cajero que fué de Don Francisco Eminente.
4. Ana Nuñez,

5. Francisca Nuñez y
6. Mariana Nuñez, todas tres maestras de Niñas.
7. Blanca Nuñez, madre de las dichas, reconciliada por el Santo Oficio.
8. Rodrigo de Cordova, sobº de Francisco y Gabriel de Cordova.
9. Dº D. Diego Zapata, médico, en Madrid.
10. Dº D. Juan de Peralta, médico en Madrid.
11. Dº Cruz, médico en Madrid.
12. Francisco de Robles.
13. Maria de Herrera, hixa de Joseph de Herrera, difunto, Judío observante.
14. Maria Arias, prima de la muger de Francisco de Miranda.
15. Beatriz Arias, *alias* Phelipa Arias, hermana de la dicha Maria.
16. Beatriz de Leon y Contreras, vecina de Madrid, reconciliada por la Inquisicion de Toledo.
17. Juan de T., tintorero.
18. Francisca de Silva, residº en Cordova.
19. Gracia de Silba, residº en Cordova, hermana de la dicha Francisca.
20. Manuel de T., cuñado de las dichas Franª y Gracia, residº en Cordova.
21. Juan Lopez, estanquero, vecino de Madrid, reconciliado por la Inquisicion de Cuenca.
22. Ana ó Leonor ó Susana, muger del dicho Juan Lopez, reconciliada por la Inquisicion de Cuenca.
23. Dª Teresa Gentil, muger del Doctor Vargas, médico en Madrid.
24. Josepha Arias, *alias* la Josephona, casada con vn oficial de hazes, cajas y estuches de concha.
25. Don Juan Cardoso, vecino que fué de Madrid.
26. Miguel Rodriguez, residº en Portugal.
27. Don Luis Fernandez Paramo, fuxitino.
28. Margarita Pimentel, muger de Juan Gonzalez, *alias* Tropas, vecº de Cordova.
29. Alvaro de Caceres.
30. Don Enrique Enriquez, vecº de Niebla.
31. Manuel de la Peña, alguacil mayor de Atienza, reconciliado en Valladolid, y su muxer, y vna hixa, se han devotar á detencion; la muger a sido tambien reconciliada en Valladolid.
32. Carlos Antonio del Valle, alguacil que fué de corte, fuxitivo.
33. Isauel de T., vecº de Miedes, casada con Gonzalo de T., estanquero.
34. Miguel de Castro, residente en Barcelona, de oficio tratante en tanacos y otras merzerias.

(§ 75.) *Indice de las personas testificadas por Manuel Rodriguez, Portugues, natural de Viarres en Francia, desde el año 1632 á 1633.*

Letra A.

- Andres de Luna, vecº de Pastrana, mercader.
 Antonio Fernandez de Lossada, capitan.
 Alvaro Mendez, vecº de Madrid.
 Antonio Diaz, vecº de Bayona, sobº de la Coronela.
 5 Antonio Diaz, frances, vecº de Burdeos.
 Antonio Alvarez Cardoso, vecº de Burdeos.
 Antonio Alvarez, su cuñado, vecº de Burdeos.
 Alvaro Gomez Medina, circuncidado.
 Atabora, vecº de Biarres.
 10 Ana Mendez, vezina de Vayona, que pide limosna, residente en Madrid.
 Andres (¿) de Valladolid, confitero.

Letras A y B.

- Balthasar Rodriguez de Acosta.
 Antonio Luis, vecino de Vayona.
 15 Bartholomé Lopez, Portugues, vecino de Burdeos.
 Balthasar Rodriguez, vecº de Burdeos.
 Balthasar Arias, vecº de Vayona, ó Balthasar Alvarez, y Blanca Cardoso, su muger.
 Andres Antonio, vecino de Peñonda, y Luis y Gaspar y otros dos
 20 sus hijos.
 Antonio Gomez, vecº de Vayona.
 Alvaro Mendez, mercader de mulas, vecino de Madrid.
 Benito Luis, difunto, vecino de Sancti Espiritus, arrabal de Bayona.
 Andres de Valladolid.
 . 25 Antonio de Rocha, vecino de Viarres.
 Antonio de Valencia.
 Antonio, hijo de Manuel Lopez.
 Antonio Fernandez Castan*, natural de Burdeos.
 Antonio Mendez de Briso y dos sobrinos suyos, vecinos de Bayona.
 30 Antonio Enrriquez.

Letra C.

Chipadorta, vecino de Burdeos, y tiene otro nombre.
 Catalina de Castro, abuela de Manuel Rocha, vecina de Bayona.

Letra D.

- Diego Caruallo, vecino de Naiona.
 Diego Mendez, vecino de la Bastida.
 35 Daniel Enrriquez, vecino de la Bastida.
 Diego Febos, hermano de Juan Nuñez Febos, y su muger deste.
 Diego Fernandez de Losada, capitan.
 Duarte Rodriguez Cardoso, vecino de Madrid.
 Doña Serafina, muger de Hernando Montesino.
 40 Diego de Meneses, que está preso en Toledo.
 Diego Nuñez Fuentes, portuges.

Letra E.

- Enrrique Fernandez, vec° de Biarres.
 El Doctor Sebastian Mendez, vecino de Burdeos.
 Enrrique Mendez, vec° de Vayona.
 45 Enrrique Nuñez Sarauia.
 El Doctor Alfonso Diaz Pimentel, médico, vecino de San Sebastian.

Letra F.

- Francisco Baez de Acosta, vec° de Madrid.
 Fernan Rodriguez, vecino de Biarres.
 Otro Francisco Baez de Acosta, vec° de Madrid.
 50 Fernando Mendez, su hermano.
 Fulano Faro, natural de Vayona.
 Francisco Cardoso, natural de Bayona.
 Fernan Rodriguez Sidarreal, vecino de Peñorada.
 Francisco Rodriguez, vecino de Vayona.
 55 Francisco Lopez, vecino de Vayona.
 Felipe Nuñez, vecino de Peñorada.
 Fernando Montesinos, portuges.
 Fernan Mendez, hermano de Aluaro Mendez, y Christoual Camargo
 de Acosta y Francisco Baez Camargo, vec° de Madrid.
 60 Francisco Baez Camargo, vec° de Biarres.
 Francisco de Valencia, portuges.
 Fernan Mendez, hijo de Sebastian Mendez, vecino de Burdeos.
 Francisco Serrano, vecino de Burdeos.

Letra G.

- Gaspar Trancoso, vecino de Biarres.
 65 Gonçalo Martinez, hijo de Miguel Nuñez, vecino de Biarres.
 Gaspar Nuñez, mercader, vecino de la Bastida.
 Guillen del Soto, vec° de Ruan.
 Gerónimo Nuñez, vec° de la Vastida.

Gaspar Diaz y Luis Diaz, hermanos, vecinos de Vayona, y otros dos
70 hermanos de estos.

Gerónimo de Fonseca, vecino de Madrid.

Gerardo Gomez, vecino de Madrid, y de presente de Vayona.

Gaspar Francisco, vec° de Viarres, y su muger.

Letra H.

Letra J.

Jorge Mendez, vecino de Madrid.

75 Jacomo Luis, portugues, nat^l de Vayona.

Juan Diaz Dorta, vec° de Biarres.

Juan Luis, cuñado de Manuel Gomez, vecino de Daques en Francia.

Juan de Porto, vecino de Burdeos.

Juan Nuñez Febos y vn hijo suyo y su muger.

80 Juan Perez, vecino de Peñorada.

Juan Nuñez Sarauia, vec° de Madrid.

Juan, hermano de Manuel de Arrocha.

Jorge Mendez, vecino de Vayona.

Letra L.

Luis Santos, mercader, vec° de Pastrana, y su muger y tres hijos y
85 vna nieta.

Luis Rodriguez, vecino de Ciudad-Rodrigo, hijo de Isabel Nuñez,
viuda.

Luis, cuñado de Jacomo Luis, natural de Vayona.

Luis de Orta, herm° del dicho Juan Diaz.

90 Luis Lopez, vecino de Burdeos.

Luis Diaz, vecino de Vayona.

Lorenço Diaz Lumbrera, vecino de Francia en Biarres.

Lorenço Diaz Lombando (¿), vec° de Biarres.

Luis Garces, vecino de Pamplona.

Letra M.

95 Manuel Enriquez Valentin, vecino de Viarres, y su muger, suegra,
y dos criadas y vna hija.

Manuel Serra, vecino de Anastander, hermano de Fernando
Montesinos.

Manuel Alvarez Mesonero, vecino de Viarres.

100 Manuel Rodriguez, testificante.

Maria Rodriguez, su madre.

Manuel Enriquez, vecino de la Vastida.

Manoel Carballo, vecino de Vayona.

Manuel Cotoño, vecino de Peñorada.

105 Miguel Nuñez, vecino de Biarres.

- Mathias Lopez, vecino de Burdeos.
 Manuel Nuñez, vecino de Biarres.
 Manoel Serra, hermano de Juan Montesinos, vecino de Vayona.
 Manoel Gomez, vecino de Daques, y por otro nombre Daniel Gomez.
 110 Martin Gomez, vecino de Bayona.
 Maria Luis, vecina de Bayona.
 Manuel Martinez y M^a Nuñez, su muger, vecinos de Bayona.
 Manuel de Rocha, vecino de Bayona, y Juan, su hermano.
 Manuel Valencia.
 115 Martin Gomez, confitero, vec^o de Bayona.
 Maria Luis, su muger.
 Manuel de Arrocha, vecino de Vayona.
 Martin Aluarez, vecino de Bayona.
 Manuel de Valencia.
 120 Manuel Enrriquez Valentin, y su muger, suegra y dos cuñadas, vec^o
 de Biarres.
 Manuel Serra, vecino de Amsterdam, hermano de Fernando
 Montesinos.
 Letra N.
 Nicolassa Lopez, vecina de Bayona.
 Letra O.
 Letra P.
 125 Paulo de Aguiar, resid^{te} en Vayona.
 P^o Baez, residente en la Bastida, y su hijo, Fulano Baez.
 P^o Gomez, vecino de Baiona.
 Pasqual Lopez, vec^o de Vayona, cuñado del capitan Antonio
 Fernandez de Losada.
 130 P^o Enrriquez, fastio, vecino de Vayona.
 P^o de Acosta, tiene su casa en Bayona.
 P^o Lopez Serra, vec^o de Peñorada.
 Pierres de Arrocha, portugues, vec^o de Bayona.
 P^o Lorenzo, vecino de Sancti Spiritus.
 135 P^o de Castro, vecino de Pamplona.
 Letra Q.
 Letra R.
 Letra S.
 Santiago Gomez, natural de Vayona.
 Simon Lopez Enrriquez, vec^o de Bayona.
 Sebastian Lopez, hijo de Luis Lopez, vecino de Burdeos.
 Salvador Rodriguez, portugues, circuncidado, vecino de Ruan.
 140 Salvador Gomez, natural de Daques en Francia, vecino de Valladolid,
 y su hermano Jerardo, vecino de Vayona.

Letra T.

Trancoso Lopez, grade, doctor, vecino de Burdeos.

Letra V.

Vasco Fernandez, herm° del capitan Losada.

Vasco Fernandez Jaen, vec° de Toledo.

Letra X.

145 Xpóbal de Acosta, vec° de Viarres.

Xpóbal de Acosta, primo del dicho, vecino de Viarres.

Xpóbal de Acosta, vecino de la Bastida.

Letra Y.

Ysabel Nuñez, viuda, vec° de Ciudad-Rodrigo.

Ysabel Alvarez, viuda, vec° de Bayona.

Letra General.

150 Las mugeres y hijos de Christóbal Rodriguez; Francisco Baez y Christóbal de Acosta y Luis Santos.

La Coronela (llamase Ysabel), muger de Ciudad-Rodrigo, rica y tiene vn hijo que estuvo preso en la Inquisicion y vivió en Viarres.

El Frade, de nacion portugues, vecino de Madrid.

155 Dos moços, mercaderes portugueses, vecinos de la Bastida que tratan en nabales, anascotes y sayas y están en Madrid.

La hija de Luis Lopez, muger de Manuel Nuñez, vecina de Viarres.

Vn tio de dicho Christóbal de Acosta.

Vn sobrino de Fernando Montesinos.

160 Vna moza francesa de la Vastida que reside en esta corte.

Vn moço vecino de la Bastida que está en Madrid y es yerno de Daniel Enrriquez, vecino de la Bastida.

Pariente de Antonio Mgradiz (¿), vecino de Burdeos.

Vn hermano de Balthasar Rodriguez, vecino de Burdeos.

165 Vn sobrino de Enrrique Nuñez Sarauia, residente en Burdeos.

La hixa de Francisco Nuñez, platero, vecino de Viarres.

Vn hierno de Duarte Pereira, vecino de Bayona.

Vn hombre portugues, vecino de Peñorada y reside en esta corte.

Dos hermanos de Luis Diaz, vecinos de Vayona.

170 La muger de Enrrique Nuñez Sarauia.

Las Barajas, portuguesas, vecinas de Madrid.

La muger de Gaspar Francisco.

La muger de Fran° Baez Camargo.

Vn moço valentonaço portugues, estafador.

175 El padre de Marin Alvarez, vecino de Bayona.

Vn hombre que vino de Amsterdam con dos hermanos, nombrados Juan y Manuel, y fulano capitan.

Vn Portugues que viue á Santo Domingo el Real, la muger y vna sobrina.

180 Vn hijo de Roldan, arriero, vecino de la Bastida, que reside en esta corte.

(§ 76.) *Memoria de algunos Portugeses que viuen en Madrid, que han dicho sus dichos en defensas de reos portugueses presos en el Santo Officio, con nombres de vecindad y naturaleza dellos, año de 1634.*

En las defensas de Enrrique Nuñez Sarauia.

Luis de Oliuera, Lisboa, natural de Lamego, viue en la calle de las Carretas, obligado del carbon.

Balthasar Enrriquez, natural del Trancoso, hermano de Jorge Enrriquez, calle de Alcalá, de 52 años.

5 Duarte Fernandez, natural de Lisboa, viue en la calle de Fuencarral. Alfonso Cardoso, natural de Lisboa, posa en casa de Melchor de Molina.

Albaro Fernandez Marquez, Portugues, natural de Toledo, en la callejuela de la Victoria.

10 Francisco de Amezqueta, natural de Trancoso, posa en la calle de San Migel.

Francisco Perez de Oliuera, contador de Su Magestad, posa frente a la yglesia de la S^{ma} Trinidad.

Don Manuel Pacheco de Oliuera, su hijo.

15 Antonio Rodrigex, boticario, natural de Vergança, á la Red de San Luis en la esquina de la de los Jardines.

Manuel de Paz Fidalgo de la casa de Orreg en la carrera de San Gerónimo, casas del Conde de Salazar.

(§ 77.) *En las defensas de Simon Lopez Mendez.*

Fernan Gomez Pardo, natural de la Guardia, en la calle de la + (cruz), casas de Doña Luisa de Heredia.

Dona M^a de los Reyes, Portuguesa, fué vecina de Ciudad-Rodrigo y muger de Fran^{co} Leon Espinossa, frontero de la yglesia de la S^{ma} 5 Trinidad, en casas de Juan Loçano, barbero.

Gerónimo Rodrigues del Caño, natural de Ciudad-Rodrigo, casado y en casa de los de arriba.

Antonio Rodrigues del Caño, natural de Ciudad-Rodrigo, casado á la portería vieja de Felipe.

10 Gaspar Lopez de Paz, en la calle de San Luis.

Antonio Suarez, natural de Trancoso, viue en la calle del Soldado. Beatriz de Fonseca, muger de dicho Antonio Suarez.

Mencia Nuñez, viuda de Antonio Nuñez, suegra de Juan Nuñez Sarauia.

- 15 Juana Bautista, muger de Antonio R., boticario á la Red de San Luis.

(§ 78.) *En las defensas de Juan Nuñez Sarauia.*

Manuel Nuñez Nauarro, tiene la estampa de los naypes á la Red de San Luis.

El Licenciado Garcia de Hillan, abogado, natural de Lisboa á la calle de Alcala.

- 5 Fran^{co} Rodrigues de Madrid, obligado de la pimienta, en la calle de Alcala.

Luis Alvarez de Silva, corredor de cambios á la Red de San Luis.

Antonio Mendez, natural de Visco, calle de las Infantas.

Juan Lopez Leoner, posa en la estampa de los naypes.

(§ 79.) *En las de Gaspar Mendez Baeza.*

Diego Diaz Nuñez, natural de Lamego, calle de la + (cruz).

Manuel Cardoso, barbero y cirujano, natural de Lamego, en la calle de Ortaleza.

Francisco Lopez Tellez, natural de Villafior.

Manuel Lopez Tellez, su hermano, á la calle de Peligros.

(§ 80.) *En las de Gaspar Mendez Baeza.*

Diego Diaz Nuñez, natural de Lamego, calle de la + (cruz).

Manuel Ley.

Francisco Lopez de Oliuera, natural de Lamego, en la calle de San Bernardo.

Luis de Acosta, natural de la Torre de Moncorbo, boticario en la calle de Alcala.

Rodrigo Fernandez Marchena.

Diego Rodrigues Acosta Marchena, natural de la Guardia, en la calle de Ortaleza, casas del capitan Pacheco.

(§ 81.) *En las de Jorge Enrriquez.*

Luis Enrriquez Albin, natural de Villafior, al Caballero de Gracia.

Diego Nuñez Fuentes, natural de Mogadeiro, en la calle de los Jardines.

Manuel Fernandez, natural de la Henojosa, en la calle de los Cedaceros.

Maria Fernandez, natural de la Guardia, en la calle de Buena Vista.

Leonor Rodrigues, viuda, natural de Oporto, vine en la calle de la Cruz.

Francisco Fernandez Martinez, natural de Villarreal, calle del Caballero de Gracia.

Ana Rodrigues, natural de Reynados en Portugal, vezª de la Vª de Yruesta.

Antonio Gomez, natural de la Guardia en Portugal, tendero en Yruesta.

(§ 82.) *En el proceso de Antº Fz. Castaño.*

Bartholomé Gomez, natural de Lisboa, en la calle de las Urosas.

(§ 83.) *En las defensas de Bartolomé Febos.*

Fernando Manuel, natural de Lisboa, tesorero de la pimienta, en la calle del Principe.

Manoel de Mendoza, natural de Oporto, posa en la calle del Principe.

5 Don Jacinto de Lemos, administrador general de la Pimienta, natural de Lisboa, en la calle del Principe.

Diego Rª Solis, natural de Lisboa, calle de San Luis.

Marcos de Auila, Portuges, natural de Ciudad-Rodrigo, official de los libros de Manuel de Paz.

10 Antonio de Soto, Portuges, natural de Ruan, en la calle del Amor de Dios.

El Doctor Fernando Cardoso, natural del Trancoso, médico, en la calle de las Infantas.

Simon Faria, Portuges, natural de Alantejo, reconciliado, en la calle
15 de San Augustin.

Doctor Duarte Baez, natural de Naba el Morconde, en la calle de Silua.

El Doctor Migel de Silueira, médico, mathemático de Su Magestad, en la calle de la Fuente del Ave Maria.

20 Maria de Borjes, natural de Paços, en la calle del Almendro.

Francisco Enriquez, mercader, vecino de Talauera, y

Gabriel Enriquez, su hermano.

Manuel Rodrigues, capatero de viejo, vecino de Talauera.

Gaspar Lopez de Paz, mercader de seda portugés, soltero, que posa
25 en la Red de San Luis.

(§ 84.) *Portugeses que ay en Pastrana.*

Duarte Lopez Diaz; Gaspar Nuñez, tendero; Luis Rodrigues, platero; Francisco Lopez; Francisco Mendez; Antonio, sobrino de Serra; Francisco Cardoso; Simon de Oliuera; Tomas Alfonso; Antonio Baez; Blas Nuñez; Juan R. Forte; Antonio Lopez, tendero; 5 La Xordana; Diego Lopez Serra; Antonio Rodrigues; Pedro Enrriquez; Manuel de Oliuera; Juan Rodrigues; Francisca de Najara; Fernan Lopez de Paz; Manuel Rodrigues; Manuel Fernandez; Jorge de Oliuera; Manuel Fernandez; Diego Lopez; Ysabel Oliuera; Pedro de Amezqueta; Antonio de Leon, está en Madrid donde es corredor 10 de lonja; Francisco Fernandez; la madre de Duarte Lopez; Manuel de Almeida; Manuel Lopez Lima; Alvaro Cardoso; Diez Lopez; Simon Fernandez; Antonio Mendez Lamego; Francisco de Castro. Todos estos fueron presos.

(§ 85.) *Lista de los Portugeses que ay en Ciudad-Real.*

Gaspar Diaz; Francisco Enrriquez; Ysabel y Guiomar Enrriquez, sus cuñadas; Felipe Gomez; Beatriz Lopez, su muger; Rafael, criado, y Beatriz, criada; Henrique de Acosta; Gaspar Rodrigues, labrador; Juana Martines, su muger, es medio morisca; Diego, 5 Gaspar y Pedro, sus hijos; Migel y Maria, hermanos de dicho Gaspar Rodrigues; Diego Lopez; Isabel de Acosta; Domingo, criado; las hijas de Antonio R., Ciudad-Real, fugitivas; Beatriz, Violante y Ysabel, Sebastian y Diego, chiquitos; Maria, su esclava, portuguesa; Doctor Francisco de Paiba, médico, y Mençia Nuñez, su muger; 10 Ysabel y Catalina, hijas; Luis Baez y Blanca Fernandez, sobrinos; Clara Enrriquez; Gonçalo Baez, su hixo; Catalina, criada, y Lucrecia, negra; Gregorio Rodrigues; El Doctor Duarte Mendez, su hermano; Jacobo Sarmiento; Ana Vaez, su muger; Ysabel y Antonia, hijas; Domingo Lopez; Leonor Baez, su muger, difunta; Francisco Lopez 15 y Catalina Lopez, sus hijos; Domingo (¿), esclavo; Maria, Manuel, Francisco y Pedro, criados; Domingo Rz., que llaman el brauo; Maria Lopez, su muger; Ana, su hija, y Maria, criada; Antonio Rodrigues; Clara Rodrigues, su muger; Manuel y Antonio, criados; Fernando Rodrigues; Antonio y Manuel, sus hijos; Gaspar, criado; 20 Juan Sarmiento; Maria Diaz, su muger; Ysabel Baez; Maria Diaz; Gaspar Lopez; Francisco Lopez; Francisco Rodrigues; Pedro Lopez; Manuel Lopez y Melchor R.; Fulano de Perea con muger e hijos.

(§ 86.) *Memorial de pessoas Christianas novas da condado de Bragança denunciadas no sancto officio de Inquisition de Coimbra as quaes andaon en castella.*

Antonio Ferras, Christiano novo.

Francisco de Sousa, biuuo.

Manoel Sanchez, Christiano novo, procurador, casado con Tenebra Enrique, presa.

Pedre Alvarez, Christiano novo, casado con Graçia Nuñez, tratante.

Francisco Fernandez, Christiano novo, çapatero da çida de Bragança.

Anna de Castro, casada con Manoel Alvarez.

Manoel Alvarez, marido da 1ª proxima.

Francisco Alvarez é irmao do dito Manoel Alvarez.

Maria de Castro, molher deste.

Antonio Vaz, Christiano novo, mercador, fillo de Enrique Diaz, boticario.

(§ 87.) *Memoria de las personas con quien tiene correspondencia Antonio Rodriguez Gradis, alias Mendez, y su hermano Francisco Rodrigues, vecinos de Madrid.*

Toledo.

Manuel Bazquez ; Antonio Albarez de Silba ; Rodrigo Arias ; Manuel Fernandez Portalegre ; Thomas Suarez ; Diego Rodriguez Cardoso ; Diego Rodriguez Henrriquez ; Onofre Piedrayta ; Rodrigo Arias ; Jorge Rodriguez Lambra ; Manuel Fernandez Portalegre.

Mondejar.

Pedro de Mata.

Ciudad-Real ó Toledo.

Gaspar Mendez Baessa ; Antonio Rodriguez de Azeuedo.

RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL.

INDEX OF NAMES.

A.

- Abeiro, Melchor de, § 5, l. 6.
 Abila, Blanca de, 25, 28.
 — Francisca de, 72, 93.
 — Rodrigo de, 72, 93.
 — Zexilia de, 72, 94.
 Acosta, Balthasar Rodriguez de,
 75, 13.
 — Christóbal de, 75, 151, 158.
 — Christoual Camargo de, 75, 59.
 — Francisco Baez de, 75, 47.
 — Henrique de, 85, 3.
 — Isabel de, 85, 6.
 — Luis de, 8, 9.
 — Luis de, 80.
 — Otro Francisco Baez de, 75, 49.
 — P^o de, 75, 131.
 — Xpóbal de, 75, 145-7.
 Acuña, D. Juan Vazquez de, 1.
 — Fernan Ruiz Lóbo Osigaño de, 4,
 178.
 — Luis Ruiz Patino de, 4, 175.
 Aguiar, Paulo de, 75, 125.
 Alarcon, Simon de, 9 (b), 16; 25, 23.
 Alba, Fernando de, 2, 20.
 Albarez, Doña Ana, 6, 9.
 — Fran^{ca}, 10, 6.
 — Francisca, 47, 57, 72 (heading).
 — Francisco, 72, 97.
 — Marin, 75, 175.
 — Nuño, 6, 9; 7, 1, 6.
 — Theresa, 26, 4; 72, 15.
 — Ysabel, 75, 149.
 Albin, Luis Enrriquez, 81.
 Alfonso, Tomas, 84, 3.
 Almeida, Manuel de, 84, 11.
 Altomez, Maria, 11, 4.
 — N., 11, 37.
 — Phelipa, 11, 3.
 Altenez, Phelipa, 72, 17.
 Altunez, Maria, 72, 18.
 Alvarez, Antonio, 75, 7.
 Alvarez, Balthasar, 4, 36.
 — Balthasar, 75, 17.
 — Clara, 4, 47.
 — Diego, 4, 195.
 — Fernando, 5, 7.
 — Martin, 75, 118.
 — Nuño, 4, 204.
 — Sebastian, 4, 146.
 Alva, Don Joseph de, 65.
 [Alvarez], Antonio, 56.
 Alvarez, Fernando ó Servando, 11,
 33; Santiago, 21, 1; 40, 41, 43.
 — Francisca, 22, 46; 29, 39, 47,
 50, 55, 57 (heading).
 — Francisco, 86, 9.
 — Geronimo, 72, 12.
 — Ines, 17, 15.
 [Alvarez], Luis, 56.
 Alvarez, Manoel, 86, 7-9.
 — Manuel: Granada, 18, 1; 50.
 — Maria: Sevilla, 18, 8; 19, 3;
 21, 2; 57, 58, 60, 61, 69.
 — Pedra, 86, 5.
 — Pedro, 56.
 — Theresa, 11, 2.
 Ameiq^a, Manuel Suarez de, 12, 6.
 Amezqueta, Francisco de, 76, 10.
 — Pedro de, 84, 9.
 Anaya, Beatriz de, 22, 20; 24, 3.
 Anaya y Nauarro, Fernando de,
 72, 42.
 Andrade, Blanca de, 9, 22; 17,
 31.
 — Clara de, 9, 20, 22; 17, 31.
 — Guiomar de, 85.
 — Ines, 6, 21.
 — Isabel, 61.
 — Josepha de, *see* Auila, Josepha
 de, *or* Avila, Josepha Guiomar de.
 — Juan Perez de, 9, 16, 18; 17,
 29, 30.
 — Don Juan Simon de, 6, 18.

[Andrade], Leonor : Sevilla, 18, 5 ;
6, 20.

Andrade, Manuel : Sevilla, 18, 4, 5 ;
61, 69.

[Andrade], Phelipe [de], 61.

Andrade, Simon de, 9 (b), 9 ; 10,
18 ; 25, 18 ; Sevilla, 18, 1-3 ; 21,
1 ; 60, 61.

Andres, 75, 12.

Angela, 10, 23 ; 22, 33, 50 ; 72,
112-14.

Angela, 22, 27-9.

Angela y M^a G^a : Sevilla, 20, 2.

Antonia, Doña, 7, 39.

Antonio, Andres, 75, 19.

— sobrino de Serra, 84, 2.

Aquila, Angela del, 2, 9.

Arellano, Luis Ramirez de, 8, 10.

Arias, Balthasar, 75, 17.

— Beatriz, *see* Arias, Phelipa.

— Beatriz, 72, 60.

— Cathalina, 72, 61.

— D., 10, 7.

— Fernando, 72, 62.

— Francisca, 65, 67.

— Francisco, 72, 63.

— Isabel, 65.

— Josepha, 28, 21 ; 72, 153 ; 78
(contra), 9 ; 74, 24.

— Maria, 28, 13, 14 ; 78 (contra), 5 ;
74, 14, 15.

— Maria, 72, 58-60.

— Maria, 72, 153.

— Maria Guiomar, 5, 1.

— Phelipa, 28, 14 ; 72, 59, 60 ; 78
(contra), 5 ; 74, 15.

— Rodrigo, 87, 1.

— Rodrigo, 87, 3.

Aroca, Martin de, 19, 48.

[Arrocha], Juan [de], 75, 82.

Arrocha, Manuel de, 75, 82, 117.

— Pierres de, 75, 133.

Atabora, 75, 9.

Auila, Blanca de, 9 (b), 17.

— Cecilia de, 9 (b), 31, 32, 35, 37,
39.

Auila, Diego de, 9 (b), 17.

— Francisca de, 9 (b), 37, 38.

[Auila], Francisca [de], 22, 37, 39.

Auila, Isauel de, 9 (b), 35, 36.

— Josepha de, 17, 30, 31.

— Juan de, 9 (b), 39.

— Manuel de, 22, 41.

— Marcos de, 88, 8.

Auila ó Dauila, Rodrigo de, 22, 39,
41.

[Auila], Zezilia [de], 22, 38, 39.

Avila, Diego de, 70.

— Josepha Guiomar de, 9, 18, 20.

Azeuedo, Antonio Rodriguez de,
87, 6.

B.

B., Doña Geronima, 72, 73.

Baessa, Gaspar Mendez, 87, 6.

Baez, Antonio, 4, 13.

— Antonio, 84, 4.

— Duarte, 4, 220, 221.

— Doctor Duarte, 88, 16.

— Enrique, 4, 88, 194.

— Francisco, 75, 150.

— Fulano, 75, 126.

— Gonçalo, 85, 11.

— Isabel, 4, 81.

— Leonor, 85, 14.

— Luis, 85, 10.

— P^o, 75, 126.

— Ysabel, 85, 20.

Baeza, Gaspar Mendez, 79, 80
(heading).

Balderrama, Pedro de, 18, 1.

Baleazar y Santander, Manuel de :
Zaragoza, 18, 8 ; 19, 3, 4 ; 20, 3 ;
21, 7 ; 28-34.

Bargas, Doctor, 28, 22 ; 78 (contra), 8.

Barros, Manuel Lopez, 4, 175.

Bas, Andres Aluarez del, 4, 90.

— Diego Hernandez del, 4, 200, 201,
218.

Bautista, Juana, 77, 15.

Bazquez, Manuel, 87, 1.

Beatriz, 17, 14.

Beatriz, 85, 3, 7.
 Bentura, Gaspar, 10, 18; Sevilla, 21, 5; 25, 18; Sevilla, 61; 72, 88.
 [Betis], Luis [de], 22, 26.
 [Betis], Pasquala [de], 22, 25, 26.
 Betis, Thomasa de, 9 (b), 6, 7.
 — Thomasa de, 22, 26; 72, 119.
 [Betis], Thomasa [de], 22, 24, 26.
 Billanueva, Alonso de, 8, 2.
 Bitorero, Francisco Alvarez, 11, 33.
 Blanca, 72, 92.
 Blanco, D. Diego, 2, 15.
 Bolo, *see* Robles, Don Bernardo de.
 Borja, N., 9 (b), 40, 41.
 — Sr^a, 72, 44, 45.
 Borjes, Maria de, 88, 20.
 Botija, Diego: Sevilla, 20, 6.
 Briso, Antonio Mendez de, 75, 29.
 Brito, Antonio de, 4, 59.

C.

Cabeça, Francisco Baez, 4, 190.
 Cabezon, Manuel Lopez, 4, 145.
 Cabeza de Vorrego, *see* Vazquez, Manuel (?).
 Cabrera, Alonso de, 6, 6.
 Camargo, Francisco Baez (Madrid), 75, 59, 173.
 — Francisco Baez (Biarres), 75, 60, 173.
 Campos, Beatriz de: Cordova, 18, 3; 55.
 — Beatriz de: Zaragoza, 82.
 — Beatriz de, 72, 37.
 — Juan de, 4, 144, 176.
 — Leonor de, 11, 22, 23; 26, 15, 16.
 — Manuela de, 11, 23; 26, 16.
 — Pedro de, 11, 20, 22; 25, 22; 26, 13-16.
 — Phelipa de, 17, 28.
 — Sebastian de, 9 (b), 15; 25, 22.
 Caño, Antonio del: Cuenca, 18, 1, 2.
 — Antonio Rodrigues del, 77, 8.
 — Gaspar del, 9 (b), 46, 47; 17, 12, 13; 72, 83, 84.
 Caño, Gerónimo Rodrigues del, 77, 6.

Carballo, Manoel, 75, 103.
 Cardoso, Alfonso, 76, 6.
 — Alvaro, 84, 11.
 — Antonio Alvarez, 75, 6, 7.
 — Blanca, 75, 18.
 — Diego, 4, 73.
 — Diego Rodriguez, 87, 2.
 — Duarte Rodriguez, 75, 38.
 — El Doctor Fernando, 88, 12.
 — Fernan Lopez, 4, 114.
 — Francisco, 75, 52.
 — Juan Marquez, 10, 5; 72, 66, 67.
 — Manuel, 79.
 Cardoso, Francisco, 84, 3.
 — Don Juan, 74, 25.
 Caruallo, Diego, 75, 33.
 Castaño, Ant^o Fz., 82 (heading).
 Castan^a, Antonio Fernandez, 75, 28.
 Castillo, Fran^{co} del: Cuenca, 19, 5; 21, 1.
 Castro, Agueda de, 27, 2.
 — Angela de, *see* Toledo, Angela de.
 — Anna de, 86, 7.
 — Antonio de (Burdeos), 4, 5.
 — Antonio de (Llerena), 68.
 — Don Antonio de (Merida), 72, 140.
 — Anxela de, 72, 52, 53.
 — Balthasar de: Llerena, 18, 1; 19, 1; 21, 1; 68.
 — Benito de, 6, 28.
 — Catalina de, 75, 32.
 — Cathalina de, 2, 14.
 — Francisca Alvarez de, 2, 21.
 — Francisca Antonia Alvarez de, 5, 8.
 — Francisco de, 10, 19; 17, 6; 24, 6.
 — Francisco de, 84, 12.
 — Isabel de, 11, 33; 52, 60, 72 (heading).
 — Isauel de, 5, 7.
 — Isauel de (Isabel?), 80, 87, 48, 48 (heading).
 — Isidora de, 8, 43.

Castro, Juan de, 10, 19; 17, 6; 22, 1; 24, 6; 25, 24, 25.
 — Luis de, 7, 26, 27.
 — Manuel de, 4, 5.
 — Maria de, 86, 10.
 — Doña Mariana de, 6, 27.
 — Miguel de, 23, 23.
 — Miguel de, 72, 89; 74, 34.
 — Pedro Fernandez, 4, 197.
 — P^o de, 75, 135.
 — Raphael de, 25, 25.
 — Raphael L., 22, 2.
 Catalina, 85, 11.
 Caxeres, Juan Diaz, 72, 9.
 Cazeres, Alvaro de, 72, 137.
 — Alvaro de, 28, 37; 74, 29.
 — Alvaro de, 15, 1.
 Ceiton, Felipe, 4, 102.
 Cerralbo, Fran^{co} Lopez, 4, 103.
 Chapi, Francisco Nuñez de, 4, 75.
 Chaves, Jorje Mendez, 4, 40, 42.
 — José Mendez, 4, 14.
 Chipadorta, 75, 31.
 Chrisostomo, Juan, 8, 7.
 Çigano, Fernan Rodriguez, 4, 198.
 Cimero, Pedro Diaz de, 4, 184.
 Cisnero, Antonio Nicolas de, 17, 5.
 Cisneros, Antonio Nicolas de, 24, 1; 64, 65, 67.
 Ciudad-Rodrigo, 75, 152.
 Clara, 10, 22; 22, 30-32, 51; 72, 115-17.
 Comino, Manuel Fernandez, 4, 120, 121.
 Cordoua, Alonso de, 72, 6.
 Cordouero, Luis Mendez, 4, 117.
 Cordova, Alonso de, 11, 1.
 — Ana de: Zaragoza, 18, 3; 21, 8; 29-33.
 — Francisco de: Zaragoza, 18, 2; 19, 7; 20, 2; 21, 6; 28-34.
 [Cordova], Francisco [de], 74, 8.
 Cordova, Gabriel de, 74, 8.
 — Rodrigo de, 72, 33.
 — Rodrigo de, 74, 8.
 Correa, Antonio, 4, 101.

Correa, Doña Isauel, 7, 10.
 Cortiza, Fern^{do} Diaz, 2, 22.
 — Fran^{co} Diaz, 2, 23.
 Cotiño, Manuel, 75, 104.
 Coutiño or Cutiño, Maria, 11, 21; 25, 22; 26, 14-16.
 Cruz, Doctor, 28, 10; 72, 71; 78 (contra), 3; 74, 11.
 Cuello, Francisco Fernandez, 4, 143.

D.

Damaya, Gonçalo, 4, 153.
 Diaz, Antonio, 4, 210.
 — Antonio, 75, 4.
 — Antonio (frances), 75, 5.
 — Balthasar, 4, 161.
 — Duarte, 4, 63.
 — Duarte Lopez, 84, 1.
 — Enrique, 9 (b), 20; 25, 31.
 — Enrique, 86, 11.
 — Felipe, 4, 195.
 — Gaspar, 4, 132, 137, 140, 145, 146, 208, 215.
 — Gaspar, 75, 69.
 — Gaspar, 85, 1.
 — Gregorio, 4, 216.
 — Hilaria, 4, 189.
 — Ines, 4, 160, 161.
 — Josepha, 27, 14; 62, 5.
 — Juan, 28, 3; 78 (contra), 1; 74, 3; 75, 89.
 — Luis, 75, 69, 91, 169.
 — Maria, 4, 179.
 — Maria, 85, 20.
 — Melchor, 4, 133, 134, 161, 167, 174, 202.
 — Rosa, 27, 1.
 — Violante, 4, 159.
 Diego, 85, 8.
 Domingo (criado), 85, 6.
 Domingo (esclauo), 85, 15.
 Dorta, Juan Diaz, 75, 76.
 — Fernando, 4, 18.
 — Fran^{co}, 4, 17, 18.
 Duarte, Violante, 4, 141, 166, 173.

E

- Eminente, D. Fran^{co}, 78 (contra),
1; 74, 3.
— Don Juan Francisco, 72, 8.
Enrique, Tenebra, 86, 4.
[Enriquez], Aldonza, 64.
Enriquez, Antonio, 75, 30.
— Balthasar, 76, 3.
— Catalina, 4, 8a.
— Clara, 85, 11.
— Daniel, 75, 35, 162.
— Diego, 4, 76.
— Don Diego, 72, 146.
— Domingo, 4, 71.
— Don Enrique, 18, 2; 28, 38;
72, 181; 74, 30.
— Felipa, 4, 68.
— Francisco, 88, 21.
— Francisco, 85, 1.
— Gabriel, 83, 22.
— Guiomar, 85, 1.
— Isabel, 84.
— Jorge, 76, 4.
— Jorge, 81 (heading).
— Doña Josepha, 6, 19.
— Josepha: Valencia, 85.
— Juan Mendez, 4, 49.
— Manuel, 11, 17; 26, 3; 75, 102.
— Pedro, 4, 77.
— Pedro: Sevilla, 58, 59.
— Pedro, 84, 5.
— P^o, 75, 130.
— Simon Lopez, 75, 137.
[Enriquez], Ysabel, 85, 1.
Escarraman, 4, 122.
Espinosa, Francisco de, 72, 96.
— Manuel de, 11, 27.
Espinosa, Francisco de, 22, 36.
— Fran^{co} Leon, 77, 4.
— Leonor de, 71, 1, 6.
— Maria de, 71.
— Maria Antonia de, 71.

F

- Faria, Simon, 88, 14.
Faro, Fulano, 75, 51.

- Faya, Gaspar Fr^{ate}, 4, 28, 30.
Febos, Bartolome, 8, 3.
— Bartolomé, 88 (heading).
— Diego, 75, 36.
— Juan Nuñez, 75, 36, 79.
Fernandez, Antonio, 11, 28.
— Beatriz, 72, 168.
— Benito, 4, 116.
— Blanca, 85, 10.
— Catalina, 4, 131.
— Duarte, 4, 169.
— Duarte, 76, 5.
— Enrique, 75, 42.
— Francisco, 84, 10.
— Francisco, 86, 6.
— Isabel, 8, 13.
— Isabel, 72, 167.
— Juan, 4, 121.
— Luis, 4, 127.
— Manuel, 81.
— Manuel, 84, 7.
— Manuel, 84, 8.
— Maria, 81.
— N., 9, 14.
— Rodrigo, 4, 72.
— Simon, 84, 12.
— Vasco, 75, 143.
Ferras, Antonio, 86, 1.
Ferraz, Alvaro de Fonseca, 4, 24.
Ferrer, Francisco, 9 (b), 44; 17, 10;
72, 70.
Figueiro, Fran^{co} Gomez, 4, 172.
Figueras, Maria, 4, 214.
Figueroa, Alexandro de: Valencia,
21, 2; 85-88, 44, 49.
— Francisco Gomez, 4, 158.
— Maria ó Ysabel de: Murcia, 21,
2; 45, 46, 48.
— Rosa de, 48.
Flores, D. Antonio de, 5, 9.
— Antonio de, 12, 5.
— Antonio de, 72, 57.
— Antonio Fran^{co} de, 2, 3.
— Antonio Luis de, 2, 6.
— Antonio Luis de, 5, 10.
— Beatriz de, 2, 12.

Flores, Beatriz de, 5, 12.

— Beatriz de, 12, 4.

— Francisco de, 72, 69.

— Ines de, 22, 18.

— Ines Maria de, 5, 13.

— Leonor de, 5, 9.

— Maria de, 5, 11.

— Ygnes de, 12, 3.

Fonseca, Beatriz de, 77, 12.

— Francisco de, 11, 30.

— Gerónimo de, 75, 71.

— Juana de, 4, 26.

— Luis de, 4, 20, 26.

— Manuel de, 4, 67.

[Fonseca], Manuel [de], 9 (b), 33, 34.

Fonseca, Rodrigo de, 9 (b), 34.

Forte, Juan R., 84, 4.

Francisca (?), 22, 40.

Francisco, 22, 3.

— 72, 128.

— Gaspar, 75, 73, 172.

Frade, El, 75, 154.

Freyle, Agustina, 64, 65.

Fr^{te}, Catalina, 4, 189.

— Gonçalo, 4, 74.

— Luarte, 4, 191.

— Luis, 4, 177.

— Manuel, 4, 181.

— Maria, 4, 189.

Frutos, D. Bentura, 2, 11.

Fuentes, Diego Nuñez, 75, 41; 81.

G.

Garces, Luis, 75, 94.

Garcia, Angela, 2, 4.

— Antonio, 8, 1.

— Don Antonio, 19, 24.

— Antonio, 19, 37.

— Antonio, 78, 9.

— Beatriz, 2, 10.

— Catalina, 78, 7.

— Cathalina, 2, 13.

[Garcia], Clara, 7, 34.

Garcia, Francisco, 19, 41, 42.

— Geronima, 19, 31, 32, 61.

Garcia, Gerónima, 78, 8.

— Joseph, 19, 25, 26.

— Juan, 19, 26.

— Juan, 19, 33.

— Luis, 19, 27, 28.

— Luis, 19, 40.

— Luis, 78, 10.

— Manuel, 19, 29, 30, 59.

— Manuel, 19, 34-36.

— Manuel, 19, 38, 39.

— Mⁱ, 19, 66.

— Doctor Manuel, 78, 11.

— M^a, 19, 46.

[Garcia], Sebastian, 19, 36-9.

Garcia, Sebastian, 72, 172.

Garzia, Cathalina, 72 (heading).

— Juan, 72, 176.

— Manuel, 72, 180.

Gaspar (see Tuerto), 9 (b), 3, 4.

Gentil, Doña Teresa, 28, 22; 78

(contra), 8; 74, 23.

Geronima, 19, 43, 44.

Gil, Diego Lopez: Sevilla, 20, 5.

Gochecha, Manuel Nuñez Pereyra, 4, 163.

Gomez, Alvaro, 4, 10.

— Ana, 4, 141, 171.

— Ana, 4, 179.

— Ana, 4, 216.

— Ana, 72, 5.

— Antonio, 75, 21.

— Antonio, 81.

— Bartholomé, 82.

— Catalina, 4, 190.

— Daniel, 75, 109.

— Diego, 4, 168.

— Diego, 4, 193.

— Diego, 4, 204.

— Felipe, 4, 54; 85, 2.

— Fran^{ca}, 5, 14.

— Francisco, 4, 194.

— Gerardo, 75, 72.

— Geronimo, see Luna, Geronima de.

— Hernan, 4, 222.

[Gomez], Jerardo, 75, 141.

Gomez, Leonor de Luna y, 7, 33.
 — Manoel, 75, 109.
 — Manuel, 75, 77.
 — Margarida, 4, 166.
 — Margarita, 4, 156, 158.
 — Martin, 75, 110, 115.
 — Mayor, 4, 134.
 — Mayor, 4, 156.
 — Mayor, 4, 202, 204, 206, 209, 212, 216.
 — Pedro, 4, 170.
 — P^o, 75, 127.
 — Salvador, 75, 140.
 — Santiago, 75, 136.
 — Simon, 4, 55.
 — Theotonio, 4, 98.
 Gonzalez, Felipa, 4, 209, 211.
 — Juan, 4, 110.
 — Juan, 4, 126.
 — Juan, 4, 142.
 — Juan, 4, 193.
 — Manuel, 4, 104, 105.
 — Pedro, 4, 112.
 Gonzalez, Juan, 9, 8.
 Gonzalez, Isabel, 9, 8.
 — Juan, 74, 28.
 — Don Juan Thomas, 72, 147.
 Gorda, Gaspar Fr^{te} Carne, 4, 184.
 Gracia, Antonio Rodriguez, 87 (heading).
 Grazia, 72, 158.
 Gutierrez, Don Antonio, 6, 13; 7, 40.
 — Fran^{co}, 5, 14.
 — Francisco, 64.
 [Gutierrez], Luisa, 17, 9; 72, 65.
 — Manuel, Isauel y Theresa, 7, 41.
 Gutierrez, Rafael, 9 (b), 42, 43; 17, 8, 9; 72, 64, 65.
 — Sebastian, 72, 152.
 Guzman, Alexandro de, 10, 11; 22, 8; 25, 8; 72, 134.

H

Henriquez, Diego Rodriguez, 87, 3.
 — Manuel, 16, 3.
 Heredia, Doña Luisa de (?), 77, 2.

Hernandez, Josepha, 5, 26.
 — Josepha, 63, 72 (heading); 73, 4.
 Herrera, Francisco de, 16, 2.
 — Isabel de, 72, 55.
 — Joseph de, 72, 54.
 — Joseph de, 74, 13.
 — Maria de, 16, 2.
 — Maria de, 23, 12; 73 (contra), 4; 74, 13.
 — Maria de, 72, 53.
 [Herrera], Mariana, 72, 56.
 Herrero, Juan, *see* Chrisostomo, Juan.
 Hillan, El Licen^{do} Garcia de, 78, 3.
 Hurtado, Manuela, 51, 59, 70 (heading).

I

Ines (or [Andrade], Ines), 6, 21.
 Isauel ([Leon]? 14), 9 (b), 12.
 Iaidra, Doña, 6, 2.
 Isidro, Antonio Garcia, 2, 1.
 — Manuel, 72, 123.

J

Jaen, Antonio Fernandez, 4, 39.
 — Domingo Fr^{te}, 4, 30.
 — Miguel Fr^{te}, 4, 53.
 — Vasco Fernandez, 75, 144.
 Jeutil, Sr^o, 72, 47.
 Jorje, Francisco, 4, 97.
 Josephona, La, *see* Arias, Josepha.
 Juan, 9 (b), 27.
 Juan, 72, 72.
 Juan, 72, 126, 128.
 Juan, Bictoria y Maria, 22, 52-4; 23, 27-9; 72, 109-11.
 Juana, Doña, 7, 37.

L

La Borda, M. de, 22, 18.
 La Coronela, 75, 152.
 La Cruz, Antonio de, 7, 19.
 La Cuesta, Catalina de, 4, 186.
 Laguna, Beatriz, 85.
 — Clara, 72, 171.

- Laguna, Francisco, 72, 169.
 — Fran^{co} Lopez : Cuenca, 19, 3, 4.
 — Maria : Cuenca, 19, 4.
 — Maria, 27, 6, 7.
 Lainez, Maria, 4, 4.
 Lambra, Jorge Rodriguez, 87, 4.
 Lamera, Antonio Mendez, 84, 12.
 — Don Diego, 6, 8 ; 7, 35-8.
 — Don Francisco, 6, 7.
 — Doña Juana, 6, 12.
 — Doña Leona, 6, 10.
 [Lamera], Doña Maria, 6, 11.
 La Mota, Diego de, 2, 16.
 — Enrique de, 2, 18.
 La O, Maria de, 6, 15.
 — Mariana Rodriguez de, 5, 19.
 La Oliva, Gaspar de : Sevilla, 18, 7.
 — Raphael de : Sevilla, 18, 6, 8 ;
 19, 2, 3 ; 21, 3 ; 57, 58, 60, 69.
 La Peña, *see* Zalas, Fernando de.
 — Ana de : Valladolid, 85.
 — Francisco de, 27, 12.
 — Gaspar de, 72, 161.
 — Manuel de, 17, 10-12 ; 72, 159,
 160 ; 74, 31.
 — Nicolas Geronimo de, 7, 24.
 La Puebla, Don Francisco Diaz de,
 72, 10.
 Lara, D. Fran^{co} de, 5, 8.
 — Francisco de, 72, 13.
 [La Rosa], Angela, 7, 17.
 La Rosa, Beatriz de, 7, 16-18.
 — Leonor de, 7, 18.
 — Matheo de, 6, 26.
 Las Barajas, 75, 171.
 Las Mirandas, 22, 55 ; 28, 36 ; 72,
 102.
 Las Pasaderas, Gaspar de, 10, 24 ;
 72, 100.
 La Torre, Juan de, 11, 10 ; Murcia,
 21, 2 ; 45 ; 72, 51.
 La Vega Calo, Don Antonio de, 72,
 154.
 La Vorda, M. de, 72, 124.
 La Xordana, 84, 5.
 Ledesma, Leonor de, 22, 18.
 Ledesma, Leonor de, 64, 65.
 Lemos, Don Jacinto de, 83, 5.
 Lencero, Pedro Lopez, 4, 136.
 Leon, Ana Maria de, 2, 5.
 — Antonio de, 84, 9.
 — Cathalina de, 9 (b), 13, 14 ; 25,
 20, 21.
 — Diego de, 9 (b), 14 ; 25, 21.
 — Fernando de, 11, 18, 19, 35 ; 26,
 11, 12.
 [Leon], Fernando [de], 28, 30-34 ;
 72, 103.
 Leon, Ines de, 23, 34.
 [Leon], Isauel [de], 23, 33, 34 ; 72,
 106.
 Leon, Joseph de, 11, 34, 35.
 [Leon], Joseph [de], 23, 31, 34 ; 72,
 104.
 [Leon], Leonor [de], 23, 32, 34 ;
 72, 105.
 Leon, Manuel de (same man in
 all ?), 11, 19, 36 ; 26, 12.
 — Ynez de, 72, 107.
 Leon y Contreras, Beatriz de, 23, 15 ;
 72, 68 ; 73 (contra), 11 ; 74, 16.
 Leoner, Juan Lopez, 78, 9.
 Leonor [Andrade], 6, 20.
 — Doña, 7, 38, 39.
 Ley, Manuel, 80.
 Lima, Ana de, 72, 149.
 — Manuel Lopez, 84, 11.
 Lobo, Diego, 4, 46.
 — Diego Gomez, 4, 109, 110.
 — Fernan Rodriguez, 4, 100.
 — Francisco Gomez, 4, 182.
 — Juan Gomez, 4, 171.
 — Manuel Rodriguez, 4, 107, 108.
 — Simon Rodriguez, 4, 108.
 Lozano, Juan, 77, 5.
 Lombando, Lorenzo Diaz, 75, 93.
 [Lopez], Ana, 23, 20.
 Lopez, Antonio, 4, 176.
 — Antonio, 4, 214.
 [Lopez], Antonio, 75, 27.
 Lopez, Antonio, 84, 4.
 — Antonio Ruiz, 4, 170.

Lopez, Bartholomé, 75, 15.
 — Beatriz, 85, 2.
 — Bernardino, 4, 194.
 — Bernardo, 4, 95.
 — Catalina, 4, 222, 223.
 — Catalina, 85, 15.
 — Cathalina: Sevilla, 20, 3.
 [Lopez], Diego, 72, 174, 175.
 Lopez, Diego, 84, 8.
 — Diego, 85, 6.
 — Diego Vazquez, 19, 56-9.
 — Diez, 84, 11.
 — Domingo, 85, 14.
 — Duarte, 84, 10.
 — Fadrique: Sevilla, 20, 4.
 — Francisca, 4, 192.
 [Lopez], Fran^{co}, 72, 175.
 Lopez, Fran^{co}, 3, 5.
 — Fran^{co}, 19, 49; 72, 173-5.
 — Francisco, 27, 7.
 — Francisco, 75, 55.
 — Francisco, 84, 2.
 — Francisco, 85, 14.
 — Francisco, 85, 21.
 — Francisco, el Biejo, 62, 7.
 — Francisco, el Gordo, 62, 8.
 — Gaspar, 85, 21.
 — Gaspar Francisco, 71.
 — Isabel, 4, 192.
 — Jorge, 4, 94.
 — Juan, 4, 2.
 — Juan, 4, 27.
 — Juan, 28, 19, 20; 72, 182, 183;
 78 (contra), 7; 74, 21, 22.
 — Luis, 4, 7.
 — Luis, 75, 90, 138.
 — Luis, 75, 157.
 — Don Luis, see Paramo, Don Luis
 Fernandez.
 — Manuel (Diaz?), 4, 161.
 — Manuel, 7, 30, 31.
 — Manuel, 85, 22.
 — Maria, 4, 105.
 — Maria, 4, 197.
 — Maria, 4, 223; Sevilla, 20, 3.
 — Maria, 75, 111.

Lopez, Maria, 85, 17.
 — Maria Marg^{da}, 7 (heading); 17, 26.
 — Marzela, 7, 30.
 — Mathias, 75, 106.
 — N^o, 72, 170.
 — Nicolassa, 75, 124.
 — Pasqual, 75, 128.
 — Pedro, 4, 148.
 — Pedro, 4, 154, 159, 160, 207.
 — Pedro, 85, 21.
 — Ruy, 4, 115.
 — Sebastian, 75, 138.
 — Trancoso, 75, 142.
 — Ysabel, 4, 119.
 Lorenzo, P^o, 75, 134.
 Losada, Antonio Fernandez de, 75;
 2, 129.
 — Diego Fernandez de, 75, 37.
 Los Alvarez, 55, 56.
 Los Aliveros: Sevilla, 21, 4.
 Los Alvarez de Cordova, 18, Granada,
 18, 1; Cordova, 1.
 Los Angeles, Maria de, 17, 7.
 Los Anxeles, Maria de, 72, 7.
 Los Balbasses, Marques and Mar-
 quesa de, 25, 6, 7.
 Los Pazos: Valencia, 21, 3; (?) 85,
 86, 89, 49.
 Los Reyes, Balthasar de, 6, 25.
 — Dona M^a de, 77, 3.
 Los Rios, Isauel de, 9 (b), 16; 25, 23.
 — Isauel de, 28, 2; 72, 4; 74, 2.
 Los Valbases, Marques de (Los Bal-
 basses?), 10, 1, 10; 72, 34.
 Lucrecia, 85, 11.
 Luis, 19, 44.
 Luis, 72, 120.
 Luis, 75, 88.
 Luis, Alvaro, 4, 57.
 — Antonio, 75, 14.
 — Benito, 75, 23.
 — Bentura, 27, 5; 62, 3.
 — Gabriel, 27, 3-5; 62, 68.
 — Jacomo, 75, 75, 88.
 — Juan, 75, 77.
 — Maria, 4, 206.

Luis, Maria : Cuenca, 19, 1; 21, 3.
 — Maria, 75, 116.
 — Miguel, 27, 3.
 — Miguel, 72, 151.
 Luisa, Maria, 19, 51.
 Lumbrera, Lorenzo Diaz, 75, 9a.
 Luna, Andres de, 75, 1.
 [Luna], Cathalina [de], 9 (b), 18,
 19; 25, 29, 30.
 Luna, Geronima de, 7, 3a.
 — Isabel de, 11, 26.
 — Maria de, 7, 31.
 — Maria de, 9 (b), 19, 20; 25, 30.
 Luys, Miguel, 72, 164.
 Luzia, 72, 97.

M.

Macanaz, Don Melchor Raphael de,
 72, 155.
 Machado, Franco Baez, 4, 9.
 — Francisco Perez, 4, 128.
 — Geronimo, 4, 150.
 Madareyra, Jorje, *see* Chaues, Jorje
 Mendez.
 Maldonado, Joseph, 19, 23.
 — Joseph, 72, 130.
 Manuel, 10, 24.
 — 72, 43.
 — 72, 118.
 — Beatriz, 4, 189.
 — Fernando, 88, 1.
 Marceyro, Gaspar Fr.^{te}, 4, 177.
 Marchena, Diego Rodrigues Acosta, 80.
 — Rodrigo Fernandez, 80.
 Mareli, Joseph : Zaragoza, 18, 7;
 19, 9.
 Maria, 19, 43.
 — 72, 157, 158.
 — (esclaua), 85, 8.
 — Doña, 6, 4.
 Maria, Isauel, 7, 10.
 Maria, Manuel, Francisco y Pedro,
 85, 15.
 Marin, M., 72, 145.
 Marina, Toribus, *see* Rodriguez,
 Francisca.

Marquez, Albaro Fernandez, 76, 8.
 Martin, Gonçalo, 4, 35.
 Martinez, Francisco Fernandez, 81.
 — Juana, 85, 4.
 Martinez, Antonio, 5, 25.
 — Diego, 22, 45; 72, 75.
 — Gonçalo, 75, 65.
 — Manuel, 75, 112.
 Martos, *see* Matos, Antonio Fer-
 nandez.
 Martos, Leonor de : Santiago, 19, 1;
 42.
 Mata, Pedro de, 87, 5.
 [Matos], Ana [de], 9 (b), 50; 72,
 139.
 Matos, Don Antonio de, 72, 14, 15.
 — Antonio Fernandez, 9 (b), 1; 25,
 2; 26, 4.
 — D^o de, 4, 78.
 [Matos], Francisco [de], 9 (b), 49-51.
 Matos, Leonor de, 9 (b), 51; 72,
 138, 139.
 — Luis de, 4, 79.
 Medina, Alvaro Gomez, 75, 8.
 — Isauel de, 7, 29.
 — Juan de, 72, 141.
 — Manuel de, 72, 163.
 Medinaaidonia, Criadas de la Du-
 quessa de, 10, 14; 25, 11.
 — Dos damas de las luxas del
 Duque de, 22, 17; 72, 131.
 Melo, Fernando, 44; 72, 177, 179.
 — Francisco, 44.
 — Leonor, 9 (b), 41; 72, 45.
 — Maria, 72, 177.
 — N^o, 72, 178.
 Mendez, Alvaro, 75, 3, 22, 58.
 — Ana, 75, 10.
 — Antonio, 4, 84.
 — Antonio, 78, 8.
 — Antonio Rodriguez, *see* Gradis,
 Antonio Rodriguez.
 — Doña Blanca, 6, 5.
 — Diego, 75, 34.
 — El Doctor Duarte, 85, 12.
 — Enrrique, 75, 44.

- Mendez, Fernan, 75, 58.
 — Fernan, 75, 62.
 — Fernando, 75, 50.
 — Francisco, 84, 2.
 — Jorge, 75, 74.
 — Jorge, 75, 83.
 — Juan, 4, 51.
 — Lucas, 4, 66.
 — Luis, 4, 187.
 — Manuel, 4, 69, 84, 85.
 — Manuel, 4, 185.
 — Mencia, 19, 28.
 — El Doctor Sebastian, 75, 43, 62.
 — Simon Lopez, 77 (heading).
 Mendoca, see Bas, D. H. del.
 — Mancoel de, 88, 3.
 Mendoza, Ana de, 2, 7.
 — Francisca, 2, 24.
 — Fran^{co} de, 71.
 Meneses, Diego de, 75, 40.
 Mesonero, Manuel Alvarez, 75, 99.
 Mezquita, Alejandro Suarez de:
 Valladolid, 85.
 — Raymundo Suarez de: Valladolid,
 85.
 Mgradiz, Antonio, 75, 163.
 Miranda, Ana de, 11, 12; 72, 49.
 — Don Feliz de, 6, 22.
 — Don Francisco de, 5, 1; 74, 14.
 — Francisco de, 10, 16; 22, 47, 55;
 72, 125.
 — Francisco de, 64, 65, 67.
 — Juan Rodriguez de, 6, 22.
 — Luisa Juana de, 5, 2.
 Mirandas, Las, 9 (b), 30; 22, 55.
 Mojos, Dos, 75, 155.
 Molina, Isabel de: Zaragoza, 18, 6;
 19, 2; 21, 1; 28-38.
 — Joseph de: Granada, 18, 2, 3;
 19, 1, 2; 20, 1; 21, 1; 50-4.
 — Melchor de, 76, 7.
 — Raphaela de, 72, 142.
 — Simon de, 72, 143.
 Montesinos, Diego Phelipe, 11, 32;
 22, 7; 26, 5.
 — Fernando, 75, 57, 98, 124, 159.
 Montesinos, Gonzalo, 10, 8, 9; 22,
 5-7; 25, 4, 5.
 — Hernando, 75, 39.
 — Juan, 75, 108.
 — Laura, 10, 9; 22, 6; 25, 5.
 Moscon, El, 10, 3; 72, 82.
 Mosquito, Manuel Fr^{te}, 4, 174.
 Muñiz, D. Thomas, 5, 21.
 Muñoz del Caño, Rafael, 27, 8.
 Mureli, Joseph: Zaragoza, 28, 29,
 32, 33.
 — Santiago: Zaragoza, 21, 5; 81, 82.

 N.
 N., Ana de, 71.
 — Beatriz, 19, 35-9.
 — Manuela de, 71.
 — Maria de, 71.
 — Ysabel, 14, 1, 2.
 Nabarro, Antonio, 11, 8, 9.
 — Beatriz de Anaya, 17, 2.
 — Fernando, 17, 1, 2.
 — Manuel Isidro, 17, 3.
 — Maria, 11, 9.
 Najara, Francisca de, 84, 6.
 Nauarro, El Doctor, 4, 91, 93.
 — Antonio, 72, 39, 40.
 — Beatriz, 72, 41.
 — Duarte Fernandez, 4, 111.
 — Fernando, 22, 19; 24, 2-4; 72,
 123.
 — Manuel Nuñez, 78, 1.
 — Maria, 72, 40.
 Noguera, Francisco Baez, 4, 83.
 Nuñez, Ana, 28, 4; 72, 25; 73
 (contra), 2; 74, 4.
 — Antonio, 77, 13.
 — Asensio, 4, 47.
 — Beatriz, 7, 22, 23; 17, 23.
 — Blanca, 28, 7; 72, 29; 78 (con-
 tra), 2; 74, 7.
 — Blas, 84, 4.
 — Diego Diaz, 79, 80.
 — Felipe, 75, 56.
 — Francisca, 23, 5; 72, 26; 78
 (contra), 2; 74, 5.

Núñez, Francisco, 75, 166.

- Gaspar, 75, 66.
- Gaspar, 84, 1.
- Gerónimo, 75, 68.
- Gonçalo, 4, 212.
- Graçia, 86, 5.
- Guiomar, 4, 93, 94.
- Isabel, 75, 86.
- M^a, 75, 112.
- Manuel, 4, 130, 131, 172.
- Manuel, 4, 152.
- Manuel, 4, 180.
- Manuel, 75, 107, 157.
- Mariana, 23, 6; 72, 27; 78 (contra), 2; 74, 6.
- Mencia, 4, 201, 218, 220.
- Mencia, 77, 13.
- Mençia, 85, 9.
- Miguel, 4, 33, 36.
- Miguel, 75, 65, 105.
- Pedro, 4, 191.
- Phelipa, 72, 76.
- Thomassa, 72, 28.
- Ysabel, 75, 148.

O.

- Olibas, Diego Galbes, 4, 149.
- Oliuera, Francisco Lopez de, 80.
- Francisco Perez de, 76, 12.
- Jorge de, 84, 8.
- Luis de, 76, 1.
- Manuel de, 84, 6.
- Don Manuel Pacheco de, 76, 14.
- Simon de, 84, 3.
- Ysabel de, 84, 8.
- Oliueros, Manuel de, 9 (b), 21.
- Oliveros, Cathalina de, 11, 25; 26, 18.
- Manuel de, 11, 25; 26, 18.
- Manuel de: Cordova, 18, 2, 3; 21, 1; 55, 56.
- Oribes, Diego Alvarez, 4, 125, 126.
- Orta, Luis de, 75, 89.

P.

- Pacheco, Agueda, 27, 15.
- Isabel Gomez, 72, 1.

- Pacheco, Mariana, 11, 82 (heading); 85 (heading); 85, 5; 41, 44, 56, 61, 64, 72 (heading), 78, 1.
- Paez, Antonio: Murcia, 18, 1; 21, 1; 44, 45, 47.
- Diego Martinez, 9 (b), 10; 25, 19.
- [Paiba], Catalina, 85, 10.
- Paiba, Doctor Francisco de, 85, 9.
- [Paiba], Ysabel, 85, 10.
- Paramo, Don Luis Fernandez, 72, 11; 74, 27.
- Pardo, Fernan Gomez, 77, 1.
- Pasquala, 72, 120-2.
- Patino, Luis Ruiz, 4, 183.
- Pato, Diego, 17, 4; 24, 5.
- Diego Fernandez, 72, 23.
- Francisco, 17, 4; 24, 5.
- Francisco Fernandez, 72, 24.
- Luis Fernandez, 8, 11.
- Luis Fernandez, 11, 11, 12; 72, 48, 49.
- Manuel Fernandez, 72, 150.
- Paula, Doña, 6, 3.
- Paz, Antonio de, 86, 49 (?).
- Biolante de, 72, 30.
- Diego de: Valencia, 18, 1, 2; 89, 49.
- Fernan Lopez de, 84, 7.
- Gaspar Lopez de, 77, 10; 88, 24.
- Isabel de, 4, 63.
- Manuel de, 76, 17.
- Manuel de, 83, 9.
- Phelipe de: Valencia, 85.
- Violante de, 11, 5-7; 22, 13; 26, 10.
- Don Vizente de, 6, 28.
- Pedrosa, Don Luis de, 10, 10; 25, 6.
- Peralta, Clara de, 19, 57-9.
- Doctor, 22, 43; 73 (contra), 3.
- Doctor Don Juan de, 28, 9; 72, 38; 74, 10.
- Perea, Fulano de, 85, 22.
- Pereira, Duarte, 75, 167.
- Francisca Alvarez, 17, 18.
- Manuel Alvarez, 9, 4.
- Doña Maria Alvarez, 6, 14.

Pereira, Maria Alvarez, 17, 17.
 Pereyra, Doña Ana Alvarez, 7, 36, 37.
 — Duarte, 4, 8.
 — Francisca Alvarez, 7, 5.
 — Henrique Pedro Alvarez, 7, 13-16.
 — Ines Alvarez, 7, 1, 2.
 — Luis Alvarez, 7, 6.
 — Manuel Alvarez, 7, 7, 8; 17, 19.
 — Manuel Diaz, 4, 96, 191.
 — Manuel Nuñez, 4, 135, 139.
 — Maria Alvarez, 7, 4, 5, 40.
 — Nuño Alvarez, 7, 3.
 — Pedro Alvarez, 7, 15, 16.
 — Pedro Rodriguez, 4, 85.
 Perez, Basco, 4, 80, 81.
 — Francisco, 4, 181.
 — Juan, 75, 80.
 Piedrayta, Onofre, 87, 3.
 Pimentel, Agustina or Augustina, 2, 2; 5, 17; 17, 5; 24, 1; 21, 22, 81, 45, 49, 54, 65, 72 (heading); 73, 2.
 — El Doctor Alfonso Diaz, 75, 46.
 — D. Antonio, 5, 16.
 — Antonio, 17, 5; 24, 1.
 — Antonio, 22, 15.
 — Antonio, 72, 19.
 — Isabel Maria, 11, 15.
 — Isauel M^a, 26, 1.
 — Manuel, 12 (b), 3; 23, 16; 72, 156-8.
 — Manuel, 78 (contra), 12.
 — Manuela, 11, 24-6 (heading).
 — Manuela Hurtado (same?), 20, 84, 72 (heading).
 — Doña Manuela Hurtado de Mendoza, 5, 15.
 — Margarita, 23, 24.
 — Margarita, 72, 101; 74, 28.
 — Doña Maria Feliziana Hurtado de Mendoza, 5, 16.
 Pinedo, Antonio de, 9 (b), 38.
 — Catalina, 27, 11, 12.
 — Diego de, 11, 31.

Pinedo, Enrique de, 9 (b), 36.
 Piñero, Cathalina, 72, 160.
 Pinta, Mengia, 4, 192.
 Pinto, Juan, 9 (b), 52; 16, 3; 25, 1.
 Polanco, Don Thomas, 8, 49.
 Portalegre, Manuel Fernandez, 87, 2, 4.
 Porto, Juan de, 75, 78.
 Prejiado, Lucas, 8, 48.
 Prieto, Manuel Rodriguez, 9, 23.

Q.

Quarezma, Maria, 4, 185.
 Quiros, Angela de, 2, 8.
 — Doña Angela de, 5, 21.
 — Antonio del, 11, 5, 7; 22, 11; 26, 7.
 — Beatriz Fran^{ca} de, 5, 20.
 — Diego de, 2, 17.
 — Don Diego de, 5, 23.
 — Diego de, 10, 4.
 — Diego de, 26, 7.
 — Fadrique de, 10, 4; 22, 14; 72, 32.
 — Doña Maria Josepha de, 5, 22.
 — Sebastian de, 11, 5, 6; 22, 12, 13; 26, 9; 72, 31.

R.

R., Angela, 72, 108.
 — Antonio, 77, 15.
 — Antonio, 85, 7.
 — Beatriz, 72, 87.
 — Melchor, 85, 22.
 Rafael, 85, 2.
 Raphael, 72, 127.
 Riura, Isauel de, 5, 5; 19, 28, 88, 42, 53, and 58 (heading); 73, 3.
 — Luis Antonio de, 72, 148.
 — Maria de, 5, 3.
 — Maria de, 12, 2.
 Rivera, Flor de : Granada, 18, 3; 19, 2; 50, 52, 53.
 — Juan de : Cuenca, 19, 2; 21, 2, 3.
 Robles, Don Bernardo de, 72, 144.
 — Francisco de : Zaragoza, 18, 9; 19, 8; 20, 1; 21, 4; 28-34.

- Robles, Francisco de, 23, 11, 12;
72, 50; 78 (contra), 4; 74, 12.
— Francisco de, 25, 27.
— D. Miguel de, 5, 15.
— Miguel de, 72, 16.
Rocha, Antonio de, 75, 25.
[Rocha], Juan [de], 75, 114.
Rocha, Manuel de, 75, 32, 113.
Rodriges, Ana, 81.
— Antonio, 84, 5.
— Antonio, 85, 18.
[Rodriges], Antonio, 85, 18.
[Rodriges], Antonio, 85, 19.
Rodriges, Clara, 85, 18.
[Rodriges], Diego, Gaspar y Pedro,
85, 4, 5.
Rodriges, Fernando, 85, 19.
— Francisco, 78, 5.
— Francisco, 85, 21.
— Gaspar, 85, 3-5.
[Rodriges], Gaspar, 85, 19.
Rodriges, Gregorio, 85, 12.
— Juan, 84, 6.
— Leonor, 81.
— Luis, 84, 1.
— Manuel, 88, 23.
— Manuel, 84, 7.
[Rodriges], Manuel, 85, 18.
[Rodriges], Manuel, 85, 19.
[Rodriges], Maria, 85, 5.
[Rodriges], Miguel, 85, 5.
Rodriguez, Antonio, 76, 15.
Rodrigues, Francisco, 87 (heading).
[Rodriguez], Agustina, 86.
Rodriguez, Antonia, 72, 166.
— Antonio, 4, 193.
— Antonio, 6, 5.
— Antonio, 7, 20, 22, 23; 8, 42.
— Antonio, 85, 62, 66, 72 (heading).
— Antonio, 62, 6.
— Antonio, 72, 166.
— D. Antonio, 17, 23.
— Antonio, el de Tembleque, 78,
5.
— Antonio Mendez, 4, 36, 38.
— Balthasar, 75, 16, 164.
Rodriguez, Beatriz, 66.
— Blanca, 4, 74.
— Christóbal, 75, 150.
— Christoual, 8, 42.
[Rodriguez], Denia (see 16, 1), 10, 6.
Rodriguez, Diego, 8, 4.
— Diego, 27, 13, 14; 62, 4, 5.
— Fernan, 1, 2.
— Fernan, 4, 32.
— Fernan, 75, 48.
— Fernan Mendez, 4, 38.
— Fernando, 1, 5.
— Francisca, 1, 6.
— Francisco, 1, 1.
— Francisco, 1, 3.
— Francisco, 4, 52.
— Francisco, 75, 54.
— Gabriel, 10, 6; 16, 1; Valencia, 21,
1; 35, 49; 72, 133.
— Gabriel, el Viejo, 16, 1; 25, 12,
13.
[Rodriguez], Gabriel, 66.
Rodriguez, Garcia, 4, 194.
— Isabel: Cuenca, 18, 2.
— José, 4, 11.
[Rodriguez], Joseph, 66.
Rodriguez, Juan, 4, 65.
— Lanzarote, 4, 199.
— Lanzaroto, 4, 99.
— Leonor, 7, 24; 17, 23.
— Leonor, 17, 24.
— Luis, 4, 140, 141.
— Luis, 4, 192.
— Luis, 75, 86.
— Manuel, 6, 5.
— Manuel, 7, 20, 21.
— Manuel, 10, 6.
— Manuel, 22, 46.
— Manuel, 72, 74.
— Manuel, 75 (heading).
— Manuel, 75, 100.
— Manuela, 27, 9.
— Maria, 75, 101.
— Matheo, 4, 195.
— Miguel, 74, 26.
— Pedro Gutierrez, 9, 20.

Rodriguez, Rosa, 27, 4, 5; 62, 2.

— Salvador, 75, 139.

— Violante, 16, 1; 25, 13.

Roldal, Alonso, 11, 14.

— Gaspar, 11, 13.

Roldan, Alonso, 72, 86.

— Leonor, 9 (b), 47, 48; 17, 13, 14;
72, 84, 87.

— Thomas, 72, 85.

Roxas, Doña Beatriz de, 17, 24.

Rueda, Antonio de, 6, 23; 8, 46.

Ruiz, Enrique, 4, 187.

— Don Joseph, 19, 47.

— Leonor, 4, 168.

— Leonor, 4, 180.

— Luis, 4, 169.

— Manuel, 4, 186.

— Simon, 4, 173.

— Violante, 4, 188.

[Rz.], Ana, 85, 17.

Rz., Domingo, 85, 16.

[Rz.], Maria, 85, 17.

S.

Sabariego, Don Joseph de, 7, 25;
9, 10; 17, 20, 27.

Salazar, Conde de (?), 76, 18.

Salazar, Maria de, 68.

Salcedo, Francisco de, 9 (b), 45;
17, 11.

Saluatierra, see Muñoz del Caño,
Rafael.

Sanchez, Manoel, 86, 3.

San Pedro ó San Per, N., 10, 15;
22, 4; 25, 26; 72, 129.

Santillana, Doña Ana de, 7, 11, 12;
9, 2.

Santos, Luis, 75, 84, 151.

— Manuel de, 4, 45.

Sarauia, Enrique Nuñez, 75, 45,
165, 170; 76 (heading).

— Juan Nuñez, 75, 81; 77, 13; 78
(heading).

[Sarmiento], Antonio, 85, 13.

Sarmiento, Jacobo, 85, 13.

— Juan, 85, 20.

[Sarmiento], Ysabel, 85, 13.

Sebastian, 85, 8.

Sepulveda, N., 22, 42.

— N^o, 72, 90.

Sepulveda, Francisco de, 11, 16;
26, 2.

Serafina, Doña, 75, 39.

Serqueira, N., 10, 12; 25, 9; 72,
135.

Serra, Diego Lopez, 84, 5.

— Manoel, 75, 108.

— Manuel, 75, 97, 122.

— P^o Lopez, 75, 132.

Serrano, Antonia, 7, 12.

— Francisco, 75, 63.

Sidarreal, Fernan Rodriguez, 75, 53.

Sierra, Manuel Suarez, 78 (contra),
12.

— Miguel Suarez, 27, 9.

Sigano, Fernan Rodriguez, 4, 124.

Silba, Antonio Alvarez de, 87, 1.

— Beatriz de, 72, 80.

— Gracia de, 12 (b), 1-3; 28, 18;
72, 79; 74, 19, 20.

— Manuel Fran^{co} de, 8, 12.

Silbeyra, Ana de, 7, 9.

— Josepha de, 7, 13.

— Juan de, 7, 11, 12; 9, 2.

— Manuel, 7, 1, 2, 25.

— Maria de, 7, 8, 9; 9, 4, 6; 17, 26.

Silua, Francisca de, 12 (b), 2, 3;
28, 17.

Silueira, El Doctor Migel de, 88, 18.

Siluera, Ana de, 17, 25.

Silva, Agustin de, 9, 14; 17, 28;
72, 77.

— Francisca de, 9, 14; 17, 28; 72,
78, 79; 74, 18-20.

— Luis Alvarez de, 78, 7.

Silvera, Ana Francisca de, 9, 1, 4, 6.

— Joseph de, 9, 6.

— Margarita, 9, 8.

Silveyra, Manuel de, 17, 16.

Solis, Diego R^a, 88, 7.

Soria, Beatriz de, 26, 17, 18; 55, 56.

— Cathalina de, 11, 24; 26, 17.

[Soria], Diego, 8, 45.
 Soria, Manuel de, 9 (b), 21, 53.
 — Manuel Felix de: Cuenca, 18, 3.
 Sorquira, 22, 9.
 Sosa, Leonor de, 4, 190.
 Sossa, Francisco Raphael de, 72, 36.
 Soto, Antonio de, 88, 10.
 — Antonio Nuñez, 4, 43.
 — Guillen del, 75, 67.
 Sousa, Francisco de, 86, 2.
 Saidio, Basco Perez, 4, 60, 64, 65, 68.
 Suarez, Antonio, 77, 11, 12.
 — Francisco, 4, 182.
 — Gabriel, 72, 192, 133.
 — Manuel, 5, 24.
 — Serafina, 5, 25.
 — Thomas, 87, 2.
 Sueyro, Simon, 4, 86.

T.

T., Antonia de, 9 (b), 4, 5; 25, 15, 16.
 — Beatriz de, 9 (b), 48.
 — Beatriz de, 19, 66.
 — Blanca de, 9 (b), 25.
 — Blanca de, 19, 39, 42.
 — Cathalina de, 9 (b), 23.
 — Francisca de, 9 (b), 53.
 — Doña Geronima de, 10, 2.
 — Gonzalo de, 14, 1, 2; 74, 33.
 — Isabel de, 72, 162; 74, 33.
 — Isauel de, 9 (b), 24.
 — Isauel de, 9 (b), 32.
 — Juan de, 78 (contra), 6; 74, 17.
 — Justa de, 9 (b), 26.
 — Lucia de, 10, 21.
 — Luisa de, 9 (b), 43.
 — Manuel de, 72, 81.
 — Manuel de, 74, 20.
 [T.], Maria [de], 9 (b), 28.
 T., N. de, 19, 42.
 — Phelipa de, 11, 37.
 — Thomasa de, 9 (b), 7.
 — Vitoria de, 9 (b), 29.
 — Ysabel de, 28, 25.

Tapia, Juan de, 25, 28.
 Taro, *see* Sueyro, Simon.
 Tellez, Francisco Lopez, 79.
 — Manuel Lopez, 79.
 Tembleque, *see* Rodriguez, Francisco.
 Thomassa, 72, 120-2.
 Toledo, Angela de, 25, 27.
 Toro, Doña Ana de, 6, 24.
 Torres, *see* Toro, Doña Ana de, and Zaia, Fernando de.
 Torres, Cathalina de, 7, 27; 17, 22.
 — Francisco de, 2, 19.
 — Francisco de, 88, 86, 40, 46, 67, 68, 69, 72 (heading); 78, 6.
 — Doña Gabriela de, 6, 1.
 — Hieronimo de, *see* Machado, Geronimo.
 — Isabel de, 17, 21.
 — Isauel de, 7, 28.
 — Doña Isauel de, 8, 47.
 — Leonor Josepha de, 7, 28.
 — Manuel de: Zaragoza, 18, 1; 19, 1; 21, 9; 28-33.
 — Melchor de, 5, 3; 12, 1.
 — Ysabel de, 17, 15.
 Torres y Riuera, Don Francisco de, 5, 4, 5.
 Trancoso, Balthasar Mendez, 4, 50.
 — Francisco Nuñez, 4, 22, 23.
 — Gaspar, 75, 64.
 — Juan Rodriguez, 4, 23.
 Tropas, *see* Gonzalez, Don Juan Thomas.
 Tuerto, Gaspar el, 22, 22, 23, 49; 25, 14, 15; 72, 118.
 Turado, Francisco Lopez Valtodano, 1, 4.

V.

Vaez, Ana, 85, 13.
 Val, Andres Alvarez del, 4, 178.
 — Enrique, 4, 188.
 Valderrama, Justa de, 10, 20; 22, 56; 72, 99.
 — Pedro de, 9 (b), 22-6.

Valderrama, Pedro de, 10, 20; 22, 56; 72, 91, 92.
 — Pedro de: Granada, 21, 2; 54.
 — Theresa de, 11, 29.
 Valencia, Antonio de, 75, 26.
 — Francisco de, 75, 61.
 — Manuel, 75, 114.
 — Manuel de, 75, 119.
 Valentin, Manuel Enrriquez, 75, 95, 120.
 Valenzuela, *see* Sossa, F. R. de.
 — Francisco de, 23, 1; 72, 3; 74, 1.
 — Thomas de, 72, 2, 3; 74, 1, 2.
 Valladolid, Andres de, 75, 24.
 Valle, Carlos Antonio del, 72, 165; 78 (contra), 10; 74, 32.
 Valtrapero, Simon de, 4, 183.
 Vargas, El Doctor Don Antonio de, 72, 46, 47; 74, 23.
 Vas, Simon, 4, 15.
 Vaz, Antonio, 86, 11.
 Vazquez, Ana Maria, 19, 49.
 — Antonia, 19, 48.
 — Antonio, 19, 45, 46.
 — Antonio, 19, 54, 55.
 — Beatriz, 19, 47.
 — Francisco, 19, 63, 64.
 — Geronima, 19, 62.
 — Joseph, 19, 52, 65.
 — Luis, 19, 62.
 — Manuel, 19, 53.
 — Maria, 19, 30, 58, 59.
 — Maria, 19, 55.
 — Melchor, 19, 62.
 — Raphael, 19, 32, 60, 61.
 Velasco, Don Alvaro Isidro de, 9 (b), 8; 25, 17.
 — Don Antonio de, 10, 1, 10; 25, 7; 72, 34.
 — Doña Ines de, 10, 10; 25, 6.
 — Don Isidro de, 22, 34.
 — Don Isidro de, 72, 98.

Velasco, Manuel Isidro de, *see* Navarro, Manuel Isidro.
 — Manuel Ysidro de, 22, 21; 24, 4.
 Ventura, Gaspar, 9 (b), 9; 22, 44.
 Vetus, Thomassa de (*see* Betis), 23, 26.
 Villa Real, Maria Petronila Norberta de, 5, 18; 72 (heading).
 Villarrea, Fran^{co} Rodriguez, 4, 70.
 Villarreal, Francisco de: Zaragoza, 18, 4; 19, 5; 21, 3; 28-31, 23.
 — Luis de: Zaragoza, 18, 5; 19, 6; 21, 2; 28, 29, 31-8.
 Violante, 85, 7.
 Vitorero, Fran^{co} Alvarez, 10, 21; 22, 35, 57; 26, 6.
 [Vitorero], Lucia, 22, 35, 57.

Y.

Yanez, Rodrigo, 4, 118.
 Yerro, Bernardo Antonio del, 9 (b), 2; 25, 3.
 — Don Pedro Enrriquez, 13, 2; Sevilla, 19, 1; 20, 1; 58, 59, 61.
 Ynes, 9 (b), 11.
 Ysabel, 85, 7.

Z.

Zalas, *see* La Peña, N. G. de.
 — Fernando de, 6, 17.
 — Francisco de, 6, 16.
 Zapata, Doctor Don Diego de, 23, 8; 72, 35; 78 (contra), 3; 74, 9.
 Zerraluo, Fran^{co} Lopez, 4, 167.
 Zespedes, Doctor D. Antonio de, 72, 20-2.
 — Leonor de, 72, 22.
 Zisneros, D. Antonio Nicolas de, 5, 2.
 Zongo, El, 10, 13; 22, 10; 25, 10; 72, 136.

THE JEWS IN PORTUGAL

FROM 1773 TO 1902.

THE authors who have dealt with the history of Judaism in Portugal are very sparing of information on the events which took place in that country from the last years of the eighteenth century onwards. Thus we should seek in vain in most standard works the exact date of the suppression of the well-known Inquisitions of Lisbon, Evora and Coimbra.

As to the present situation, it is absolutely unknown.

Such gaps should be filled up, and this is what I propose to do as briefly as possible.

I shall explain in succession the history of the Inquisition in Portugal from 1773, the present situation of the last of the Marranos in that country, and the chronicles of the Portuguese Synagogues from 1801 to 1902.

I

Reform and Suppression of the Inquisition.

Contrary to the statement of the principal historian of the Portuguese Jews¹, the earthquake of 1755, while destroying the Inquisitorial prisons of Lisbon, by no means did away with the Holy Office. The institution was quickly re-established², and many unfortunate persons

¹ M. Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal* (Leipzig, 1867, 8°), Cap. IX, 5, 334 : "Bei dem Erdbeben, das am 1. November 1755 Lissabon zerstörte, schwand auch das Inquisitionsgebäude von der Erde."

² Carlos José de Menezes, *A Inquisição em Portugal* (Porto, 1898, 2 vol. 8°), vol. I, p. 220.

were again forced to endure the tortures of the Inquisition.

Nevertheless the catastrophe of 1755 had one surprising result; there arose from the midst of the ruins a man who by his prodigious activity and his sometimes brutal energy was destined to effect the most important reforms in Portugal; this man, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, has remained famous under the name of Marquis de Pombal. It has been asserted that he was of Jewish origin¹; the statement is only probable, but it is at least very certain that he engaged personally and with much zeal in ameliorating the lot of the *Christãos Novos* (New Christians), descendants of the Jews converted by force² in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In the private archives of the Marquis de Pombal³ are found all the documents used in the drawing up of the laws which abolished in practice the power of the Inquisitors over the New Christians.

It is not without emotion that we see a note in the hand of the minister of Dom José I⁴, proving that from Sep-

¹ A story is in fact told that, the king having expressed a desire that the descendants of Jews should be obliged to wear yellow hats, Pombal presented himself with three of these hats. When questioned by the king, the marquis replied: "I have one hat for myself, one for the Grand Inquisitor, and one in case your Majesty should wish to cover your head." *Archives Israélites*, 1847, p. 858; Lindo, *History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal* (London, 1848, 8°), p. 375; Fred. Dav. Mocatta, *The Jews of Spain and Portugal and the Inquisition* (London, 1877-80), p. 97, and other authors. This story is not reliable. The witticism of Pombal had already been attributed to the famous Duke of Alba. Cf. Pedro Joseph Suppicio, *Apophthegmas memoráveis*, l. 1, p. 191 (Lisboa, 1720, 8°).

² They are the *Marranos* in Spain, the *Chuetas* in the Balearics, the *anusim* of the Rabbis. The word *marrano* does not seem to have the Hebrew origin which is often attributed to it. It is merely a term of insult; *marrano* (in Portuguese, *marrão*) meant *pig*, long before it had been used to name the Jews.

³ *Bibliotheca Nacional of Lisbon, Collecção Pombalina*, MS. 641, fo^o. 276, 336 et seq.; MS. 649, fo^o. 21, 33, 34, 42, 45, 54, 132, &c.

⁴ *Ibid.*, MS. 649, fo^o. 139, the figures above seem to come from a note of Salvador Soares Cotrim (fo^o. 54); they are found again without variation,

tember 20, 1540—the date of the first regular *auto da fé* at Lisbon—to 1732, a total number of 24,522 victims is obtained, of whom 1,454 were burnt. They may be classified as follows:—

	Variously sentenced.	Burnt	
		In person.	In effigy.
Lisbon .	6,262	6	132
Coimbra .	8,138	335	159
Evora .	8,668	331	131

Pombal thought that there had been enough victims, and assuming a purely political attitude, he gave the king to understand that the Inquisition was very detrimental to the reputation of Portugal in foreign countries and to the economic prosperity of the kingdom. Had not the New Christians, who had escaped from Portugal, largely contributed to the commercial development of the markets of Bordeaux, London, Amsterdam, Altona, and other towns?

At last, on May 2, 1768, the king ordered the suppression of the lists containing the names of the New Christians. These lists were very inaccurate, and served the purposes of private revenge¹.

Pombal took advantage of the first opportunity of improving still more the condition of the New Christians, who were debarred from public office and constantly disturbed in their commercial pursuits.

A certain Jean Gaspar Lyder, son of a native of Prague and of Barbara Kulerin, a lady of Vienna, woman-in-waiting to Queen Dona Mariana, had been appointed judge at Fundão. He was required to prove the "purity" of his blood. He appealed; all the official commissions, including

in the speeches delivered against the Inquisition in 1821 (*Diário das Cortes da Nação Portuguesa*), vol. I, February 8, 1821, p. 63, speeches of Ferrão, and in numerous publications; e.g. in the *História de Portugal* of Oliveira Martins, vol. II, l. vi, 5, pp. 156-7 (Lisboa, second edition, 1880, 8°, 2 vols.).

¹ *Alvara de lei sobre as fntas dos Christãos Novos*, 2 de maio de 1768.

the Council of State (May 24, 1773), were consulted, although the decision of the general Council of the Holy Office had to be accepted (April 20, 1773). It was the general opinion that such inquiries ought to be abolished and, at the same time, every distinction between Old and New Christians¹.

On May 25, 1773, Dom José I signed the law of the general constitution and perpetual edict abolishing for ever all difference of treatment between his subjects, whatever their origin². Pombal hastened to publish the document and even a Latin translation³; he made the mistake, however, of declaring that the Jesuits alone were guilty of having invented the opprobrious name of "New Christian," a name dating from long before the foundation of the Society of Jesus, often itself persecuted by the Portuguese Inquisition⁴.

On September 1, 1774, appeared a new law concerning the Inquisition of Portugal, depriving it, in theory, of all its tyrannical and arbitrary character.

The Holy Office persevered none the less in persecuting now and then a certain number of descendants of Jews. The Inquisitors still found it profitable to confiscate the goods of those who were condemned, when it was possible.

A new law (December 15, 1774) dealt with this by forbidding all confiscation in the case of accused persons who

¹ Every fact concerning the preparation of the laws of May 25, 1773, September 1, and December 15, 1774, has been taken from the MSS. of Pombal (mentioned above), No. 649.

² *Collecção das leys, decretos e alvaras que comprehende o felis reinado del Rey Fidelissimo Dom José o I* (Lisboa, in fo., vols. II and III). Each law or decree is found at its date.

³ *Litteras Josephi I Lusitanorum regis Fidelissimi, legem quidem generalis constitutionis et edicti perpetui complectentes, pro abolenda et extinguenda odiosa Notorum Christianorum et Veterum Christianorum distinctione ab annis 1500, et amplius, pessimis et seditiosissimis consiliis in Lusitaniam inducta, denominatorum Jesuitarum opera.* (Olisipone, 1773, in. 12 p. 38.)

⁴ On the antagonism of the Jesuits and the Inquisition, cf. Oliveira Martins, *Historia de Portugal*, vol. II, l. vi, 5, p. 157, who proves the fact, expressing, however, an opinion which may be questioned.

became reconciled to the Church by a confession, more or less sincere.

From this time the Inquisition was disarmed, being unwilling to abandon itself to unproductive labours, and the descendants of the Jews lived almost undisturbed. The Holy Office occupied itself with Protestants and Freemasons, "reconciling" from time to time some indiscreet person of Jewish blood. But the Holy Office was decaying, and there were no more pyres in the public streets ¹.

When the French entered Portugal under Napoleon, they found the Holy Office still in existence there ². On December 8, 1807, the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon published a pastoral letter urging the people to submit to the French army, for "this army," said the prelate, "is that of his Majesty, the Emperor and King of Italy, Napoleon the Great, to whom God has entrusted the support and protection of the Religion, and who is destined to make the happiness of Nations." Twelve days after (December 22) another pastoral letter appeared, unreservedly approving of that of the patriarch; it was issued by "Dom José Maria de Mello, titular Bishop of Algarve, Inquisitor-General." Cowardice so great was to have its reward. On February 1, 1808, Junot, the marshal of France, published in a proclamation that the Catholic religion was to be protected, "but freed from the superstitions which disfigure it."

¹ Carlos José de Menezes, loc. cit., vol. II, p. 188. The last *autos da fé* thus took place on October 11, 1778, at Lisbon; on August 26, 1781, at Coimbra; and on September 16, 1781, at Evora. These *autos* are mentioned neither by Dr. R. Gottheil in his fine article in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. II, p. 342, nor by Mr. E. N. Adler in his copious articles on *autos* of Portugal, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XIV, p. 718, probably because there were no Jews among the victims. For Dr. Gottheil, the last Portuguese *auto* is that of October 18, 1739, at Lisbon; and for Mr. Adler, that of December 18, 1767, in the same town.

² The documents concerning the French occupation are obtained from the *Collecção de decretos editaes, &c.* (Lisboa, 1808), numbered 7-11, l. 30, in the British Museum.

A second decree of the same date annexed Portugal to the French Empire.

Finally, by a third decree of the same date, "all the gold and silver of all the churches, chapels and brotherhoods of the town of Lisbon" were confiscated, with the exception of "the silver vessels necessary for the seemliness of worship." Moreover, the French governor installed himself with his staff in the very palace of the Inquisition of Lisbon¹. This storm quickly passed over, thanks to the Anglo-Portuguese alliance. The French were driven out and all was as before. From time to time voices were raised against the Inquisition. On the death of the Grand Inquisitor, José de Mello, João Bernardo da Rocha, a Portuguese who had established a newspaper in London², declared that this was "a good opportunity of abolishing this odious office." The revolutionary government of 1820 was unwilling—though the contrary has been stated³—to abolish the Holy Office hastily. A decree⁴ of September 21, 1820, ordered, as a first step, that a list should be made of the prisoners of the Inquisition, in order that "the scandal for Justice and Humanity resulting from the arbitrary detention of prisoners" should be abolished.

In the meanwhile, the provisional government held its sessions in the Palace of the Holy Office at Lisbon⁵.

During the session of February 5, 1821, deputy Margiochi proposed a law⁶ to the effect that the tribunals of the Inquisition should be abolished, their spiritual power given to the bishops, their archives deposited in the manuscript room of the National Library of Lisbon⁷, their

¹ Carlos José de Menezes, loc. cit., vol. I, p. 221.

² *O Portuguez ou Mercurio politico*, vol. VIII (1818), No. 47, p. 395.

³ J. Augusto d'Oliveira Mascarenhas, *A Inquisição em Portugal* (Lisboa, 1899, in. 32), p. 50. It is a little book of no historical value and purely declamatory.

⁴ *Collecção geral e curiosa de todos os documentos officiaes e historicos publicados por occasião da Regeneração desde 24 de agosto*, Lisboa, 1820, 4°.

⁵ Carlos José de Menezes, loc. cit., vol. I, p. 221.

⁶ *Diário das Cortes geraes da Nação portugueza*, 1821, vol. I, pp. 44-5.

⁷ This proposal was not carried out.

property transferred to the State, and their officers reduced to pensions equal to one-half of their salaries. On February 8, deputy Ferrão de Mendonça¹ added the following proposal: "That all the foolish and barbarous statutes about sorcery and Judaism, and others which have made 23,068 accused persons mount the scaffold in a dress of infamy, and have caused 1,454 of them to be burnt, thus dishonouring so many thousands of families of all classes, shall be burnt on a scaffold in the Rocio Street², and that this last *auto da fé* shall reduce them to ashes." It is fortunate for history that this proposal did not become law.

The last cry of the Inquisition was a request for money. Its officers had to receive payment. One of the deputies, the inquisitor Castello Branco, on March 24, asked his colleagues not to forget that the Inquisition was a State institution, a regular and legal body, and that it had a staff whose long services (?) could not be passed over. He added, however, "As a representative of the people, I vote for the abolition of the Holy Office, which I consider to be useless and incompatible with the enlightenment of the age³." I think that it is unnecessary after this to report the discussion⁴—was it a discussion?—of the Margiochi proposal, which was unanimously passed on March 31, 1821, and transformed into a decree the same day⁵. The Inquisition had at last ceased to exist in Portugal. I think, however, that a few words on the final settlement of this tribunal may be of interest. At

¹ *Diário das Cortes*, vol. I, p. 63. See p. 256, note 6. It must not be forgotten that of the 1,454 burnt, 422 were burnt in effigy, either because they had escaped, or because they had died before the *autos*.

² The Palace of the Inquisition was in this street.

³ *Diário das Cortes*, vol. I, p. 356.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 356 et seq. Manuel Borges Carneiro took an important part in it; he published at this time an *Appendice [ao Portugal regenerado] sobre as operações da Sancta Inquisição Portuguesa* (Lisboa, November 20, 1820, 8°, p. 8), published under the pseudonym of D. C. N. Publicola.

⁵ *Diário das Cortes*, vol. I, pp. 404 and 421.

Coimbra¹ and at Evora, the people invaded the Palaces of the Inquisition without waiting for any authorization, but at Lisbon, a law proposed by the deputy Ferrão, ordered (September 27, 1821) that the prisons should be opened to the public².

The following is the description of the proceedings which was given at the time in England³ and which seems accurate :—

“ On the 8th inst. the palace of the Holy Office was opened to the people. The number which crowded to see it during the first four days, rendered it extremely difficult and even dangerous to attempt an entrance. The edifice is extensive and has the form of an oblong square, with a garden in the centre. It is three stories high and has several vaulted galleries, along which are situated a number of dungeons, of six, seven, eight, and nine feet square. Those on the ground floor and in the first story have no windows, and are deprived of both air and light when the door is shut. The dungeons on the next storey have a kind of breathing-hole in the form of a chimney through which the sky may be seen. These apartments were allotted to prisoners, who, it was supposed, might be set at liberty. In the vaulted wall of each dungeon there is a hole of about an inch in diameter which communicates with a secret corridor running along by each tier of dungeons. By these means, the agents of the Inquisition could at any moment observe the conduct of the prisoners without being seen by them ; and when two persons were confined in the same dungeon, could hear their conversation. In these corridors were seats so placed, that a spy could observe what was passing in two dungeons, by merely turning his eyes from right to left, in order to

¹ On April 10 the instruments of torture were burnt by the people at Coimbra. Carlos José de Menezes, *A Inquisição em Portugal*, vol. II, p. 304.

² *Diário das Cortes*, vol. III, pp. 1867 and 2432.

³ *Annual Register of the year 1821* (London, 1822, 8°), Chronicle, pp. 157-8; it is a translation of the *Courrier Français*.

look into either of the holes between which he might be stationed. Human skulls and other bones were found in the dungeons. On the walls of these frightful holes are carved the names of some of the unfortunate victims buried in them, accompanied with lines or notches, indicating the number of days of their captivity. One name had beside it the date of 1809. The doors of certain dungeons, which had not been used for some years, still remained shut, but the people soon forced them open. In nearly all of them, human bones were found, and among these melancholy remains were, in one dungeon, fragments of the garment of a monk, and his girdle. In some of these dungeons, the chimney-shaped air-hole was walled up, which is a certain sign of the murder of the prisoner. In such cases, the unfortunate victim was compelled to go into the air-hole, the lower extremity of which was immediately closed by masonry. Quicklime was afterwards thrown down on him, which extinguished life and destroyed the body. In several of these dens of misery, mattresses were found, some of them old, others almost new,—a circumstance which proves, whatever may be said to the contrary, that the Inquisition in these latter times was something more than a scarecrow."

It appears that the visit of the people did not take place without some disturbance. According to a discussion which was held in the Cortes (October 10, 1821), the people showed themselves dissatisfied with the attitude of the wardens; they demanded that the instruments of torture should be produced. A deputy appeared and declared that it was "long" since these instruments of torture had been in existence¹. In their rage, the people pulled down and dragged along the streets of Lisbon the statue of Faith, which stood on the principal side of the Palace².

¹ *Diário das Cortes*, vol. III, p. 2588. In the Archaeological Museum of the Carmo at Lisbon, a whip from the inquisitorial prisons (?) of this town is shown, No. 2478 on the catalogue.

² Carlos José de Menezes, *A Inquisição*, vol. II, p. 306.

December 31, 1821, the prisons were finally closed¹. A deputy, Fernandez Thomas, demanded their demolition² and the erection on their site of a stone, bearing the following inscription:—"An eternal curse on every Portuguese who shall not hold in everlasting horror this invention of Hell." The stone was not set up, but a decree of April 22, 1822, ordered the partial destruction of the prisons of Evora and Coimbra and the total destruction of those of Lisbon³. On the site of these last the Dona Maria theatre stands at the present day.

Thus ended the Inquisition of Portugal, after an existence of nearly three centuries.

II.

The Last Marranos.

Although the name of Marranos has not been generally applied in Portugal to the descendants of Jews baptised by force, I will use it because it has become a generic term in every country. I am anxious, however, that it should be observed that the name of *Christãos Novos*, or New Christians, alone was used by the Portuguese Inquisition. As to the people, after making use of the expression *tornadiço* (weathercock), they early fell back on the name of *Judeu* or Jew. This is the name commonly given in Portugal to every individual who is notoriously of Jewish origin.

Since the law of May 25, 1773, the descendants of baptised Jews have been legally put on the same footing as the other Portuguese. But, practically, their fusion with the rest of the population has taken many years. Liberty, however, has done much more for this close union than all the measures taken by the Inquisition. On the one side, the Catholic population did not care to marry

¹ *Diario das Cortes*, vol. III, p. 3428.

² *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 2710, sessão 18 de outubro.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 701.

into families of Jewish origin, which the Holy Office closely watched and often imprisoned without any other real end than the confiscation of their property. On the other side, the persecution urged on the victims, gave them knowledge of their origin, inspired them with a real hatred for a religion in the name of which the Inquisition acted, though without respect for the true Christian doctrine. Forced to have all the appearances of Catholicism, the Marranos made up for this constraint by practising the Mosaic Law secretly. Naturally, many of the rites prescribed were impossible, circumcision, for instance. But it was possible to pray, fast, observe the festivals fairly well. This is what the Marranos did.

I have collected from the trials of the Portuguese Inquisition, a large number of prayers recited by the New Christians; they are a mixture of the Jewish and the Catholic rituals. I intend to make a special study of them. Moreover, these trials are anterior to 1774.

Some of the traditional prayers have been preserved among the descendants of the Marranos. I will only quote one here. It is still recited among the New Christians¹, and its Jewish character is undeniable.

"Sabbado! Sabbado! Sabbado santo! venhas com os Anjos; os Anjos nos acompanhem; acompanhem a minha alma, quando d'este mundo fôr.

Sabbado! Sabbado! Moses! Moses! os Anjos vos dirão:

Ao Sabbado nada farás, só te occuparás em louvar ao Senhor. Amen!"

This prayer² assumes the observation of the Sabbath rest,

¹ It was dictated to me with many others, on June 1, 1902, at Lisbon, by M. Candido Caetano Vas, in the presence of MM. Leão Amzalak and A. Anahory, members of the Jewish Committee of that town.

² The following is the translation:—"Sabbath! Sabbath! Holy Sabbath! Come with the Angels; may the Angels accompany us, may they accompany my soul when it passes away from this world. Sabbath! Sabbath! Moses! Moses! the Angels will tell you: On the Sabbath you must do no work, you must occupy yourself only with praising the Lord. Amen!"

which is not, as a rule, very strictly observed among the Marranos; however, they do not eat meat on that day, and on Friday evening, they light a night-lamp which they leave burning all day.

The text of other prayers which have been submitted to me is very corrupt in its present form, because the prayers have passed from one illiterate generation to another still more illiterate. There are even some of which it is difficult to find out the original meaning, because those who say them do not understand them now. Mutilated words are repeated with persistent obstinacy, because they have been handed down in this form. Any reform with regard to this would be very difficult. The Marranos of the present day would not consent to change one iota in their ritual, which is already very much reduced. On Kippur Day, which is strictly observed—while Pesach is now unknown—the Marranos assemble together and pass the day in repeating incessantly, one after the other, all the prayers which they know.

Among the customs preserved, I will mention the following:—

When it thunders, a lamp is lighted.

When any one dies, there is a fast for the first seven days; the house of the deceased is considered as “entre-fada¹”; all the provisions which are found in it are thrown away. A fast of one day is held in the first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth, and eleventh months after the death; every Friday a poor person of the sex of the dead person is invited to breakfast. At the time of the Inquisition, the Marranos took care to prevent the Catholic priest from coming to confess and administer the last rites to the dying man; they took strong measures for this purpose: when the death struggle began, and the end was clearly near, they stifled (*abafavam*), the sick person. Authori-

¹ This word is not classical Portuguese; it belongs to the Jewish-Portuguese dialect, and comes from *אבאף*, ignoble.

ties of high standing¹ assert that this custom has not yet entirely disappeared in the North of Portugal, where the *abafadores*, suffocators, were formerly very numerous and formed a kind of sect.

The Marranos are now very few in number at Porto and Lisbon, where one of them has had himself circumcised; many more are found at Covilhã, Fundão, and Bragança. At Covilhã, ten families still assemble for Kippur. They all have a tendency to intermarry only among themselves. On the other hand, many descendants of Jews have abandoned all Jewish worship and have become good Catholics. They do not forget their origin, however, and Mr. E. N. Adler has met two of them in a single visit to the Bibliotheca Nacional of Lisbon². One of the most famous descendants of the Jews, M. José Marcellino de Sa' Vargas, was minister in the reign of Dom Luiz I; his family came originally from Chacim, and was connected with that of the well-known Parisian bankers, Émile and Isaac Pereire.

When one sees an attempt to re-establish the Mosaic Law among the Jews of Kai-feng-fu, one asks oneself if the same work could not be undertaken, with more success, among the small groups of New Christians in the North of Portugal. The greatest obstacle would be, as in China³, the circumcision of adults. On the other hand, the law⁴ punishes by an imprisonment of one or two years, any one who attempts to make proselytes for any other than the State religion, Catholicism. It deprives the Portuguese

¹ M. Lino d'Assumpção, Inspector-General of the libraries and archives of Portugal, has kindly authorized me to say that he has recently been informed of the existence at the present day of the *abafadores*, or suffocators, by a public prosecutor at Bragança. Also M. P. C. Vieira mentions the existence of this custom a few years ago at Covilhã (*A Nação*, 17 de Set. de 1889).

² *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XIII, pp. 426 and 430.

³ *Jewish Chronicle*, August 15, 1902, p. 10.

⁴ *Código penal aprovado por decreto de 16 de setembro de 1886* (Lisboa, 1886, 8°), art. 130 and 135.

who publicly renounces this religion, of all political rights for twenty years. It is certain, however, that this law is never put in force¹, but it remains in the Portuguese code, just as the Act of Parliament of 1698, which punishes apostate Christians with imprisonment, still remains in the English code². Besides, tolerance in matters of religion is very great in Portugal, as we shall be able to prove.

III.

Re-establishment of the Jewish Religion.

The non-converted Jews were expelled in 1496, and they were forbidden to reside in Portugal on pain of death³. Nevertheless, there have always been some Jews passing into Portugal, generally from Morocco. The Cortes has repeatedly demanded their expulsion⁴. The proof that, in spite of these measures, there were some Jews in Portugal, is that João III, by an edict of February 7, 1537, ordered them to wear a special badge. João IV, the first Bragança, elected in 1640, seems to have been under obligations to them and to have tolerated them tacitly⁵. The report of this went even as far as Mexico⁶. When England became the mistress of Gibraltar, it was agreed by Article 10 of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, that she would not receive the Jews in that town, but they were allowed, notwithstanding, to establish themselves

¹ The Protestants have made and are still making proselytes in Portugal without great inconvenience.

² H. S. Q. Henriques, *The Jews and the English Law*, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XIII, pp. 275-7.

³ J. Mendes dos Remedios, *Os Judeus em Portugal* (Coimbra, 1895, 8°), documento IX, p. 432.

⁴ Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, Ms. portug., 62, f. 117^{ro}, *Capítulos geraes apresentados a El Rey nas Cortes de Torres Novas de 1525, e nas de Evora de 1531*, cap. 180.

⁵ Lindo, *History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal*, ch. xxxi, p. 375.

⁶ *Relacion del tercero auto particular de feo que el Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la . . . Nueva España celebró . . . 30 de marzo de 1648*, f. 42^{ro}, no. 12 (Mexico, 1648 in 8°).

there¹. Under the name of English subjects, they could then go to Portugal, where various treaties permitted the English to practise their religion freely but in privacy. In 1801, the Jews obtained a small piece of ground in the English cemetery da Estrella at Lisbon.

The tombs bore either a Hebrew inscription or an inscription in Hebrew and Portuguese. Five graves may still be seen, of which one is a child's. The oldest bears the following epitaph² in both languages:—

מצבת בור יסף אמזאלק
נע יום 15 לאדר ש"
תקסד לפ"ק

AQUI . IAS . IOZE . AMZALAGA QUE MORREU EM XXVI
D FEUEREIRO D 1804.

In 1810 attention was called to the important firms of Moses Levy Aboale and Co., and Manuel Cardoso and Co. The Jews had rendered Portugal a great service by introducing corn there during a recent famine³. Three years after (1813), Rabbi Abraham Dabella founded a synagogue at Lisbon, in the alley Da Linheira, under the name of שער השמים, Gate of Heaven⁴, which is also the name of the old Sephardic Community of London. It is said that in 1820 João VI officially allowed the Jews to settle in Lisbon⁵. What is more certain is that on February 16, 1821, deputy José Ferrão proposed a law to the Cortes, recalling all the Jews to Portugal. This law, however,

¹ Lindo, loc. cit., p. 350.

² Translation: "Tomb of the glorious Joseph Amzalak. He rested in Eden on the 15th of Adar in the year 564 according to the short mode of reckoning (5564).—Here lies Joseph Amzalaga, who died on the twenty-sixth of February, 1804." The Portuguese text is in a single line, the tomb measuring 8 ft. by 3 ft. 8½ inches.

³ Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, 336.

⁴ *A Justiça e a synagoga Hes-Haim de Lisboa*, pp. 4 and 5 (Lisboa, 1869, 8°, p. 16).

⁵ Lindo, loc. cit., p. 377.

contrary to what has been written on the subject¹, was never put to the vote². The discussion of the above-mentioned constitution of 1822 does not enlighten us as to whether a Portuguese has the right to belong to any other than the Catholic religion. This discussion was incoherent³. Besides, as Oliveira Martins says⁴, "the hundred deputies who were the authors of the laws, were the only ones to understand them, granting that they did understand them."

Article 6 of the constitution of 1826, according to which Portugal is ruled at the present day, is thus worded: "The Apostolic and Roman Catholic religion will continue to be the religion of the kingdom. *All other religions* will be allowed to *foreigners*, with their domestic or private observance in houses intended for the purpose, but without the outward form of places of worship."

It seems then that foreigners only are at liberty not to belong to the Catholic religion in Portugal. However, § 4 of article 145 of the said constitution declares concerning the rights of the Portuguese: "No one may be prosecuted on account of religion, provided that he respects that of the State, and does not offend against public morality."

It may be gathered from the above extracts, that a foreign Jew may, in every case, perform the rites of his religion in a house without the outward appearance of a place of worship. Moreover, it would be an insult to the National Religion to practise any other publicly⁵.

However that may be, Salomão Mor José in 1826 founded a second synagogue at Lisbon in the Travessa da Palha⁶.

During the reign of Dom Miguel I (1828 to 1834) no

¹ Kayserling, loc. cit., 337.

² *Diário das Cortes*, vol. I, No. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. III, 3, 6, and 8 agosto 1821, pp. 1771, 1798, and 1818.

⁴ *História de Portugal*, vol. II, l. vii. 3, p. 217.

⁵ *Código Penal*, art. 130, § 4°.

⁶ *A Justiça e a synagoga*, p. 4.

notice seems to have been taken of the Jews. However, we see that Levy Bensabath—who began, towards 1823, the export trade in cork—struggled against the absolute government of Dom Miguel; he was even arrested, and only owed his liberty to the intervention of the English consul at Lisbon, who protected him, as a native of Gibraltar. The son of Levy, Marcos Bensabath, took a still greater part in the struggle against Dom Miguel, and became an officer in a regiment of light infantry¹.

March 20, 1833, in the presence of the notary Feliciano José da Silva Seixas, of Lisbon, Antonio de Castro, a nobleman of the king's household, made over to Abraham de José Pariente, merchant, English subject, a plot of ground situated at Estrella, at an annual rent of 4,000 reis; this plot of ground was to serve as a "cemetery for the said Abraham, his descendants and other persons²."

As a matter of fact, it was only a question of making regular a state of affairs which had long existed. The piece of land granted is No. 6 of the rua da Estrella, and is no other than the old Jewish cemetery, now closed! It has a gloomy appearance, the ground being entirely without vegetation. All the tombs, 150 or thereabouts in number, are turned towards the East—with the exception of three graves at the end which are turned towards the North—and consist of horizontal stones, slightly raised above the ground; they are quite unornamented, without even the Levitic or sacerdotal signs כהנים. The inscriptions are generally in Hebrew, rarely in Hebrew and Portuguese, very exceptionally in Portuguese only. The oldest grave seems to be that of Samuel Brudo, who died November 4,

¹ Innocencio da Silva, *Diccionario bibliographico portuguez*, vol. X, p. 110 v°, *Jacob Bensabath* (Lisboa, 1883, in 8°). Levy Bensabath saved the life of the archbishop of Elvas, Athougua.

² Archives of the Jewish Committee of Lisbon. The rent is still paid by this committee. I am anxious to express my thanks here to MM. L. Amzalak and Anahory, who were kind enough to show me the documents of these archives. I am also indebted for much information to Professor José Benoliel.

1815. The tombs of earlier date than 1833 are numerous.

In the south wall, a white marble slab is inserted, measuring 2 ft. 4½ inches by 2 ft. 3 inches, on which may be read:

IN THIS

בית עולם

AND NEAR THIS SPOT

REPOSE THE MORTAL REMAINS OF

SOLOMON SOLOMON

צחק ב'כ' ישראל הלוי

NATIVE OF FALMOUTH, ENGLAND

WHO DIED AT LISBON 25TH SHEBAT 5579—20TH FEB. 1819.

AND IN THIS ב'ע' ALSO REPOSE

THE MORTAL REMAINS OF

PHILIP SAMUEL

NATIVE OF WARSAW, POLAND;

WHO DIED AT LISBON IN THE YEAR 5581 OR 82.

ESTE QUADRO MEMORIAL FOI

FEITO PELOS DOUS FILHOS DE

SOLOMON SOLOMON

NO ANNO DE 5635, E.V. 1875

EM CONSEQUENCIA DE SE TEREM OBLITERADO

AS INSCRIPÇÕES PRIMITIVAS.

Translation:—This commemorative tablet was made through the care of the two sons of Solomon Solomon in the year 5635=1875, because the original inscriptions had become obliterated.

As we have seen, the Jewish cemetery of the rua da Estrella existed in actual fact long before it was officially acquired.

Let us return, however, to the chronicle of Judaism in Portugal.

In 1845, Queen Dona Maria II made Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid baron of Palmeira¹. On the death of Rabbi Abraham Dabela (1853), his synagogue was managed by a committee composed of MM. Leão Amzalak, Levy Bensabath, Abraham Cohen, Fortunato Naure, Mair and Moisés Buzaglo; the private synagogue of the Travessa da Palha was directed by M. Moisés Anahory, who transferred it to the rua do Crucifixo, on the death of Salomão Mor José, and finally to the alley Dos Apostolos². In the meanwhile, the two congregations united, owing to the efforts of MM. Isaac Cardozo and Abraham de Esther Levy; the first synagogue alone remained in existence now. This state of things did not last long; in 1860, the new synagogue in the alley Dos Apostolos was founded; it was rented in the name of a Jewish congregation³, and, I think, under the title of חיים עץ, *Tree of Life*. The position of this synagogue has since been changed, but it is still the principal synagogue of Lisbon. There is another less important, called *Hes-Haim* 2⁴.

While the events which I have related were taking place, the community of Lisbon summoned Rabbi Jacob Toledano of Tangier, who died in 5659, and whose tomb bears the titles of החכם השלם הכולל. This tomb is found in the new בית חיים of Lisbon⁴, the history of which is interesting.

On the thirtieth of March, 1865, in the presence of the notary João Baptista Seola, of Lisbon, Joaquim de Oliveira sold a plot of ground situated in this town to "Joaquin Bittancourt⁵, Josuah Levy, Moses Amzalak, Marcos Auday,

¹ Lindo, *History of the Jews in Spain and Portugal*, p. 377; Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, p. 338.

² *A Justiça e a synagoga*, pp. 5 and 6; the author of this pamphlet says (p. 6), that Salomão Mor José died in 1854; the tomb of this Rabbi in the old Jewish cemetery of Lisbon bears the date of תרמ"א or 1861.

³ *A Justiça e a synagoga*, pp. 6, 10, and 12.

⁴ Cemetery of the Calçada das Lagas.

⁵ It is one of the forms of the French name Bethencourt.

Salom Bensaude, Mayer Levy Blumberg, and M. de S. Saruya, all inhabitants of this town, and all of the Jewish religion¹." But for interments in this ground to be legal, an authorization from the Government was necessary. This was obtained, October 30, 1868—an important date, for it was, in a manner, that of the official recognition of the Jewish community of Lisbon. By a decree (*alvará*) countersigned by the Bishop of Vizeu, minister, King Dom Luiz I granted "to the Jews of Lisbon permission to construct a cemetery for the burial of their co-religionists²."

Another document has, since that time, confirmed the legal existence of the Jewish religion in Portugal; an *alvará* (decree) of the Civil Government of Lisbon ratified, June 30, 1892, the definite constitution of the hebra, נטלת חסדים³. This association has the following aims: to give the assistance of religion to every Jew who is ill; to take upon itself the care of the cemeteries and the burial of all the Jews in the kingdom, even if they are passing visitors⁴; to take charge of the savings bank of the poor, which is yet self-managing; to keep the registers of the deaths, marriages and births⁵. The society was definitely established March 27, 1892, in the course of a meeting presided over by M. Simeão Anahory, assisted by MM. Leão Amzalak and José Cardozo, secretaries.

On the seventeenth of Ab, 5660 (August 12, 1900), the community of Lisbon united under the presidency of M. R. Simeão Anahory, assisted by M. Judah Benoliel, vice-president, and MM. Moysés de S. Bensabath and Moysés

¹ Archives of the Jewish Committee of Lisbon.

² Ibid.

³ *Estatutos da Associação Gemilut Hassadim, irmandade Israelita de socorros mutuos na hora extrema e funeraes*, Lisboa, 1892, 8º, p. 21.

⁴ It is for this reason that in a corner of the new cemetery, the tomb of a stranger may be seen, whose body was found on the shore, and who was supposed to be a Jew.

⁵ Extracts from these registers are acknowledged to be authentic by the Government of Portugal, where the State is in the hands of the clergy.

Azancot, secretaries. A plan of complete organization was adopted, which, however, has not yet received the sanction of the Government.

The Kehila of Lisbon will include all the orthodox Jews, both Sephardim and Ashkenazim, having at their head a committee (Mahamad), consisting, in 1902, of MM. Leão Amzalak, president; José Cardozo and Isaac Azulay, secretaries; Salomão de M. Sequerra, treasurer, and twelve other members.

Article 31 of this scheme of organization may be quoted. The following is the translation: "If the Portuguese Jews disappear from this town and from the whole kingdom, the German Jews who are here at that time may take under their care and for their own use the synagogues, estates, portable objects, and other articles of value in the possession of the Portuguese at the time or accruing later, but shall restore the whole to the Portuguese congregation if it is re-established."

But this hypothetical disappearance is improbable; the Kehila of Lisbon is full of vitality. It numbers at the present day about 400 persons, natives of Gibraltar, Morocco or the Azores, most of them ship-owners and merchants¹. There are several professors, however, who should be mentioned: MM. Alfred Benarus, an old pupil of the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris; Bensaude, professor at the Industrial Institute; Joseph Benoliel, professor at the "Marques de Pombal" Industrial School, who conducted a course of Hebrew in 1888 at the Curso superior de Letras, and is the author of several works, among them a curious translation of Camões and of Loqman².

Among the members of the community of Lisbon I must

¹ Kayserling, loc. cit., p. 337, was wrong in speaking of from five to six hundred families.

² Camões, *Ines de Castro, Epizode des Lusiades*: Translation into Hebrew verse by Joseph de M. Benoliel (Lisboa, 1892, 8°, p. 24). *Fabulas de Loqman, vertidas em portuguez e paraphraseadas em verços hebraicos* por José Benoliel (Lisboa, 1898, 8°). A peculiarity of these translations is that all the words used are biblical.

mention again MM. Jacob Bensaude, author of numerous grammatical works, appointed Professor of English at the Collège du Porto by a decree of November 5, 1880; Salamão Saragga, a distinguished Hebraist; Dr. Raoul Bensaude, a former student at the hospitals of Paris, and consulting physician to the King of Portugal, &c., officiates as rabbi at Lisbon; there is a hazan, M. Levy Ben Simon of Jaffa.

A boys' school has been established at Lisbon as well as a *Cosinha Economica Israelita*, a *kasher* restaurant; it is proposed to found an asylum for Jewish travellers. The *kasher* restaurant distributed 2,390 meals in 1901; it is managed by the Benevolent Society *Somej Nophlim*, founded thirty-seven years ago¹.

But the principal work of the Kehila is the erection of a synagogue, for those which exist now are only modest rooms.

The first stone of this synagogue, called שער תקווה, Shaare Tikvah (Gates of Hope), was only laid on the eighteenth of Tyar, 5662 (May 25, 1902), in the presence of a large number of spectators². The plan was made by M. Vicente Terra, an architect of Lisbon. A committee of ladies³ and a committee of men⁴ have been formed for the building of the new synagogue. The old Sephardic community of London, which is connected by so many bonds with Portugal, has also a committee⁵ in communication with those of Lisbon.

A few years ago a municipal councillor of Lisbon, the Vicomte de Rio Sado, a great "protector of animals," asked in vain for the prohibition of the *Shechita*. His request was refused by the minister Thomas Ribeiro, and in the

— ¹ *O Seculo*, 26 de março de 1902.

² In accordance with the law, the synagogue will be situated in an enclosure without any outward sign of a place of worship.

³ Mesdames E. Abecassis Seruya, E. Cohen Sequerra, R. Levy Azancot, R. Cardozo Anahory, Benoliel Levy, and D. Benoliel de Levy.

⁴ MM. A. Anahory, M. Seruya, Levy Azancot, S. Cagi, and J. Pinto.

⁵ The Rev. Haham Dr. Gaster, president; Joshua M. Levy, treasurer; Simon Seruya and E. N. Adler, members.

slaughter-house of Lisbon the Jews have a special place, *Matança para Israelitas*.

I may mention here a curious trace in the popular Portuguese language of old and now unconscious antisemitism ; to signify that a man is " base, despicable, without moral worth," he is called *safardano*. M. Theophile Braza lately pointed out this word to me, which he derives from Sepharad, ספָרָד.

Outside Lisbon only one other Kehila exists in Portugal, that of Faro, which numbers fifteen families with a synagogue and a hazan. The Jews enjoy much consideration there ; in 1893, for instance, there were public rejoicings and a great banquet to celebrate the circumcision of the son of M. Abraham Amram¹.

Fanaticism has not, however, entirely disappeared yet ; it has been said quite recently that the Jews of Faro seek to obtain Christian blood, and pass their time in the synagogue in " breaking-up wooden crosses with blows of hammers²"—accusations which are purely and simply absurd.

The number of Jews in Faro was much greater in former years ; the death of the aged, the emigration of the young to Lisbon, the absence of new-comers in consequence of the stagnation of trade, all cause the dwindling of the community of Faro³. This community was established towards 1820, the year when the cemetery was bought. In 1830 it had a *minyán* (a congregation of ten adult males), and from that time a minister of religion (*chazan*) ; services were held in a house which was bought for that purpose by the congregation. In 1850 a new synagogue was established in the house of M. Joseph Siseu. Ten years after services were established by M. Samuel Amram in

¹ *Diário Popular*, September 25, 1893.

² *A Nação*, 14 de set. de 1889.

³ I wish to thank here M. Joaquin Rosa Bernado, resident of Lisbon, and M. David Sabbath, chemist at Faro ; it is to their kindness that I owe the information which I give on the kehila of Algarve. The inscription quoted here was copied by M. Sabbath, and I have only changed the last word of the third line.

another house. The two synagogues have always existed since then. Twenty-five years ago the cemetery was enclosed with walls. The following inscription found at Faro some years ago was placed there:—

ביום חמשי ששה עשר יום
 לשבט שנת חמשת אלפים
 חמש ושבעים נפטר הנכבד
 ר' יוסף בן מום נ"ב ת" ונקבר בקבר זה

Translation: "On Thursday, the 16th of Shebat, 5075 (1315), died the glorious Rabbi Joseph Ben Tom. May he rest in peace. He was buried in this grave."

This is a precious relic of the past of this Kehila, which was, in the fourteenth century, the head quarters of one of the seven great Jewish districts of Portugal.

A few Jews are found at Evora, Lagos and Porto, but their numbers are too small for common worship.

Lastly, at São Miguel (Azores), there is an old Kehila, which has supplied that of Lisbon with distinguished members, but it tends to disappear; it was found necessary to send some young men there lately to make *minyan*. It is a mistake to trace to the fourteenth century the origin of this community¹, which dates from the eighteenth century.

On the whole, the condition of Judaism in Portugal is not bad: antisemitism is unknown there; the population have no hostile feeling against the Jews; they even delight in doing justice to the uprightness of their lives and their incomparable activity.

CARDOZO DE BETHENCOURT.

¹ *Jewish Chronicle*, November 26, 1880.

SIMCHAS TORAH.

(THE REJOICING OF THE LAW.)

From the Yiddish of J. L. Gordon.

LECHAYIM, my brethren, Lechayim, I say!
Health, peace, and good fortune I wish you to-day.
To-day we have ended the Torah once more,
To-day we begin it anew, as of yore.
Be thankful and glad and the Lord extol,
Who gave us the Law on its parchment scroll.

The Torah has been our consolation,
Our help in exile and sore privation.
Lost have we all we were wont to prize,
Our holy temple a ruin lies.
Laid waste is the land, where our songs we sung,
Forgotten our language, our mother-tongue.
Of kingdom and priesthood are we bereft,
Our faith is our only treasure left.
God in our hearts, the Law in our hands,
We have wandered sadly through many lands.
We have suffered much, yet, behold, we live
Through the comfort the Law alone can give.

Come, my dear brethren, come, let us look!
Quick, let us ope an historical book!
See, all the tales and the chronicles old,
They tell but of robbers and bandits bold.
World-wide is the scene of *our* story, and still
'Tis traced with a sword-point, instead of a quill.

The ink is of blood, mixed with tears of distress,
In exile, not Leipzig, it passed through the press;
No gilding it shows, and in iron 'tis bound.
Come, find me a corner, the universe round,
Where we met not with suff'ring and fierce oppression,
For the sake of the Torah, our sole possession.

In the very beginning, a long time ago,
We held up our heads with the best, as you know,
When householders sitting at home we were,
Nor needed the strangers' meal to share.
May none have to bear at the hands of men,
What we from our neighbours have borne since then.
How bitter, alas! was the lot we knew
When our neighbours to be our landlords grew,
And we were driven, by fate unkind,
Our lodging beneath their roof to find.
How did we live then? How did we rest?
Ask not, I pray you, for silence is best,
Like cabbage heads, hither and thither that fall,
With the holy Law, that we treasured through all.

Two thousand years, a little thing when spoken,
Two thousand years tormented, crushed, and broken!
Seven and seventy dark generations,
Filled up with anguish and lamentations.
Their tale of sorrow, did I unfold,
No Simchas Torah to-day we'd hold.
And why should I tell it you all again?
In our bones 'tis branded with fire and pain.
We have sacrificed all. We have given our wealth,
Our homes, our honours, our land, our health,
Our lives—like Hannah her children seven—
For the sake of the Torah that came from heaven.

And now, what next? Will they let us be?
Have the nations then come at last to see
That we Jews are men like the rest, and no more

Need we wander homeless as heretofore,
Abused and slandered wherever we go?
Ah! I cannot tell you, but this I know,
That the same God still lives in heaven above,
And on earth the same Law, the same Faith, that we love.
Then fear not, and weep not, but hope in the Lord,
And the sacred Torah, his holy word.

Lechayim, my brethren, Lechayim, I say!
Health, peace, and good fortune I wish you to-day.
To-day we have ended the Torah once more,
To-day we begin it again as of yore.
Be thankful and glad and the Lord extol,
Who gave us the Law on its parchment scroll.

ALICE LUCAS AND HELENA FRANK.

THE HEBREW-PERSIAN MSS. OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

REV. G. MARGOLIOUTH, giving a list of these MSS. in this Review (vol. VII, 119), says as follows: "The British Museum recently acquired a small collection of MSS. from Teheran, which will be of special interest to students who combine a sufficient mastery of Persian with a knowledge and appreciation of Hebrew literature." These few lines alone are sufficient to encourage every student who occupies himself with this literature, still more, one who was particularly encouraged by that distinguished scholar, and who received from him much valuable advice.

Besides the MSS. mentioned by Rev. G. Margoliouth, there is one acquired later by the British Museum. It is Or. 5446, and it is particularly interesting as it is perhaps the earliest Persian translation of the Pentateuch hitherto known, the translator of which will be discussed later. That there already existed a Persian translation of the Pentateuch anterior to that of Jacob Tavusi is a matter treated upon at length by Prof. Ign. Guidi of Rome¹. The learned Professor described the Persian translation, of which three MSS. are extant, one in Paris, one in St. Petersburg, and one in the Vatican. He also published two chapters of it, and deduced that it was anterior to Tavusi's translation, and that the latter utilized it for his own version. Now we read in a colophon that this work—we shall discuss later whether it is the original or a copy—was terminated at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Thus we know

¹ *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, 1885, p. 377. See also *ZDMG.*, XLVII, 202.

positively that it is two-and-a-half centuries older than Tavusi's translation. We shall see later, perhaps it is also older than the translation treated by Prof. Guidi. I give at the end a short extract as a synopsis of the three translations¹.

The translator was also a commentator and a grammarian, and very often the translation of the verse is followed by the explanation of the words which seemed to him worthy of remark, and by examples of other passages which contain the same word. Here is an example (Gen. iv. 20-22): *ובואר ערה אומר יובל אי בוד מהתר המה נשינאן* (Gen. iv. 20-22): *ניאן וויימה וטאם בראדר או יובל אי בוד מהתר המה נירא אן זענ וכוונא דומ' למען חמש את בית ישראל בלבם² חמשום חיים³ תעלה הנז אן בואר אומר תובל קין סיל כונא יעני חין כונא המה אוסתאדי כונא מים ואהן וכואהר תובל קין נעמה דומ' צרי ילמש עיניו⁴*. Thus he proceeds in the same way as *כואב אלעזר* in his *ר' יונה בן ננאח* and *ספר השרשים* in his *ר' דוד קמחי*. But it is evident that he did not see these two books, first, because the greatest part of the grammatical explanations are peculiar only to our author; for instance, speaking of the word *סלם* (Gen. xxviii. 12), he says *סלם אשתקאק סמל מים ולאם פס פיש* (Gen. xxviii. 12), he says *סלם* is derived from *סמל* by a transposition of the *ס* and the *ל*. This idea is expressed by neither of the two above-mentioned grammarians. Speaking of the word *אדם*, our commentator says: *האזינו ואדם אזי אן יכי אלף בסיאר נאיהא*: "the noun of this root is 'ear,' and *א* is very often affixed to a word to indicate it as a noun." This explanation may be applied to *אזניך* (Deut. xxiii. 14) according to *קמחי*, but our author says *אן* in general. Secondly, he is not always careful about his etymology, and very often makes comparisons between words of different roots, but which sound similarly. For instance, at the word *מספא* (Gen. xxiv. 25), he says, *דומ' דומ' האף חספא צי עלף ציזי הכח אננאפה שודני* "of the same root is

¹ For brevity sake I call the translation which I treat now A, that of Professor Guidi B, and that of Tavusi C.

² Ezek. xiv. 5.

³ 2 Kings x. 14.

⁴ Job xvi. 9.

the verb **חנפא**¹, since fodder is a thing which has been crushed." At the word **והער** (ibid., 20) he quotes the word **לֹא נָחַן בְּרָרָן בְּאוֹסְמַנִין וְנִרְכַּחַת** (Exod. xiv. 27), saying, "since to upset is the same idea as to pour." Thus the reading of such etymologies reminds us of those of the recent commentator **רוד**, but apart from the etymology the translation itself is good, and it cannot be compared with the commentary just mentioned.

Prof. Guidi remarked justly that the translation of B is made upon the Targum of Onkelos. It may be said it is a version of the Targum, while this translation of A conforms more with the text, and like Rashi follows the Talmudic exegesis, quoting now and then passages from the Talmud. At the passage **מפני שיבה חקום** (Lev. xix. 32) he expatiates very much, and quotes a long passage of the Talmud (Kedushin, 32 b, 33 a). The following two verses will particularly show the difference between these two translations, as the Targum corresponds in them very little to the Hebrew text² :—

Genesis iv. 7.

A.	B.
הא נה אנר ניכי כוני אמורזיה איי ואנר נה ניכי כוני בררנאה כמא נארנא נרפתאר שוי ובתו מוחתאני אוי ותו מסלם באשי באוי	הא נה אנר נח באשר כרדאר תו אמורזיה אייד בתו ואנר נה נח באשר כרדאר תו ברח דאוורי כמא נינה דאשתה כואר במוכאפאת כואסתן אז ת אנר נה באז נרדי אנר באז נרדי אמורזי אייד בתו

Genesis vi. 3.

ונפת כודאי נה פאינדה באשר רוח מן דר מדרום בנאוידי בסבב אנץ אוי נשתמנר ובאשנר רוחנארנא איי ק"כ סאל	ונפת כודאי נה תאבת שוד איד דאררא בד אין דר פיש מן בנאוידי בנארה אנץ אישאן נשתמנראן ועמללא אישאן בראן דראזי דארה אייד באשאן ק"כ סאל אנר תשובה כתנר
--	--

¹ Gen. xviii. 23. It is curious that he reads it with an א, while in reality it is with a ה.

² I did not think it necessary to give here the Hebrew text and the Targum.

Unfortunately the MS. is not complete: it begins with Gen. iii. 8; then from Gen. xxxi. 51 to the end, the whole of Exodus, the beginning of Leviticus to xi. 19, and Num. xvii. 4-xix. 4 are missing. Besides, a great many folios are misplaced, and the order of them would be as follows: 1-27, 45, 39-44, 32, 33, 31, 34-37, 30, 28, 52, 46-51, 53-73, 38, 29, 74-119, 121, 122, 120, 123, 124. The verso of folio 123 and the recto of folio 124 contain the conjugation of the Hebrew verb עשה and other grammatical observations. The writing, being very old, is in several places unreadable, and now and then characters are entirely effaced. The verso of folio 124 contains the following colophon, which might tell us precisely who was the translator if its text remained intact: נכתבה זו תורת משה איש הא' ע"ה בלשון פרסי על יד העני הנמאם והנעיר של כל ישראל יוסף בר משה נ"ע ונשלמה ביום מ[ע]לה¹ בשבת שהוא ארבעה עשרים יום בחדש אדר שני שנת אלף ושש מאות ושלשים לשמרות ואם שניתי בכתבי הוא ימחול עלי וימחה את כל חמאתי ויכתב עלי חירות מהם בזכות חכמ' ותלמידהם ויסלח לי ויקים עלי מק' רכ' ונסלח לכל עדת בני ונו' צונאך רידם כו אסתאד אבי סעיד צוק נבישתה בוד בר בשאט² ראסת ואו סכונהא מוש(ג)[כ]ל מזכור (?) כו משרה כרדה בוד ובדומיא³ ואשתקא(ז)[ק] מחכם כרדה צונאך נמלה כ"ר ספרים רא אין אסתעדאד באשד מר סכונהא כודר תורה דאכל ואו רוישאן (?) האי תצריך ונוכתה כו בכאר שווד אמיכתה כרדה בוד This Thora of Moses, the divine man (peace be with him) was written in Persian by the poor, dejected and inferior of all Israel, Joseph, son of Moses (may he rest in Paradise). It was terminated Friday, the 24th day of the second Adar, in the year 1630 of contracts = 5079 (15th March, 1319). If I made a mistake, He will forgive me, will efface all my sins, and will inscribe me as exempt from them for the sake of the sages and their disciples. He will pardon me, and will thus accomplish

¹ The second letter is effaced, but as it is a Friday I read מלה "the day which introduces Saturday."

² It is probably for שטאט.

³ Is it the Hebrew רמין or the Persian دینم?

on me the verse: 'And it will be forgiven to the whole congregation of Israel,' &c. (Num. xv. 26). As I saw that the master, Abû Sa'îd, had written a straightforward explanation and explained the difficult words, accompanying them with examples and well-grounded etymologies, so all the twenty-four books Only the words which form the text and the grammatical explanations, and the words quoted, had been mingled together by him in order that the reader might be able to go on without stopping to look for the notes."

Thus it seems to me that Joseph b. Moses was only the copyist, and that the translator was Abû Sa'îd, who lived not later than the thirteenth century. Another fact that confirms my supposition is, that generally it is the copyist who writes his name and the date of the termination of the work. But Dr. W. Bacher's opinion is that Joseph b. Moses was the translator himself, and that Abû Sa'îd served him as a model. As Dr. W. Bacher is an incontestable authority in these matters I bow to his opinion. On the top of the colophon, we read the following words added by a later hand, with better preserved ink and more incorrect spelling: *נכתבו שנת המשה אלפים שיבעים ושמונה לבריית* *עולם* "Written in the year 5078¹ in the era of creation."

As to the transcription, *ح* is rendered by *خ*, *ج* by *ج*, and *ب* by *ب*. The *כ* serves for the *ع* as well as for the *כ*, thus *סכנ* = *سكن*. Generally, the transcription is not strictly correct, the *ה* sometimes takes the place of the *ה*, and the *ב* that of the *ב*.

I give a synoptical view of the three different Persian translations; I choose Gen. xxiv. 1-16, as the translation of these verses in A is not disturbed by commentary.

¹ It is a miscalculation; it ought to be 5079, for the preceding year was not a leap-year.

A.

ואברהם פיר שד בריסד ברחמאן
 וי' אפרין כרד אסר אברהם רא
 בהסא צי' : ועפת אברהם בננה אוי
 פיר כאנה אוי אן מסלם באשא בתחא
 אנץ באוי בינה נון דסת תו פורד ראן
 מן : וסונד דהום תורא באמר ה' בודאי
 אסמאן תודאי זמין אנץ נסתאני זן בפסר
 מן אז דוכתראן אן כעני אנץ מן נשינא
 דר מיאן אישאן : אילא בלאית מן במולוד
 נאי מן בריו ובסתאני זן בפסר מן ביצחק :
 נופת באוי אן בננה אנר נה מראד כונר
 אן זן באסדן פס מן באין זמין אין תא
 באו גרדאנין בא גרדאם אסר פוסר
 תורא באן זמין אנץ בירון אסר וואנא :
 ונפת באוי אברהם חשאר בודה אי בתו
 תא נבאן גרדאני אסר פסר מרא באנא :
 ה' כודאי אסמאן אנץ בראניד מרא אז

B.

ואברהם פיר שוד ברחמאן
 וודאי אפרין כרד מר אברהם בתחא
 צי' : ונפת אברהם בננה אי פיר
 שודה כאנה אוי מסלם ראנא בתחא אנץ
 באוי בינה נון דסת תו ויראן מן : וסונד
 דהום אבר תו באמר כודאי אסמאן
 וודאי אן זמין אנצי נה סתאני זן בפסר
 מן אז דוכתראן כנעניאן אנץ מן נשינא
 דר מיאן אישאן : אלא במין מן ובמולוד
 נאי מן בי ריו ובי סתאני זן בפסר מן
 ביצחק : ונפת באוי אן בננה מנרי נה
 מוראד באשר אן זן באסדן פס מן באן
 זמין אין תא באו גרדאנין בא גרדאם
 מר פוסר תו באן זמין אנצי בירון אסר
 אז אנאי : ונפת באו אברהם חשאר
 בודאי בתו תא נה באו גרדאני מר פוסר
 מן באנאי : כודאי נאלק אסמאן אנצי

C¹.

ואברהם פיר אסר דר רוח אראן וודאי
 אפרין כרד מר אברהם דר דסת : עפת
 אברהם בננה או פיר כאנאי או אן
 מסלם דר דסת אנצי באו בנה אכנו
 דסת תו פורד ראן מן : וסונד דהום תורא
 דר כודאי אן אסמאן וודאי אן זמין אנצי
 נסתאני זן בפסר מן אז דוכתראן אן
 כנעני אנצי מן נשינא דר מיאן א : כה
 במין מן ובמולוד נאי מן בריו ובסתאני
 זן בפסר מן ביצחק : עפת באו אן בננה
 מנר נמראד כנר אן זן ברפון פס מן
 באן זמין אין תא באו גרדאנין באו
 גרדאם מר פסר תו באן זמין אנצי
 בירון אסר אז אנאי : עפת באו אברהם
 חשאר באש בתו תא נבאן גרדאני מר
 פסר באנאי : כודאי אן אסמאן אנצי
 כסתאנד מרא אז כאנאי פירי מן וואן

¹ I transcribed it from the Polyglot Bible, ed. Walton, 1657.

C.

זמן מולד נאי מן ואנא סכנ נפת במן
 ואנא סונד לורד במן בנפת בנסל תו
 בידם מר אן זמן אין או בפרסחד
 פרשתי בפיש תו ובסתני זן בפסרי מן
 אז אנא: ואנר נמראד כנר [אן זן]
 ברפתן פסתו אואר באשי אז סונד מן
 אין לאנא מר פסרי מן נה באז ערדאני
 באנא: בנהאר אן בנהר מר דסת או
 פריד ראן אברהם לראונר אז סונד לורד
 באז אבר אן סכנ אין: בסתאנר אן בנהר
 דה שתרעה אז שתרעה לראונר אז ברפת
 ודמה ניכרתין לראונר או דר דסת או
 בר לאסת וברפת בארם נהרים בשודר
 נחור: זאנו כרר אן שתר הא אז בירן
 בשודר בנאח אן אב בוקת איואר בוקת
 בירן אסרן אב אן אב כשאן: נפת יי
 לראני מן אברהם פרא רס אכנן
 בפיש מן אין רח ובכנ פלל בא לראונר

B.

ראוניד מרא אז לאנא פור מן ואז זמן
 מולד נאי מן איז סכנ נפת במן אנז
 סונד לורד במן בנפתן בנסל תו בידם
 מר אן זמן אין או בפרסחד מלאך אוי
 דר פיש תו ובי סתאני זן בפוסר מן אז
 אנא: ואנר נה מראד באשר אן זן
 באסרן פסתו ובאשי ביא אז סונד מן
 אין לאנא מר פוסר מן נה באז ערדאני
 באן נא: ובנהאר אן בנהר מר דסת או
 זיר ראן אברהם סייד או סונד לורד
 באז אבר אן סכנ אין: ובי ראניד אן
 בנהר דה אשת וראן אז אושתוראן סייד
 אוי ובי רפת ודמה נעמת סייד או בדסת
 אוי בר לאסת ובי רפת בארם נהרים
 בשודר נחור: וביכאבאניד אן אושתוראן
 אז בירן בשודר אבא לאח אב בוקת איכאר
 בוקת בירן אסרן אב כשאן: ואידן נפת
 יא לראני לאלל סייד מן אברהם ועוד

A.

כאנדאן פור מן ואז זמן מולד נאי מן
 ואנז סכנ נפת במן ואנז ופא בסת במן
 בנפתן בפרסחד תו בידם אומר און
 זמן אין או בפרסחד מלאך אוי בפיש תו
 ובסתאני זן בפסר מן אז אנא: ואנר נה
 מראד כנר אן זן באסרן פסתו ויילא
 באשיא סונד מן אין לאנא אומר פסר
 מרא כה באז ערדאני באנא: ובנהאר אן
 בנהר אומר דסת או פריד ראן אברהם
 בארכודאי אוי וסונד לורד באזי אבר
 אין סכנ אין: ובסתן אן בנהר דה
 אושתוראן אז אושתוראן בארכודאי יא
 וברפת ודמה נעמת בארכודאי אוי דר
 דסת אוי ובר לאסת וברפת בארם נהרים
 בשודר נחור: דר זאנו כשיר אן אושתוראן
 רא אז בירן באן שודר בר לאח אן אב
 בוקת איכאר בוקת בירן אסרן אן אב
 כשאן: וזנן נפת יי לראני באר

מן אברהם: אינך מן אסתר אבר
 לשמתי אב ודלתראן מרדמאן אן שדד
 בירן איאן בכשירן אב: וכאשר אן דולתר
 אנצ' נויס באן מיל דה אכנון סבוי תו
 וביאהנגם ונייד ביאהנג וני שתרדאי
 תרא אב דהם אנרא נאמדי כרדי בבגודי
 תו ביצחק ודראן בדאם כה כרדי פֿלץ
 בבדאנדי מן: בר א פיש תמאם כרדי
 בסכן נפתן ואינך רבקה בירן איא אנצ'ה
 מאייד בבחואל פסר מלכה זן נחור
 ברארד אברהם וסבוי אן אבר כתף אן:
 ואן דלתר ניכו דידאר בנאית בבר ומרד
 נדאניסת אנרא פֿרוד שר באן לשמתי
 פֿר כרד סבוי אן בר אמד:

זן נח דר פיש מן אמד' אינ ובי כן פֿלץ
 אבאן סיר מן אברהם: אינך מן איסותא
 אבר לשמתי אב ודולתרן מרדמאן אן
 שדד בירן איא אן בכשירן אב: וכאשר
 אן כניך אנץ בינוים באן מיל כן נח
 סבורת וביהנגם וני ניייד בינהנג ואנו
 אשתוראן תו אב דהם אנרא ארזאי
 דאשתי בבגוד תו ביצחק ובאן בשנאם
 כי כרדי פֿלץ אבאן סיר מן: ובר אי
 אנח נח תמאם כרד בסכן נפתן ואינך
 רבקה בירן אמד אנצ' ואה אמד
 בבחואל פוסר מלכה זן נחור ברארד
 אברהם וסבוי אן אבר דוש או: ואן
 כניך ניכו דידאר בנאית דשכח' מרד
 נח ללות סאכ' אנרא ופֿרוד שר באן
 לשמתי ופֿר כרד סבוי אן ובר אמד:

כודאי מן אברהם פֿראו רסאן בפיש מן
 אמרו ובכן פֿלץ אבאן בארדודאי מן
 אברהם: אינך מן איסת אבר לשמתי אן
 אב ודולתרן מרדמאן אינ שדד בירן
 איאן בכשירן אב: וכאשר אן כניך
 אנץ נויס באן בצפאן נח סבוי תו בי
 אהנגם ונייד ביאהנג ונייד אשתוראן תורא
 אב דהם אנרא נאמדי כרדי באש בבגוד
 תו ביצחק ובאן בשנאם כוכרדי פֿלץ
 אבאן כאר כודאי מן: ובר אי פיש
 כו תמאם כרד בסכן נפתן ואינך רבקה
 בירן איא אנץ ואה אמד בבחואל פסר
 מלכה זן נחור ברארד אברהם וסבוי אן
 בר כתף או: ואן כניך ניכו דידאר
 בנאית אשח' ומרד נשנאכ' אן רא
 ופֿרוד שר באן לשמתי ופֿר כרד סבוי אן
 ובר אמד:

Here we see that the Hebrew **את** is rendered in A by **אמר**, and in B and C by **מר**; the Hebrew **ארץ** is in A **בארדור**, while in B it is **סיר**, and in C **כוראור**. And as C is incontestably posterior to A, one might infer that B is also posterior to the same. But **נה=אידן** is only found in B, **נר** is rendered in B by **סכור**, while in A and C it is **סכו**, **שה** is in B **תנן**, while in A and C **אהנן**, so we may think that perhaps these differences are more due to local dialects than to age. We see no other difference either of vocabulary or of style between A and B: both use **נן**, abridged from **אננן** "now"; both use the older forms of **אבר** instead of **בר** "upon"; **אבא** instead of **אבא**, or simply **בא** "with." So that it is difficult to determine which of the two is the older.

Being in the Bible department, I will not leave it before mentioning the not less interesting MS. Or. 4742, Bible stories in verse, by Mulla Shâhîn, in folio, 349 leaves. Properly speaking, this MS. is the Pentateuch versified, but only the historical and epical part of it. The poet omitted entirely Leviticus and a part of Numbers, but the portions which he did versify he treated in full. It is not all like the **שיר תמרה** of N. H. Wessely, because this work is only an abridgment of the Pentateuch, while that of Mulla Shâhîn is, on the contrary, a developed versification, and one may see that the poet omitted not a single verse of the text which entered into his poetry. As it is rather an epical poem, the author naturally embellished his work with a great many legends, some of which are found scattered in the rabbinical literature, but most of them, taken from Moslem narrators, are specially current in Persia, a country of such rich imagination. Several legends are found in the **ספר הישר**, but it is certain that our poet did not know of that book, for he omits several legends related in it. From a poem dedicated to the king, Abû Sa'id, we are able to establish the date of the poet. For as this king, the great-grandson of Timur-Leng, was killed in the year 1468, Mulla Shâhîn flourished towards

the middle of the fifteenth century. I shall now give a brief description of its contents. This MS. contains, as I just said, 349 folios, of which the first two written only on the recto have been added by the owner of the MS. On the first there are some notes, underneath which there is the following: אין שאהין אז מאל רפאל בן א' משיח ה'ץ נאם דאר "This Shâhîn is the property of Raphael, son of Mashiah." On the second folio there are some essays in Hebrew and Persian versification. The poems of Shâhîn begin on folio 3^a: first a poem on the unity of God, then on God's speaking to Moses. Fol. 4^b, a poem, מרדח סלמאן בהאדיר, בן סעיד "in praise of the hero, king Abû Sa'id." It seems that there is a lacuna after fol. 4, because the catchword does not correspond with the first word on the next folio. The description of the creation during the six days occupies several folios, then he consecrates a long poem to the angel Azazel¹. It is said in that poem that Azazel was one of the greatest angels who dwelt in heaven, and who taught science to the other angels. Then when Adam was created, and all the angels prostrated themselves before him according to God's command, Azazel did not bow. A long discussion follows after it between God and the angel.

Shâhîn follows the order of the פרשת, and places the legends in consecutive order. There are several poems on Abraham, how he became aware of the existence of the true God, how he broke his father's idols, how he was thrown into the furnace and was saved by Gabriel; the legends of Abraham persuading Aner, Escol, and Mamre to accept the practice of circumcision, and all the legends known about Abraham's sacrifice. At the end of פרשת וישלח, after the death of Isaac, the poet speaks of Job. He gives the story of his ruin, as it is told in the first two chapters of Job; then follows a discussion between Job and his wife, who is Dina, Jacob's daughter; then how he recovered his

¹ This angel, which is mentioned in the rabbinical folklore under the name of אַזַּז, plays a preponderant part in Islamic legends, under the name of Iblis (إبليس).

former state. The poems on Job occupy fols. 99^b-102^b. In *פרשת וישב* the poet speaks at some length about Joseph and Zûlaikha, for which he had ample material in Persian authors¹. He tells besides, in two short poems that, when Jacob was on his way to Egypt, Zûlaikha came to meet him, that she told him her passionate love for Joseph, that she could not live without him, and that through Jacob's prayer she became young again, and that Jacob married her to Joseph². I give the two poems, with an English translation, at the end of this article. There is a long poem on the legend of *חושבן בן דן* throwing a stone into the Nile which destroyed Pithom and Raamses. A poem on a legend which figures also in the *ספר הישר*: at the burial of Jacob, Esau sought to enter into the cavern, and was killed by Hûsim, son of Dan.

The poet begins the book of Exodus also with a preface and an introductory poem. He describes at length the birth of Moses, and how he had been thrown by his mother into a burning furnace in order to conceal him from the search of Pharaoh's spies³. Then several legends about Moses when he was a shepherd; amongst others that he killed a wolf and a lion. I give the poem on the former legend at the end of this article.

The legends in the book of Numbers worthy of remark are about the wars between Eldad and *מערור*⁴, between Eleazar and *בוהר*⁵, and between Joshua and Sihon.

¹ As Joseph and Zûlaikha were spoken of in the Koran, several Persian poets, amongst whom were Firdûsi (died 1050) and Jami (died 1492), sang them in their poems, embellishing their *dicans* with legends which took rise in Persia.

² The same thing is found in the Moslem legends narrated by Ibn Abbas, but in a different way. According to Ibn Abbas, it is the angel Gabriel who made her beautiful again by touching her with the stick. Firdûsi also speaks of her marrying Joseph.

³ It has a certain connexion with the Hebrew legend of Moses taking the burning coal into his mouth. Babai, the Hebrew-Persian poet of the eighteenth century, speaks of the same legend.

⁴ Probably *מערור* (معبد), a mythical king of Persia.

⁵ It is probably a misspelling of *קדמור* (قدهمار), a mythical king of Persia.

All these poems are of the kind of *mesnevi*¹ with the metre *hazaj mahzûf*, that is to say, every hemistich is composed of three feet, of which the third has one syllable less than the first two (—|—|—||).

On fol. 348^b there is the following colophon of the copyist: תמאם שר אין כתאב שאהן ברסח חקיר ופקיר החכם השלם מ' אמינא ע"ה דר רח ז שבת כ"ה במאה סיון שנת התסב ליצירה אלאהי אמיר וארם כה מבארך באשר בר כאנדרהאן אין כתאב ובר נויסרה "This book of Shâhîn was terminated by the hand of the despised, the poor, the learned Mulla Amîna (peace be with him), Tuesday, the 25th of the month of Siwan, 5462 of creation (June 19, 1702), O Lord, I hope that both the readers and the copyist of this book will be blessed. Amen."

As to the transcription, the copyist rendered the Persian ت by ה or ט; ج and چ by ג; ذ by ז; ع by א; (more often by the latter); غ by י, and sometimes by ק; ف by פ. In general the transcription is not carefully made, sometimes he used the נ instead of the ו, the צ instead of the ס, and the ך instead of the ק; thus we meet with עברתי for עברתי, עורתי for עורתי, נויסרה for נויסרה, מוסאי for מוסאי, and עשך for עשך. It is possible that the original was written in Persian characters. I am inclined to think so by the following facts: first, very often a word is separated into two after-letters which are not connected with the following one. That may be a mere coincidence, but the mistake is repeated very often in the same way. Thus פראר is sometimes divided into פר יאר, because in Persian characters it is written فریاد. נא זניי is separated into נא זניי, in Persian characters نازنینی, and many other words. It is true that these words have a certain meaning though thus separated, and the copyist not understanding the real meaning of the word mistook it for two. But there is never a separation after a letter which is connected with the following

¹ It is a kind of poem in which the two hemistichs of every verse rhyme together.

גרא דווראן בכרדה פאי מאלת
 זמאני נש כן אחואל נאכר¹
 כה אנדר עשק יוסף גשתה זארם
 בחוסן כיש דאיים מי פוודם
 נה מן דל בר נבור אנדר זמאנה
 רוכם אז גול לבאנם אז שכר בוד
 נכוסבידי שבי כלק אז כיאלם
 בחוסן כיש בודם מסת שיידא
 מרא כרד אז בכאם צעם חשמן
 בסחאניד נאנה נון גראנם
 דלם רא מעוק דרד בלא כרד
 נה ובי נה זמנאן אשך בארם
 מכאני מעדן דרדסת נאנם
 בפדי הם זעף ובי קרארם
 בבן דר רוי דרם זאן נשאני
 תווי אמרו דר גיתי יאנה
 ביוסף אינגנן בר וא נמאנר
 ברי יוסף מראר² אן תאזיאנה
 זליכא גרדיר אז פרמאן דאוור
 סר אן תאזיאנה זאה אז סוכת
 בחק נאליד יך דם אן מוכרם
 כודאיי כור כאן וכוה ודרא
 בחק כבר בי זואלת
 זריף ונאזיק חנגן מוי
 רוכש באשר כליד ננג ואקבאל
 סוי אב חיאט אננגין בוד
 דלי אורא כונם אז קתה³ כאלי
 קבול אומר דעאי פיר כנעאן
 גול אנדאזי זריפי מה גביני
 תו פנדראי מנר חורי ננאן שוד
 מלב פרמוד יוסף רא יאנה

בעוורת גופת בר ג ניסת חאלת
 בדו עורת בגופת אי פתח רא
 זליכא גופת צבורי אשך בארם
 10 בכובי דר נהאן המתא נבורם
 נמאל מן בכובי בוד יאנה
 רוך מן רשך כורשיד וקמר בוד
 ברוים פתנה בודי כלק עאלם
 זכור בא כם נבורם הינ פרוא
 15 קצא נאנה כמין כנשוד ברמן
 נהאד אז זוק ועישי דר דמאנם
 מרא דר עשק יוסף מובתלא כרד
 כה סי סאלסת תא דר עשק זארם
 זעף חור² זאר ונאתואנם
 20 גואני רפת ואכנן פיד חארם
 נמידר אחש עשקם זמאני
 בפריאדם רם אי פכרי זמאנה
 אנר נה דאד מן דאוור סתאנר
 בחק גדת אי פיד יאנה
 25 בגודש תאזיאנה ראשת מהתר
 בכרד אחי זבאנש אחש אפרות
 דלי יעקוב בר ווי סוכת מוכרם
 בגופת אי צאנעי נה נרך אעלא
 בחק חורסת נאה וקלאלת
 30 זליכא רא בערדאן מאה רוי
 כה באשר חר עומרש נארדה סאל
 שווד בכרי גנאן כופיש אין בוד
 דהם אורא ביוסף מן חלאלי
 הם אנדר לחצה אז פרמאן צובחאן⁴
 35 זליכא גשת נאנה נאזיני
 זפירי אז דעא נאנה נאן שוד
 אבא כור בורד אורא סוי כאנה

fol. 151^a

¹ چاکر.

² The text bears ורוד.

³ The MS. has נדאר.

⁴ غصه.

⁵ For סובחאן.

II.

נכאח בסתן יעקוב אבינו יוסף חלייכא רא

פדר נרדיר אז וצל פסר שאד	בשוד יוסף ברי יעקוב גן באד
כה אז פירי דיגר באר נשת ורנא	ביוסף טפת אחואל זלייכא
אבר כובאן דיגר באר שאה נרדיר	נמאלש רשך ומרה מאה נרדיר
ענאיית כרדה בא בינארה דר כאר	דעאי מן קבול אומד גתאן דאר
בכובי ניסת דר עאלם נמי'רש	5 סעארת נשת נאנה דסת גירש
בסא סכתי כה אז עשקת כשידסת	בסא זחרי כה אז מהרת גשידסת
בניתי דרדיגר ארוז נרארד	עזי מצר מורד ואו שו נרארד
זלייכא רא חלאל כישתן כן	תו אורא דר נכאח אורר בזן כן
נמוד אנדר זמאן פיר כירדמנר	בטפת אין זלייכא רא בפרזנר
בשוד חייראן דראן רוכצאר זיבא	10 ג' יוסף דיר רוכצאר זלייכא
כה דר כובי נבולש היג' זשתי	ננארי בוד גן חור בהשתי
בראם עשך ¹ או נאנה דר אופתאר	גה יוסף דיר אורא רל ברו דאר
זמהר או דרך זיר חבר שוד	קצאי אסמאני כארנר שוד
המאן גא פיר כנעאן נשת קאצי	בעקד מאה יוסף נשת ראצי
בהם רל שאר גשתנר אן דו מחבוב	15 זלייכא רא ביוסף דאר יעקוב
בוזק כורמי באהם נשסתנר	בר אסודנר ואז הגראן ברסתנר
כרימי בא כרם מעבוד קפאר ²	כרם הא בא זלייכא כרד נבאר
ברי מחבוב אורא מהרבאן כרד	זפירי באז אורא נוו גואן כרד
חמי כרדנר בא הם זנדנאני	20 בוזק כורמי וכאם ראני
חיקת ריש בי מרהם נמאנר	אזא שאהק כסי דרנם נמאנר
רחים וראחם והם בי ניאוסת	כודאיי מא כודאיי כאר סאוסת

fol. 151^b

III.

Mr. E. Adler has also a copy of this MS., but it is not complete. I was able to collate with his MS. only the third poem. As the folios of Mr. Adler's MS. were not yet numbered I could not indicate the folio of this poem.

¹ For *פער*.

² *גאר*.

כושתן כלים אלה נורגא דר צהרא

fol. 187^b

דיגר באר נוספנדאן נומלה אז ראה
נה דיר אן כוב [1] כורם בוסתאן רא
בדש אב והואי כורם וכוש
הזאראן גונה גול הר גא שכופתה
5 בריו סבזה הא קלמאן שודה אב
כלים און נוספנדאן רא המי ראגר
יכי אז יך כובתר בוד אן גרה גאה
מואפי גרד כוה ודשת מי כרד
שבי נאנה פראזי כוה דירש
10 שתאבאן ראה בגרפתנד דר פיש
בדיד אז כוה שאן דונבאל סרוור
בדיד אז נאנהאן דרגדה גורני
קנס הא גון בדיד און גורג ברדשת
בדל גופתא מרא אמרוו עידסת
15 פרו גסת אז כמר כנדאן דלשאד
זנאנה בר נבי גשמש דר אופתאר
נה מוסא רא בדיד אן גורג כון כאר
כלימא סרורא בא מן כרם כון
נבי טפתש כאי גורני סתם נאר
20 נדאני כין סראסר נוספנדאן
אזין רה כה אומדי⁵ זוד ואגרד
בגופתש גורג איא פיינמברי פאך
אגר בדיד ואגר נדהי סתאנמ
נה גופת און דר רבודש גוספנדי
25 נבי גון דירש און גוסתי וחילאן

fol. 188^a

¹ Ad. וול.

² Ad. צונע.

³ Ad. רופה' רשומן; the transcription in both MSS. is only phonetical = رَوْفَه' رَشُومَان.

⁴ Ad. סני, but the metre is not good.

⁵ Ad. בר.

⁶ Ad. נוספנדאן רשח צון באר.

⁷ Ad. מי גרד אי טאם.

⁸ Ad. כאסדי רוו זוד.

⁹ Ad. מן גוסת וקלאך.

¹⁰ Ad. דר פיש.

¹¹ Ad. צת תלז בראן.

נָה בְּרִי אִי קָא אַנְדֵּר רִסִּידשׁ גִּרְפֹּת און גָּאנור בר הם רִדִּישׁ¹
 סְלֵאמֶת נוספֿנר און גִּורג בסְתֵאד בסוי גִּלָּה אומד כּוֹרם ושֵאד²
 סְרֵאכֶר פֿשֶׁם הַאִישׁ רֵא במִקְרָא בודִישׁ תֵּאב דֵּאד און סְרוּ פִּיאֵט³
 אואן בְּנִי קִי⁴ תֵאבִיד דֵּר דֵּם בחֶלֶק גִּורג דִּין⁵ בר בסֶת מוֹחֶם
 30 נָה דוּדֵאנֶשׁ בחֶלֶק אוֹיֶכֶת דֵּר דֵּם⁶ סוּאִי⁷ אד בִּדֵּאד און שִׁיר אֶכְרֶם⁸
 סְתֵאדֵה נוספֿנר און דוֹר לִרְוֵאן כֵּה בִדֵּר און גִּנג גִּורג אד נֶסֶתֶה בִּדֵּאן¹⁰
 נְבִי אומד בבִּסִּידֶשׁ דוֹ דִּידֵה בְּדוֹ גִּפֹּת אִי זִמֵּאדֵר נוֹ רִסִּידֵה
 זִנְגִי מְרִנִי חֶק דֵּאדֶת רֵהֲאִי זֶנוֹ בֵּאן¹¹ גָּאן בִּדֵּאדֶת אִשְׁנֵאִי
 בבִּוּרֶשׁ אוֹנְגִי בר סוֹ יֵאֵרֵאן רֵהֲא כִרְדֶּשׁ מִיאִנִי גִם טִסְאֵרֵאן
 35 דְּמִי בר סִבֵּה גִרִּידֶנֶד כִּנְרֵאן בר אב וסִבֵּה בגִּמּוּדֶנֶד¹² רִנְרֵאן
 גִּנֶּם הֵא גָּן זֵאב וסִבֵּה סֶר מִסֶּת שוּדֶנֶד בגִּשְׁאד שֵאן און יֵךְ דֵּנֶר שֶׁסֶת
 נְבִי אוֹנְגֵאָה גִּנֶּם הֵאֵרֵא רֵוֵאנֵה כִּבְרִד וכוּרֶד שֵאן בר סוֹ כֵּאנֵה
 עֵצֵא דֵּר כֶּף שְׁתַּיִיב אוֹסְתֵאדֵה און דוֹר כִּלִּים אֵלֵאָה רֵא גִרִּידֵה מֵהֶנֶר¹³
 כֵּה און נֵאנֵה כִּלִּים אֵלֵאָה כִּרֵּאמֵאן רִסִּידֶשׁ בֵּא קֶנֶם הֵאִי פִּרֵּאֵוֵאן
 40 שְׁתַּיִיב און זֶל מוֹסֵא שֵאד שוּד בֵּאן זֶנוֹ בר וִי סְתֵאִישׁ כִּרְדֶּשׁ אֵנֵאן
 דֵּל וְגָאן חִבֵּאנֶשׁ הֵר סֵה בֵּא הֵם דֵּעֵאִי שִׁיד חֶק כִּרְדִּי דֵּמֵאדֶם
 נָה שֶׁב בגִּוּשֶׁת ודֵּחַ אומד בִּידֵּאֵר בְּרֵן אומד כִּלִּים און שִׁיר גִּבֵּאֵר

TRANSLATION.

I.

ZŪLAIKHA CAME TO MEET THE PATRIARCH JACOB;
 SHE TOLD HIM HER GRIEF.

Jacob, his head raised up high, was filled with gladness; he went on rapidly, following the traces of fortune.

On the road he perceived a despondent woman, who had been ruined by the hand of misfortune.

¹ Ad. בִּרְק אַנְדֵּר קֵסֵא.

² Ad. גִּרְפֹּת נִחַג וְאֵן הֵם בִּי רִדִּישׁ.

³ Ad. גָּסֶן רִדֶּשׁ סְלֵאמֶת גִּשֶׁת דֵּל שֵׁאד.

⁴ Ad. אִפִּיאָה.

⁵ Ad. אואן רִסִּידֶשׁ מִרְוֵה.

⁶ Ad. זִי.

⁷ Ad. בִּי דֵּאד.

⁸ Ad. גִּוֵּאִי.

⁹ Ad. אָן טִיב כִּרְדֶּשׁ.

¹⁰ Ad. גִּסְתֵּה אִרְוֵאן.

¹¹ Ad. בֵּא.

¹² Ad. וסִבֵּה לֵשׁ בגִּמּוּדֵה.

¹³ Ad. זֶקֶן דִּיד בֵּא מִרְוֵה.

- Tearful, weak-sighted and mad with grief, she sat there ;
 she bent forward her head to pray.
 Sad, feeble, weeping and with tired eyelashes ; her
 blood had left her face.
- 5 She said to Jacob : " For God's sake, stop for a moment
 thy chariot.
 Thou must know my hidden secrets, I must tell thee my
 incurable sickness."
- He said to the woman : " Tell me thy circumstances ;
 why has time afflicted thee ? "
- The woman said to him : " Open for a moment thy ear
 to listen to thy servant's affairs."
- Zûlaikha continued : " I am suffering and shedding tears
 for my plaint is my love for Joseph.
- 10 There was no equal to me in beauty, I was always
 increasing in elegance.
 My beauty was incomparable, a heart-ravishing-one like
 me existed not at that time.
 My face was envied by the sun and moon, my cheeks
 were of rose, my lips of sugar.
 In my face there was seduction for the creatures of the
 world ; men could not sleep by night because of my
 image.
 I gave myself to no man, I was drunk and insane with
 my own beauty.
- 15 Suddenly fate laid a snare for me, it threw me into a
 violent and hostile passion.
 It inspired in my brain taste and life, all at once it
 kindled me like a lamp.
 It made me love-sick for Joseph ; it made my heart
 a store¹ of painful sickness.
 For thirty years I have been afflicted with love, well-
 timed or ill-timed, my eyelashes melt with tears.
 I am feeble, pallid, afflicted and helpless, my soul is
 a well² of sickness.

¹ Lit., a mine.

² Lit., a mine.

20 Youth hath gone and now I am old, wretched and decrepit; I am also feeble and wavering.

The fire of my love does not expire for a moment, see its traces on my pale face.

Listen to my cry for help, O glory of these days! thou art to-day unequalled in the world.

If not, God will avenge me, such a burden will not keep back from Joseph.

By the right of thy grandfather, O rare old man! bring not that scourge upon Joseph."

25 There was near him a greater scourge, that was Zûlaikha, by the order of the Eternal.

She sighed, her words¹ kindled a fire, the head of that scourge² was set on fire by her sighs.

Jacob's heart was heated³ much for her sake and at once the honoured man brought his complaints before God.

Saying: "O maker of the nine elevated spheres, Lord of seas, mountains and rivers!

By thy awe and majesty, by thy greatness and eternity,

30 Bestow upon Zûlaikha a face, like the moon, elegant and beautiful, and black hair.

That she may look as a fourteen years old maiden, that her face may be the key of treasure and happiness.

Let her become a virgin as she was before; let the splendour of the water of her life be as it was before.

I will give her to Joseph as his legal wife, I will deliver her heart from sorrow."

At once in a twinkling of the eye, by the order of the Lord, the prayer of the old man of Canaan was favourably received.

35 Zûlaikha became suddenly a beautiful virgin, her limbs were like roses, her forehead like a graceful moon.

From an old woman she became through the prayer young again; thou wouldst think her a Hourî from Paradise.

¹ Lit., her tongue.

² That is to say, that of Zûlaikha.

³ Lit., burned intensely.

He took her along with him to the house and the incomparable man sent for Joseph.

II.

OUR FATHER JACOB MARRIED ZÛLAIKHA TO JOSEPH.

Joseph sped towards Jacob like a wind, and the father became glad of meeting his son.

He told Joseph Zûlaikha's circumstances, that from an old woman she became a young maiden again.

That her beauty became the envy of the sun and moon ; that she became again the queen of the fair ones.

"The master of the universe listened to my prayer, he aided the helpless one in a difficult affair.

5 Fortune assisted her at once ; there is not in the whole world one equal to her in beauty.

Much poison has she tasted because of her love for thee ; much hardship has she supported because of her passion for thee.

The Governor of Egypt has died, so that she has no husband ; besides she has no other desire in the world.

Marry her, make of her thy wife, make of Zûlaikha thy legal wife."

The wise old man said this and at the same time showed Zûlaikha to his son.

10 When Joseph saw Zûlaikha's face he was amazed at its beauty.

It was a fair maiden like a Houri from Paradise, for there was no defect in her beauty.

After Joseph had seen her, he gave her away his heart ; he suddenly fell into love's snare.

Heavenly fate did its work ; he was upset out of love for her.

Joseph consented to unite in wedlock with that moon ; the old man of Canaan was the judge in that place.

15 Jacob gave Zûlaikha to Joseph ; those two lovers were happy together.

They rested, free from the anguish of separation; they lived together enjoying happiness.
 The Almighty God was generous to Zûlaikha; the merciful God is generous to the noble.
 From an old woman he made her young again; the Generous made her for her beloved one.
 They passed together their life in enjoyment of delight and in the fulfilment of their wishes.
 20 Oh, Shâhin! nobody does always remain in sorrow; in truth, a wound does not always be without a plaster.
 Our Lord is a skilful artisan; he is merciful, merciful, and applies to nobody for help.

III.

THE INTERLOCUTOR¹ OF GOD KILLED A WOLF IN THE DESERT.

For a second time the flock of sheep went joyfully its way; he² drove it towards a pasture.
 As soon as he saw that beautiful and delicious meadow, he invited there his friends³.
 The water and air of that place were nice and delightful, a station like Paradise, a heart-attracting place⁴.
 Roses of a thousand different colours flourished everywhere, a painting was hidden under every rose.
 5 Streams of water rolled on the verdant surface; they flowed on every side by the order⁵ of God.
 Moses drove there the sheep, for, at every place, a Paradise invited him.
 In that pasture, one spot was lovelier than the other, the heart of the dead was conscious of its perfume.
 He went round the mountain⁶ and plain, on every side he walked with the flock.

¹ That is the epithet which the Moslems give to Moses.

² That is to say, Moses.

³ That is to say, the sheep.

⁴ Ad., beautiful and heart-attracting.

⁵ Ad., by the work of God.

⁶ That is, Mount Horeb.

One night¹, he happened to look at the summit of the mountain, whence some gazelles and sheep were fleeing.
 10 They hastily ran forwards, and, mad with fear, went down into the plain.

The sublime man saw that some terrible creature rolled down from the mountain a stone after them.

Suddenly he perceived a rapacious wolf, an impertinent and impudent animal, walking on the summit.

Who, seeing the flock of sheep down in the desert, was very glad to join them.

The wolf said within himself: I will certainly have a festival to-day, for there are so many sheep in the desert.

15 He sprang down from the height, smiling and contented, and bent his steps² towards the sheep.

The animal's eye, suddenly, fell on the prophet and his heart was set on fire out of awe.

When the blood-thirsty wolf saw the prophet, he saluted him and said: "O God's lion³!

God's interlocutor, noble chief! be generous to me, give me some present [that I may carry away] from this place."

The prophet said to him: "O cruel wolf! why art thou in such a passion about it?

20 Knowest thou not that all the sheep must graze in security, thou stubborn, ignorant creature?

Go back there whence thou hast come; how can treason be done to pledged security?"

The wolf said to him: "O prophet of the Pure Being! is not a wolf like me a furious cut-throat⁴?

¹ This word is not quite intelligible.

² Lit., he put his face in the direction of the sheep. Ad., he went like the wind towards the sheep.

³ An expression borrowed from Islam: Ali, the prophet's son-in-law, is called *shiri khúdd*, "God's lion," while the prophet himself is *shiri al-bashar*, "men's lion."

⁴ Ad., audacious cut-throat.

Whether thou givest or thou givest not, I will take.

I will not remain in this place a hunter of this kind ¹."

Having said that, he seized a lamb and walked off a few steps towards the desert.

- 25 The prophet, seeing the animal's audacity, went at him like a feathered arrow ².

He came behind him like a torrent ³, he seized the criminal and tore him in an instant.

He delivered the lamb from the wolf and returned glad and rejoicing to the flock ⁴.

The generous cypress ⁵ cut with scissors all the curled wool of the lamb.

He instantly twisted it into a strong rope which he tied solidly round the vile wolf's neck.

- 30 When, having in an instant hung the robber by the neck ⁶, the lion of God ⁷ thus inflicted on him condign punishment.

The lamb stood far off, trembling, for it had come out ⁸ from the wolf's claws.

The prophet came and kissed both its eyes, saying:
"O thou who hast come out again from thy mother's womb ⁹!

God hath delivered thee from death's claws, he hath given thee once more a soul as a companion."

Then he carried it towards its friends, then he let it down in the midst of its companions ¹⁰.

- 35 They walked for a while on the green, smiling, they showed their teeth on the water and green grass.

¹ That means, disappointed like that.

² Ad., like a cutting sword.

³ Ad., like a lightning.

⁴ Ad., seeing the safety of the lamb, he was filled with joy.

⁵ Ad., the tall cypress, both epithets refer to Moses.

⁶ Ad., having hung the robber by the neck on the gallows.

⁷ Ad., the one who acts well.

⁸ Ad., it had been freed.

⁹ It means that the lamb was like one born a second time.

¹⁰ Lit., those who dissipate sorrow.

When the sheep were satiated¹ with water and green
and thus untied one another's girdle²,

The prophet made them march and drove them towards
the house.

Shûaib³, the staff in his hand, stood far off,—he had
missed the interlocutor of God⁴.

When, behold! Moses came up to him in a stately
bearing, bringing a multitude of sheep.

40 Shûaib became glad again on account of Moses' arrival,
he began anew to praise him.

His heart, soul, and tongue, all three together blessed
every now and then the lion of God.

After the night has passed and the day appeared to the
eyes of men, Moses, the lion of God, went out.

M. SELIGSOHN.

¹ Lit., drunk with water and green.

² That means, they were at their ease.

³ That is the name which the Moslems give to Jethro.

⁴ Ad., when he saw Moses [arriving] with a light.

(To be continued.)

ALLGEMEINE EINLEITUNG IN DIE JÜDISCHE LITERATUR DES MITTELALTERS.

(Vorlesungen, gehalten von MORITZ STEINSCHNEIDER in der Veitel
Heine Ephraim'schen Lehranstalt in den Jahren 1859-97.)

Vorbemerkung.

Diese Vorlesungen waren die ersten, welche ich in der ältesten jüdischen Lehranstalt Berlins gehalten habe. Das Collegienheft enthielt nur kurze Andeutungen, welche ich im J. 1895 so ausarbeitete¹, wie sie jetzt der Öffentlichkeit übergeben werden; jedoch sind die bibliographischen Nachweisungen der *Hauptquellen* für die unten angegebenen 7 Rubriken an das *Ende* des Ganzen gesetzt, wodurch für den grösseren Leserkreis ein störendes Beiwerk beseitigt ist.

Berlin, im Oktober 1901.

GESCHICHTE der Literatur ist eine Seite der Geschichte, zugleich Object und Quelle, also auch ein Mittel zur Kenntnis ihres Inhaltes. Der Gegenstand dieser Vorlesungen ist eine Einleitung; es ist also misslich, dazu wieder eine Einleitung zu geben; dennoch ist eine solche nicht blos vom Usus, sondern auch von der Sache selbst geboten. Sie soll aber auch auf das Nötigste beschränkt und dem Laufe der Gedanken es überlassen bleiben, das Einzelne synthetisch nachzuholen.

Allgemeine Bemerkungen.

1. Es gab zur Zeit, als diese Vorlesungen begannen (1859), weder ein Werk dieser Art (Geiger's *Einleitung etc.*, 1875, ist ein wesentlich anderes), noch Vorlesungen darüber, welche bekannt geworden wären. Es lag daher kein Vorbild für Anordnung und Form vor und blieb das erste Vorlesungsheft absichtlich in der Form von Notizen, damit die Gestaltung des Vortrages den Zuhörern möglichst Rechnung tragen könne.

¹ Dabei half mir meine ehemalige Collegin an der Mädchenschule, Frl. Ida Zucker, welcher ich hiermit meinen Dank ausspreche.

2. Diese Einleitung bezeichnete sich von vornherein durch eine Beschränkung auf das *Mittelalter*, allein die Gesichtspunkte und die allgemeine Charakteristik gehen oft über diese Schranken hinaus.

3. Man pflegt Vorlesungen mit der Definition des behandelten Gegenstandes zu eröffnen, obwohl ein historischer Inhalt sich am besten im Laufe der Entwicklung herausstellt. Was ist *jüdische Literatur*? Zunächst wie verhält sie sich zu *rabbinischer* und *neuhebräischer* Literatur? Rabbinisch ist ein von christlichen Gelehrten erfundener und gebrauchter schiefer Ausdruck, den schon Zuns im Jahre 1818 zurückwies. Er passt jedenfalls nicht zur Bezeichnung der gesamten jüdischen Literatur, nicht einmal für die rabbanitische, im Gegensatz zur karaitischen, auch nicht für die halachische. Die jüdischen Autoren waren meistens nicht Rabbiner im Amte.

Neuhebräisch ist eine in neuester Zeit angegriffene Bezeichnung für das nachbiblische Hebräisch, welches allerdings an Neugriechisch und dergleichen eine Analogie aufzuweisen hat; vgl. unten.

Die jüdische Literatur soll hier die Gesamtheit des jüdischen Schrifttums bezeichnen, über dessen Zusammenhang später das Nähere folgen wird.

Eine Einleitung in die Literatur kann als eine *innere* oder *äussere* bezeichnet werden. Erstere betrachtet die leitenden Gedanken der Entwicklung mit Rücksicht auf die vorhandenen Bedingungen, letztere beschäftigt sich mit den äusseren Formen der Erscheinungen, wie z. B. die stilistischen und poetischen Formen, die Hilfsmittel, die Formeln der Abschreiber, Abbreviaturen, Geschichte der Schrift, Diplomatik und Geschichte der Abschriften, Kritik der Texte, Geschichte der Druckereien, Schicksale der Bücher u. dgl. (fast der Inhalt von Birt's *Buchwesen im Alterthum*)¹. Die gegenwärtigen Vorlesungen über die innere Einleitung legen folgende allgemeine Gesichtspunkte zu Grunde:

- I. Nationalität oder Rassenverhältnis.
- II. Geographisches.
- III. Religiöse Entwicklung.
- IV. Politisches.
- V. Kultur, u. zwar Schönes, Gutes, Wahres.
- VI. Sprache.
- VII. Encyklopädische Entwicklung einzelner Fächer, Kampf um Wissenschaft und Haggada.

I. *Nationalität*. — Sind die Juden im Mittelalter als Nation zu betrachten? Die Beantwortung dieser Frage darf nicht von gegen-

¹ *Typogr.*, im Art. "Jüd. Typogr.," u. *Catal.*, Sectio III. : *Typogr.* — *Vorles.* üb. *Kunde der h. HSS.*, Leipz. 1897.

wärtigen Begriffen beeinflusst sein. Die Juden selber, und wohl alle Schriftsteller ohne Unterschied, betrachteten die jüdische Gesamtheit als eine Nation, hebr. **עַם**, welches im Übersetzerstil dem arabischen **أُمَّة** entspricht. Das Wesen der Nationalität setzten freilich die schärferen Denker in die Religion, indem sie die Nationalität als Träger derselben betrachteten, wie in der That eine unbefangene Schriftforschung in der Erzählung von Abraham eine solche Auffassung nicht verkennen kann. Nach unseren Begriffen lässt sich die Nationalität auf drei Elemente zurückführen: 1. *Abstammung*, 2. *Vaterland* und Gesetz, 3. *Sprache*. Davon hat sich das erste Element gerade im Mittelalter reiner erhalten, als in Palästina selbst zur Zeit des zweiten Tempels, wie uns das Buch Esra lehrt. Die Mischehen mit Arabern in Spanien und in Frankreich waren stets unbeträchtliche Ausnahmen. (2) Vaterland und (3) Sprache waren nur ideell vertreten, ersteres durch die Messiasidee, letztere durch Ritus und Literatur. So entsteht ein eigentümliches Zwitterwesen, eine Art Amphibienleben, woraus das Wesen und die Entwicklung abzuleiten sind.

Je reiner die *Rasse* ist, desto weniger kommen *Stammes-* und *Kastenverhältnisse* auf. In Indien und teilweise Aegypten herrscht das Kastenwesen; in Griechenland machen sich die Stammesunterschiede geltend, dort und in Rom zeigt sich der Unterschied des Freien und Sklaven auch in der Bezeichnung "*artes liberales*." Auch diese Unterschiede haben in Rassenverhältnissen ihren Ursprung, wie die Namen der Parteien, Patrizier und Plebejer, ursprünglich eindringende Sieger und Besiegte.

Wesentlich verschieden ist das Verhältnis der *Samaritaner*, welche von diesen Vorlesungen überhaupt ausgeschlossen sind, während die *Karder* durch eine Spaltung in religiösen Angelegenheiten erst dazu getrieben wurden, sich geschlechtlich abzusondern. Die Priester und Leviten unterscheiden sich im Mittelalter nur durch wenige unschuldige Ritualbestimmungen; selbst die Anrufung der *Kohanim* zur Thorarolle hat ihre Geschichte.

Ehe wir zu dem zweiten Gesichtspunkte übergehen, ist es vielleicht nicht ganz überflüssig zu bemerken, dass die Gesichtspunkte wie alles Geistige nicht äusserlich neben einander, sondern in einander übergehend gedacht werden müssen.

II. *Geographische Bestimmungen*. — Die neuere Geschichtsdarstellung hat überall den Einfluss von Bodenverhältnissen, Lage, Klima u. s. w. gewürdigt. Das that Hegel in seiner *Philosophie der Geschichte* wie andrerseits Ritter die Geographie dadurch erhoben, dass er den Menschen in den Mittelpunkt gerückt hat. Die Bedeutung des Bodens und seiner Lage ist auch von alten Völkern anerkannt,

so durch die Benennung "Land der Mitte," wie nicht bloß China sich nennt, z. B. Medien. Jüdische Lobredner Palästinas und Naturphilosophen heben Lage und Klima des Landes hervor. Die Philosophen wissen von einem Lande zu sprechen, in welchem die Entstehung eines Menschen aus dem Erdboden möglich ist; daher der "philosophische Roman" von Hai b. Jaktsan (*HB.*, X, 21; *Hebr. Üb.*, S. 285).

Die Entwicklung des Volkes im Zusammenhange mit dem Boden tritt prägnant in Griechenland hervor, wo Namensverschiedenheit mit klimatischer Abwechslung sich selbst in Literaturgattung und Stilarten deutlich ausprägt. Palästina war zu klein, wenn man die Uferländer Phönizien und Philistaea absondert, für *horizontale* Unterschiede, während die vertikalen dicht an einander treten; am Fusse des Libanon herrscht der Frühling, der Sommer auf seinem Rücken, der Winter auf seinem Gipfel. Israel und Juda unterscheiden sich aber als Stämme. Die zehn Stämme verlieren sich in Armenien, vielleicht auch einige Absenker im Chazarenreich. Daran knüpfen sich wohl mittelalterliche tendenziöse Sagen von einem noch bestehenden jüdischen Reiche, selbst in der Sage vom Presbyter Johannes reflektirt; in Wirklichkeit kennt das jüdische Mittelalter nur die aus dem Reiche Juda Vertriebenen¹. — Die Samaritaner in Galiläa, wo auch das Christentum seinen Ursprung nahm, haben wir bereits aus dem Kreise unserer Betrachtungen ausgeschieden. Räumlich bezeichnen wir Richtungen und Gegensätze zwischen den *babylonischen*, *alexandrinischen* und *palästinensischen* Juden, später in Europa zwischen spanischen oder sogenannten portugiesischen (eigentlich unter arabischer Herrschaft lebenden)² und deutsch-französischen (unter christlicher Herrschaft lebenden). Diese Bezeichnungen sind allerdings nicht direct geographische, aber doch damit zusammenhängende oder davon abgeleitete. Noch complicirter wird dieses Verhältnis durch secundäre Wanderungen, welche nicht bloss auf Sitte, Ritus und Gestaltung der Literatur, sondern auch auf Äusserlichkeiten der letzteren, wie z. B. Abbreviaturen, Eulogien, Dialecte und Fremdwörter von Einfluss und daher aus letzteren zu erkennen sind.

III. *Religiöse Entwicklung* ist der eigentliche Endzweck der jüdischen Geschichte. Die Bezeichnung "Geschichte des Judentums" ist mindestens ungenau und nur insofern zu entschuldigen, als auch die jüdische Geschichte einen leitenden Gedanken haben muss. Eine "Geschichte des Judentums" im eigentlichen Sinne des Wortes giebt es noch weniger als eine Geschichte des Christentums, wohl aber eine Geschichte der christlichen Kirche und der christlichen Dogmatik,

¹ *Lit. d. zehn Stämme*, von Neubauer; *Hebr. u. engl. (J. Q. R.)*.

² Z. B. Jadaja, in der apologet. Epistel, zählt Saadia zu den Sefardim.

weil das Christentum den Glauben in den Vordergrund stellt und die Kirche die Verwirklichung des Reiches Gottes darstellen soll, welches mit dem Erlöser gekommen, aber nicht vollendet ist; daher ist für einen der ersten Kirchenhistoriker (Neander) die Geschichte der christlichen Kirche ein Kampf zwischen Heidentum und Judentum. Welche Quelle von Streitigkeiten, und oft blutigen, ist die Auffassung der Trinität geworden! Eine Geschichte des Judentums ist daher durchaus nicht als eine Geschichte der religiösen Ideen abstrakt zu fassen und auszuführen. Die Grundideen des Judentums sind äusserst einfach und klar, haben auch als solche keine Entwicklung gehabt, womit das unbedeutende Sektenwesen im Judentum zusammenhängt, worauf wir zurückkommen. Religiöse Grundideen entwickeln sich nicht, und die "Religion" kann nicht "reformirt" werden. Die Bewegung, die wir wahrnehmen, ist analog dem Erwachen des kindlichen Geistes zum Selbstbewusstsein. *Hiob* und *Kohelet*, die beiden grossen speculativen Bücher der heiligen Schrift, repräsentiren die *Theodicee* und den *Skepticismus*; was die Widersprüche in "*Kohelet*" betrifft, so ist darüber die Kritik zu hören. Es giebt auf dem Gebiete der Religionsgeschichte nur einen wesentlichen Kampf, das ist der Kampf des *Wissens* mit dem *Glauben*, der Kampf der inneren Autorität mit der äusseren, sowohl in den Individuen, bei der Reife des Kindes zum Manne, wie in den Völkern bei ihrer Entwicklung. Grosse Kämpfe dieser Art sind nicht durch äussere Einflüsse und Berührungen zum Ausbruch und Ausdruck gekommen, und dürfte dieser Gesichtspunkt selbst für die Abfassungszeit jener Bücher wichtig sein. Ein Anderes ist die Geschichte der Erscheinungen, welche sich mit der Idee einer Religion verbinden und freilich sich mitunter mit derselben identificirt haben. Diese Erscheinungen sind: *Gesetze, Sitten, Culturverhältnisse*; daher auch die *Literatur* in ihrer doppelten Bedeutung als Reflex jener und als Quelle. Der wichtigste Begriff, zugleich formell und materiell einwirkend, ist der der *profanen Wissenschaft*, wofür der selbständige Ausdruck חכמה חיצונית¹ vielleicht zum ersten Mal in Kairuwan im zehnten Jahrhundert vorkommt. Jener Begriff ist eng verwandt mit dem des *Rationalismus*, ein vielfach angewendetes, gedeutetes und missdeutetes Wort, welches einmal die höchste Richtung des Geistes bezeichnet, ein andermal zum Spott und Hohn missbraucht wird, insbesondere als "flacher Rationalismus." Es ist nicht unsere Aufgabe, hier den Rationalismus geschichtlich zu verfolgen, sondern nur auf bedeutende Erscheinungen der jüdischen Literatur hinzuweisen, welche aus demselben Grundbegriff fliessen. (Bragin, *Freireligiöse Strömungen*, 1896, ist in der Grundlage verfehlt.)

¹ Eine ungarische Dissertation über diesen Gegenstand von Hirschler (1891) hat meine handschriftlichen Notizen darüber benutzt.

Alles Forschen verfolgt zwei Hauptrichtungen, entweder nach dem Wesen der *Dinge* oder nach dem Wesen des *Denkens* selbst und seinen Gesetzen. Die letzteren werden von allen Parteien als massgebend für die Forschungen nach den Dingen angesehen. Andererseits geben Alle zu, dass das *Mass* menschlichen Wissens endlich sei, an dem "Ding an sich," oder sonst irgendwo, seine Grenzen finde, folglich auch die Erkenntnis des Erkenntnisvermögens selbst beschränkt sei, was entweder zum Skepticismus oder im Gegenteil zum Autoritätsglauben führt. Der Rationalismus kritisiert die Vernunft, aber er unterwirft den einmal gewonnenen Normen *alles* Denken; so galt das *Organon* des Aristoteles im Mittelalter, Kant in neuerer Zeit, während Hegel aus den abstrakten Denknormen die Dinge selbst ableiten wollte. Der Rationalismus kann ohne "Vorurteil" nicht bestehen, d. h. gegen angeblich neue *Erkenntniswege*, z. B. Magie, Magnetismus bis zum Tischklopfen, Tischrücken etc. Die sogenannte wissenschaftliche Orthodoxie verlangt für die Erkenntnis zwei auseinandergehende Wege; hat sie doch auch den Traum zu einem Organe der Erkenntnis erhoben. Der Rationalismus ist *wesentlich* der Religion selbst weniger entgegengesetzt als die sogenannte "Denkgläubigkeit," ein Ausdruck, der an die Quadratur des Kreises erinnert, da auch hier zwei incommensurable Grössen in ein bestimmtes Verhältnis gebracht werden sollen. Der Rationalist kann der *Autorität* als solcher ihre Geltung und Anwendung lassen, indem das *Mass* für die *Erscheinung* der Idee in der Persönlichkeit liegt, also in einer psychologischen, nicht rein logischen Kategorie; aber niemals wird er die Aussprüche der Autorität als Kanon für das Denken gelten lassen, mit anderen Worten: es ist ihm die Autorität eine Quelle für Gefühl und für Handlungen, nicht aber für Erkenntnis; er kennt keine *heilige* Wissenschaft; denn die Heiligkeit verlangt Achtung und Rücksicht: die Wahrheit fordert rücksichtslose Anerkennung¹. Der Begriff der "profanen Wissenschaft" war zuletzt eine Concession der Theologie an den gesunden Menschenverstand; denn gegenüber einer heiligen Wissenschaft, wenn es eine solche giebt, ist die menschliche Stückwerk und führt zum Bösen; einen Anhaltspunkt dazu gab schon die Sage vom Baum der Erkenntnis.

Alle grossen Kämpfe auf dem Felde des Geistes sind Kämpfe für die Vernunft, gegen die Autorität: alle kleinlichen Kämpfe sind die einer Autorität gegen die andere, welche so leicht in Persönlichkeit umschlagen und nicht selten zur Entstehung religiöser Sekten beitragen. Die Einfachheit der jüdischen Glaubenslehre lässt aber dieses deutlicher erkennen, daher sich nicht Sekten von Bestand finden, es sei denn diejenigen, welche die Art der Autorität selbst

¹ דאמא עזרה ואינה נעזרת, alte Sentenz.

zum Hauptdogma erheben, — wie z. B. die Chassidim mit der Autorität des "Rebbe," ähnlich den 'Sufi, den Buddhisten u. dergl., — oder, gestützt auf eine neue Offenbarung, entsprechende Organe, Visionen u. dergl. annehmen, wie in der Kabbala. Hingegen hat der Karaismus mehr den Rabbinen als dem Rabbinismus gegolten.

Nachdem wir die religiöse Entwicklung mehr in *abstracto* verfolgt haben, mögen noch einige Worte über unser Thema insbesondere folgen.

Das Judentum unterscheidet sich vom alten Heidentum durch heilige Schriften; auch letzteres hat solche, aber entweder nicht für das Volk, wie in Ägypten, wenn auch die Bezeichnung "hieratisch" und "demotisch" für die Schrift in neuerer Zeit noch anders erklärt wird; oder die Schriften sind nicht so früh fixiert, sondern längere Zeit mündlich überliefert, während im Judentum die Tradition *hinter* der heiligen Schrift kommt; oder die heidnischen Schriften sind wegen des polytheistischen Charakters nicht so exclusiv wie die hebräischen. Daher ist der *Abschluss des Kanon* epochemachend und von dauernder Wirkung. Juden und Christen, letztere wahrscheinlich in zweiter Reihe (Muir, Mahomet, u. s. w.), heissen im Koran "Leute der Schrift."

Der literarische Einfluss der heiligen Schrift lässt sich auf folgende Kategorien zurückführen:

1. Was nicht als heilige Schrift anerkannt wird, trennt sich ab, und so entstehen *Apokryphen*.
2. Der heiligen Schrift unterordnet sich jede andere gelehrte Schriftthätigkeit, als Übersetzung, Auslegung, Anwendung, *Midrasch*.
3. Das Studium der Bibel, allerdings vorzugsweise "Studium," fördert den Sinn für die Forschung überhaupt, und es bilden sich Schulen, zunächst Gelehrtschulen.
4. Da die Schrift ihrem ganzen Inhalte nach studiert und behandelt wird, so erweitert sich der Kreis über die Grenzen der eigentlichen Religion, und so wird das Volk der Schrift ein Volk des Studiums¹.
5. Das Entstehen der Töchterreligionen und deren Auffassung derselben heiligen Schriften erzeugt die Polemik.
6. Die an die Bibel knüpfende, lange anhaltende mündliche Lehrweise, die Gegensätze von Gesetz und Propheten, später Halacha und Haggada, sollen hier nur angedeutet sein.

IV. *Politische Verhältnisse*. — Diese sind bei den alten Hebräern so verschieden von den späteren, dass nur der Einfluss gewisser allgemeiner Ideen verfolgt werden kann. Die alte Theokratie war

¹ *Die Juden und die profanen Wissenschaften* (Mag., 1893, S. 229 ff.), wo eine Stelle gegen Güdemann, *Monatsschr.*, 1892, S. 157, weggeblieben ist.

eine Demokratie, wenigstens gab es keinen Unterschied des Rechtes, und selbst die Behandlung der Sklaven war schon im Mosaismus eine viel mildere als bei den andern Völkern des Altertums (s. unten). Im Mittelalter war ihre Beteiligung am Sklavenhandel durch Beschränkung auf Handel überhaupt erklärlich; hat etwa ausschliesslich Humanität in der Sklavenfrage neuester Zeit den Ausschlag gegeben?

Der Zustand der Juden war im Mittelalter im Durchschnitte der einer politischen und socialen Ausschliessung und einer sich daraus ergebenden freiwilligen Abschliessung, unter den Arabern im Prinzip sogar noch schärfer. Über die Gesetzgebung der Araber in Bezug auf die Juden sei hier auf meine *Polemische und apologetische Literatur* und 'Introduction, Part II.' im *J. Q. R.*, Bd. XII., verwiesen. Hammer erzählt uns ein Beispiel arabischer Toleranz bei dem Wezir Ali b. Isa, allerdings ohne die Pointe, welche dahin lautet, dass man Juden kuriren solle, da man auch Tiere kurirt (*HB.*, XII, 68). — Es fehlen daher Elemente, welche der Literatur eine *Mannigfaltigkeit* des Inhalts verleihen, z. B. der Kriegerstand; der sogenannte "Krieg der Thora" wird mit Federstichen geführt (das jüdische Duell "schlägt sich mit der Dea"); es fehlen politische Ämter u. dergl., welche den Tugenden und Leidenschaften einen Spielraum gewähren, in der politischen Literatur, in der Geschichte der Redekunst und in der Poesie ihren Ausdruck finden. Die Knechtschaft befördert mit der Zeit einen nüchternen, schlaun, prosaischen Sinn, wo nicht Kriecherei nach oben, Tyrannei nach unten. Es bildete sich eine Klasse von *Angesehenen*, d. h. bei den herrschenden Gewalten, Einflussreichen. Sie heissen Spender, נְרִיבִים (Zunz, *Gg.*, X, 9; *Ges. Schr.* III, 236), in neuerer Zeit שְׂחָרְלָנִים (Perles, *Geschichte der Juden in Polen*), welche daher auch das Volk selbst zu seinen Vertretern ernannte: נְרִיבִים (in Ägypten, Maimonides' Familie). Nicht selten wurde der Macht geschmeichelt, oder waren mit dem Ansehen die Mittel und der Sinn für Bildung und Wissenschaft verbunden; also erhielten auch die Mächtigen das Lob der Gelehrten und Weisen, oder verdienten es als wirkliche Mäcene. Es fehlte aber auch nicht an Satyren. Auf solchen Verhältnissen beruht der Brief des Lexicographen Menachem ibn Saruk an Chisdai Nasi, der ihn einsperren liess, vielleicht auch Salomo ibn Gabirol's Spott gegen Samuel Nagid, worüber Geiger allerlei Hypothetisches vorgebracht hat. Da das Feld für Ehrgeiz, Herrschsucht und Eitelkeit ein sehr beschränktes war, so bemächtigten sich diese Leidenschaften auch des Studiums und förderten den Umfang desselben. So entstand ein jüdischer Adel der Weisheit, die "Krone der Gelehrsamkeit," welche über die des Priestertums und Königtums gestellt und nur von der des "guten Namens" übertroffen

wird, wie in neuer Zeit die Rabbinen einander als Könige titulirten (מלכי רבנן). Der Adel (יהודים) besteht in der Abstammung von Gelehrten und gewinnt natürlichen Einfluss auf die Besetzung der Stellen, welche diesen Stand ausmachen.

Die hervorragenden Persönlichkeiten werden auch als Fürsten (נשיאים) bezeichnet, welche im Oriente mitunter wirklich eine politische Stellung einnehmen¹. Ein anonymen Spötter bemerkt: "Auch mein Maultier könnte ich Nasi nennen, denn sein Vater Chamor war ein Nasi des Landes" (Gen. xxxiv. 2). Al-Charisi (fol. 72 b, Amst.) spottet der illiberalen Nesiim mit dem Verse der Sprüche Salomonis (xxv. 14): "Wolken und Wind und kein Regen." Gelegentlich mag erwähnt sein, dass die *mechanischen* Förderer der Literatur, die *Schreiber*, nicht nur vermöge eines alten Fluches, sondern auch wegen ihrer Beschäftigung der Armut anheimfielen und daher wohl vor Schaden behütet zu sein wünschen, wie man Gleiches bei Syrern und Arabern findet. Auch diese rekrutirten sich immer mehr aus dem Kreise der Unwissenden, wie später die Buchdruckerei, die "heilige Arbeit," zuerst von Gelehrten ausgegangen, allmählig in die Hände der Synagogendiener und Cantoren — deren Unwissenheit ebenfalls sprichwörtlich geworden — überging, mit dem wandernden Sänger ein wanderndes Handwerk wurde.

Das Resultat dieser Betrachtungen ist folgendes. Die Einfachheit der Verhältnisse vermindert den Inhalt der Literatur, hingegen wächst die Verbreitung desselben über die Individuen. Aus geographischen und politischen Verhältnissen gemischt sind die Fortschritte der Wissenschaft noch in unseren Tagen. Die Abschlüssung einzelner Länder von anderen in Bildung bewirkt eine Art Kreislauf, der zu den sonderbarsten Erscheinungen führt. Im Jahre 1310 verfasste Isak Israëli in Toledo sein grosses astronomisches Werk, welches auch literärhistorisches Interesse darbietet, für Ascher ben Jechiel, der aus Deutschland geflohen war. Bald darauf verbrannte man in Brandenburg einen christlichen Astronomen, der eine Sonnen- oder Mondfinsternis vorausgesagt hatte. David Nieto in London schreibt noch im 18. Jahrhundert gegen Copernicus, und im Jahre 1858 wird in einer hebräischen Zeitung die Frage aufgeworfen: "Was ist Kalila we-Dimna?"

Zu den politischen Verhältnissen gehört auch die innere Gestaltung der *Gemeinde*, und hier finden wir das Gegenteil von den staatlichen Verhältnissen. Je bedeutender der Anteil des Individuums an dem Staate ist, desto geringer wird sein Interesse an dem engeren Verbands der Gemeinde, wo diese nicht einen organischen Übergang zum Allgemeinen bildet. Der Begriff einer liberalen Gemeindeordnung

¹ Vgl. al-Rabi in *Revue des Études Juives*, XXI, 253.

als Grundlage des freien Staates ist ein Produkt der neuesten Zeit und eigentlich ein Gegensatz zum centralisirenden Absolutismus¹. An sich wird eine lebendige Entwicklung des engeren Verbandes das Interesse an dem grösseren absorbiren, ja mit der Zeit eine Rivalität und eine Ausdehnung der Macht gegenüber dem Ganzen, oder gar eine Art von *Hegemonie* fördern, ein Begriff, der vielleicht auch im jüdischen Gemeindeleben sich entwickelt hätte, wenn der Zusammenhang der einzelnen Gemeinden ein organischer gewesen wäre. Ich gestehe, dass ich hier nicht das Resultat eigener spezieller Forschung wiedergebe, aber auch die jüdische Geschichtsforschung hat sich mit den jüdischen Gemeindeverhältnissen bis in die neueste Zeit wenig beschäftigt. Im Jahre 1856 sind allerlei Behauptungen aufgestellt worden, deren Grundlagen noch nachzuweisen wären.

Die Gemeinde war eine politische Körperschaft mit politischen Rechten und Pflichten; sie stand in gewissen Verhältnissen zum Staate; zu ihren wichtigen Angelegenheiten gehörte die Verteilung der Beisteuer, die Verteidigung ihrer Gerechtsamen nach aussen und die Jurisdiction nach innen, Verordnungen gegen den Luxus, Wahl der Rabbiner und Kultusbeamten, Sorge für Erhaltung des Studiums etc. In allen Gemeindeangelegenheiten ward der *Billigkeit* und dem *Unus* der grösste Spielraum eingeräumt; der Gebrauch consolidirte sich und entwickelte sich zum *Statut*.

(Literatur der Statuten: *HB.*, VI, 42; VIII, 103; XVI, 32; Loeb, in *Revue d. Ét. J.*, XIII, 188 a. 1.)

M. Duschak's *Umriss des biblisch-talmudischen Synagogenrechts mit Rücksicht auf die jetzige Stellung der österreichischen Juden*, Olmütz 1853, ist schon im Titel eine Unterschiebung (§ 5: "Dass Gott die Synagoge gestiftet habe, lehrt die heilige Schrift"). Die Bibel kennt keine Synagoge. Der Verfasser macht sich nach katholischem Muster von Kirche und Kirchenrecht ein Synagogenrecht zurecht, um den Rabbinern Vorrechte der Geistlichkeit zu vindiciren.

V. *Kultur* (Bildung und Ausbildung). — Die Nationalität ist ein allgemeiner Verband, der Organismus des Subjekts; die geographischen Verhältnisse sind physische Bedingungen, bei den Juden mittelbar die Bedingungen nach aussen; die Religion ist die objektive Richtung des Geistes, die politischen Verhältnisse sind der Spielraum für die Thätigkeit des Einzelnen im Verhältnis zum Ganzen. — Die *Kultur* ist die Thätigkeit des Geistes selbst (etwa Hegel's "Substanz des Geistes"), also die Verwirklichung des Geistes unter den gegebenen Bedingungen, und da die Literatur selbst ein Teil der Kultur ist,

¹ Z. B. Schreiben des Oberhofmeisters Mirbach an die Stadtverordneten Berlins (Nov. 1899).

also hier das engste Verhältnis zwischen beiden stattfindet, so ist überall die Kulturbetrachtung die Hauptgrundlage für die Anschauung der Literatur, also beide gegenseitige Hilfsmittel. Durch Kultur kennzeichnet man Nationen. Kulturgeschichte ist das eigentliche Ziel der Weltgeschichte, weil das Ziel aller Geistesthätigkeit. Die Geschichte ist nicht philosophischer Schematismus (Hegel) oder politischer Pragmatismus (Rotteck);—wie Kulturgeschichte zu schreiben ist, zeigt uns Buckle, der sich freilich frühzeitig zu Tode studirt hat, und schon Macaulay in einigen Kapiteln seines ersten Bandes.

Auf jüdischem Boden ist bis in die neueste Zeit nichts Zusammenhängendes und Umfassendes geboten worden, bis auf Zunz's Charakteristik des zunächst deutsch-französischen Mittelalters, in seinem Buche *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*. Der neuesten Zeit gehören Berliner's Schriftchen *Aus dem inneren Leben der deutschen Juden* (1871) und Güdemann's umfassende Studien. Christlichen Historikern waren schon die Quellen unverständlich. Die ängstliche Bezeichnung verschiedener Dinge, die Schwierigkeit der Terminologie, die Unbekanntschaft mit dem Leben und ein angeerbtes Vorurteil schufen Verzerrungen aus befremdenden Erscheinungen. Herr Henne am Rhyn durfte es wagen, ohne ein Wort Hebräisch zu verstehen, eine Kulturgeschichte der Juden zu schreiben, welche zwei Auflagen erlebte. Die Juden selbst waren bisher theils im Kampfe zur Apologetik gedrängt und auf augenblickliche Wirkung in politischen Verhältnissen bedacht. *Apologetik* und *Polemik* kommen niemals zur Objektivität, welche die Wissenschaft verlangt.

Die *Kultur* besteht in der harmonischen Bildung zu den drei Grundideen, der humanen Trias: des *Guten*, des *Wahren* und des *Schönen*. In diesen Ideen theilt sich der Beruf der Nationen; das Griechentum studiren wir vorzugsweise seiner schönen Literatur wegen. Fr. Aug. Wolf (*Vorlesungen über die Encyclopädie der Altertumswissenschaft*, herausg. von Gürtler, Leipzig, 1831, S. 15) meint: "Zu den aufgeklärtesten Nationen" des Altertums, mit den meisten Denkmälern, gehörten, nach Aller Geständnis, auch die Juden, "denn sie haben das Griechische im alexandrinischen Zeitalter nachgeäfft . . . sie trugen nämlich griechische Weisheit in ihre alten Werke und kultivirten sich mit Hilfe der Griechen, so dass nachher das Neue Testament entstehen konnte, welches nichts weiter ist als eine Zusammensetzung von griechischen und jüdischen Ideen." Hier muss jedoch ein Unterschied zwischen gelehrter Aufklärung und bürgerlicher Kultur aufrecht erhalten werden. Das *Ziel* der Kultur ist die *harmonische* Entwicklung der Kräfte; jede Einseitigkeit erscheint als ein Mangel. Geiger (X, 294) hebt hervor, dass das Judentum alle

Lebensäusserungen in die Sphäre des religiösen Bewusstseins erhoben hat. "Rein religiöse Institutionen sind dadurch in starre *juristische* Formeln gebannt, und bei ihrer Ausübung ist juristische Buchstäblichkeit verlangt worden. Umgekehrt aber sind in das Rechtsleben so viele religiöse, kulturelle, rituale Elemente eingedrungen, dass ihm sein selbständiger und menschlicher Charakter getrübt worden, sich Einflüsse geltend machen, die diesem Gebiete durchaus fern liegen und fern bleiben sollen. Dann aber ist die Gesetzgebung — die eben dem Rechtlichen keine gesonderte Stelle anwies — als unmittelbar von Gott ausgegangen betrachtet worden, bei der eine Änderung durch Menschen nicht zulässig ist, so dass sie trotz aller Umgestaltungen in Leben und Erkenntnis bleiben und daher erstarren musste." Diese Erstarrung einerseits und der dagegen sich auflehrende Drang des Lebens andererseits brachten es dahin, dass man das Feststehende und Überkommene mechanisch und skrupulös zerlegte, den unabwiesbaren Anforderungen des Lebens aber in höchst künstlicher Weise, oft auf *Schleichwegen* zu genügen versuchte, den Inhalt des Gesetzes verändernd, wenn man nur den Buchstaben des Gotteswortes zu retten glaubte.

Das *Schöne* ist bei den Juden vielfach vernachlässigt worden. Die alten Israeliten strebten vorzugsweise nach dem Guten, später entstand ein Kampf zwischen dem Guten und Wahren, der Praxis und der Theorie. Ein solcher Kampf erwacht nur in Zeiten des Druckes. Im *freien* Volke ist der Gedanke That, und die That gibt ihre Motive kund; nur in Zeiten äusserer Not entsteht die Frage, ob man sich zurückziehen, der eigenen Überzeugung allein leben, oder in den Kampf hinaustreten und Etwas von der Wahrheit opfern soll. In solchen Zeiten ist keine That ohne *Partei* möglich, die Partei verlangt immer von ihren Genossen irgend ein Opfer der Wahrheit. *Kohélet*, wo der Unterschied von Weisheit und Thorheit bezweifelt wird, die *Gnosis*, die *Essder*, illustrieren diesen Zwiespalt. Im Mittelalter teilten sich die Interessen im Streben nach dem Guten und Forschen nach dem Wahren. Das *Schöne* wurde wieder vernachlässigt, die Bildung war nicht harmonisch. Der Satz, mit welchem die "Metaphysik" des Aristoteles beginnt: "Alle Menschen begehren von *Natur* zu wissen," ist bei Juden und Arabern beinahe zur Unnatur geworden, die noch bis heute im Dilettantismus ihren Ausdruck findet, der sich das Lehramt anmasset. Da ist ein massenhaftes Wissen ohne Wissenschaft, wie andererseits dieses Wissen ohne literarische Denkmäler möglich ist.

Die Kultur ist, wie dieses Wort und das verwandte Wort "Bildung" sagt, eine *Arbeit* und keiner Nation vom Himmel geschenkt; es gilt von ihr, was von der Gotteslehre gesagt wird (Gen. xxx. 12, לֹא בְשִׁמָּיִם).

Sie ist die einzige wahre Arbeit des Geistes und seine unendliche Aufgabe. So müssen uns die Grundideen auch die betreffenden Lebenssphären ergeben, die wir nunmehr zu durchwandern haben.

I. Der Begriff des *Guten* und *Edlen* realisiert sich in folgenden Sphären:

- A. Recht und Gesetz, Verfassung und Freiheit.
- B. Politische und sociale Institutionen.
- C. Familienleben.
- D. Sitten und Gebräuche.

Vergleicht man die alten Israeliten und die späteren Juden mit ihren Zeitgenossen, so wird im Ganzen an einer höheren Kultur nicht zu zweifeln sein.

A. Ueber das *Recht* mag hier nur Einiges, zum Teil schon Berührtes, gesagt sein. Hier herrscht vollständige Gleichheit des Gesetzes und Gleichheit vor dem Gesetze, auch gegen den *Fremden*, der sogar *geliebt* werden soll. Die Verfassung ist von grösster Einfachheit; die spätere jüdische Rechtslehre wendet überall *Billigkeit* und *Humanität* an, auch im Strafmasse, im Beweise und in der Anklage; es gilt der Grundsatz: *Quilibet habeatur bonus*, etc. Die Notwendigkeit einer Verteidigung führt die Talmudlehrer zu dem Paradoxon: einstimmige Verurteilung gilt für Lossprechung. Die Lehre vom Eide schliesst principiell den promissorischen Eid aus, eigentlich auch den Zeugniseid. Auch die Schärfe der Rechtsbegriffe überhaupt ist hier hervorzuheben.

Eine wichtige Controverse erhob sich über die Originalität des talmudischen Rechtes oder dessen Abhängigkeit vom römischen. (Auch die Araber sind nicht vom Einflusse des römischen Rechtes frei geblieben, s. Enger zu *Maverdi*.)

Literatur: über "Eidesleistung" s. *Zeitschr. f. Hebr. Bibl.*, No. 1, 1896; "Ehe- und Frauenrecht," unten.

B. *Socialismus*.—Die Geschichte der jüdischen Societäten ("Chebrot," sing. "Chebra," vulg. "Chewra") ist noch zu schreiben. Einige Beiträge hat die neue Zeit gebracht; den Anfang macht wohl die anonyme Schrift [von L. Dukes]: "Übersicht aller Anstalten," etc., Hamburg, 1841. Einiges aus Wien machte G. Wolf bekannt (Ungarisches von Em. Löw). In neuester Zeit sind Vereine aller Art mit Statuten und Berichten entstanden, welche manches Statistische und Persönliche (mitunter zuviel) zur Kenntnis bringen. Die Geschichte der *Genossenschaften* und *Vereine* würde auch über manches Praktische Licht verbreiten, z. B. in Bezug auf Leichenbestattung, wo einerseits Aberglaube, andererseits weltliche Eitelkeit, selbst in schroffem Gegensatz zu alten Autoritäten, ihr Reich über das Grab hinaus dehnen. Diese freien Gesellschaften können freilich nur im Ver-

hältnis zum Gemeindeleben erforscht werden; für letzteres sind wenigstens auch einige nichtjüdische Quellen vorhanden. Für die freien Gesellschaften fehlen solche fast gänzlich.

C. *Familienleben*. — Dieses war stets ein inniges; die Heiligkeit desselben bildet den Grundcharakter des jüdischen Gesetzes (כלב Deut. xxiii. 19 für Knabenliebe, arab. کلب), während die christliche Geistlichkeit im Mittelalter in Bezug auf Geschenke unzüchtiger Damen geteilter Ansicht ist. Kardinalpunkte sind: die Einschränkung der Leidenschaft und der Charakter der Ehe selbst. Die jüdische Ehe konnte als ein *Civilakt* bezeichnet werden, insofern die religiösen Handlungen überhaupt nicht an ein äusseres Organ, an Kirche und Geistlichkeit gebunden sind. Für die Lösung der Ehe verlangt der Pentateuch ein "Trennungsbuch" (Jes. l. 1, ספר כריתות; Jer. iii. 8; Deut. xxiv. 1), zu einer Zeit, wo erst ein Schreiber zu beschaffen war. Die Rabbinen nahmen es theoretisch mit den Scheidungsgründen leicht, dafür erschwerten sie aber auch die Ausführung bis aufs Peinlichste. Der Araber sprach: "Du bist mir wie der Rücken meines Schwertes," und war geschieden.

Die *Polygamie*, welche auch im Oriente nur den Vornehmen möglich ist, wird in Erzählungen der Erzväter meist durch Sterilität motiviert, dem Könige wird sie fast verboten. Die Monogamie ist *nicht* eine Wirkung des Christentumes, welches in seinem Auftreten vor einem angeblich nahen *Weltende* vielmehr die *Ehelosigkeit* empfahl und später das Cölibat den Priestern zur Pflicht machte, Mönchstum und Nonnenunfug förderte, während der Talmud für den Oberpriester zum Versöhnungstage eine Reservefrau verlangte, damit er für dieselbe beten könne.

Wichtig ist auch das Verhältnis des Verbotes der *Verwandtenehe*, welches bei den Karäern soweit ausgedehnt wurde, dass zuletzt bei der geringen Einwohnerzahl eines Ortes eine Ehe unmöglich geworden war¹.

Das bei den Griechen gesetzliche *Hetärenwesen* ist direkt und indirekt verpönt.

Die Trägerin des Familienlebens ist die Frau, die in der jüdischen Literatur des Mittelalters vielfach in den Vordergrund tritt, schon als Objekt des Gesetzes, ebenso in ihrem Einfluss auf Form und Inhalt von Büchern, durch eigene Teilnahme als Autorität, als Verfasserin, Abschreiberin, Setzerin etc. Die betreffende Literatur ist sehr mannigfaltig und geht in neuerer Zeit bis zur Satyre gegen

¹ Heinrich IV. von England bemühte sich um Gutachten der Rabbiner in Italien wegen Ungültigkeit seiner Ehe (Taximenes, Eleutherius [Pseudonym], *Gedanken von nahen Heyralthen, über Levit. xxiii*; Hannover, 1734, 4°).

die Ehevermittler (שדכנים, Is. Israel, שיח יצחק, Hamburg, 1793, MS. Carmoly 225).

Die Stellung des Frauengeschlechts in der Familie hängt mit seiner Stellung in der Gesellschaft und dem Staate zusammen, steht aber nicht durchaus in geradem Verhältnis zu letzterem. Zu beachten sind hier ganz besonders die Theorie des *Gesetzes*, der *Gebrauch* und die *Stimmen* in der Literatur; bei den Juden kommt hier noch insbesondere die *Sprache* in Betracht, insofern mit Rücksicht auf die Frauen das Hebräische vermieden wurde.

Die Frauen als Majorität nehmen in jeder Literatur einen grossen Raum in Anspruch, in der jüdischen ganz besonders. In den sechs "Ordnungen" des Talmuds folgt auf "I. Über Benedictionen und Saaten" und "II. Über Feste" die "III. Über Frauenangelegenheiten"; in Jakob b. Ascher's *Vier Reihen* (*Turim*), welche Josef Karo als "Schulchan Aruch" bearbeitete, bildet die "III. Von den Frauen" den Übergang von Ceremonien zum Rechte.

Im Altertume überhaupt, insbesondere im Morgenlande, war der Wirkungskreis der Frau in der Regel auf die Familie und das Haus beschränkt, selbst der Prinzessin¹, obwohl schon Miriam, Debora, Jael, die Prophetin Hulda, aus diesem engen Kreise heraus treten, während Isabel und Athalja als Fremde auftreten. Den engeren Beruf der Frau bezeichnet als den natürlichen der Anthropologe Virchow in einem Vortrage ("Die Erziehung des Weibes zu seinem Berufe," 1865, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, VIII, 12). Der hochgestellte Pädagoge Wiese in Berlin ("Die Stellung der Frauen im Alterthume und in der christlichen Zeit," Vortrag, 1854, 32 S.) betrachtet es als eine anerkannte (?) Thatsache, dass das Christentum erst das weibliche Geschlecht auf die gebührende Stellung erhoben hat; von der durch beinahe ein Jahrhundert zurückgewiesenen Behauptung des (Rectors) "Accidalius," dass die Frauen keine Menschen seien, scheint er keine Kenntnis gehabt oder genommen zu haben, wie von der Satyre gegen Frauen, welche das christliche Mittelalter beherrschte. Einen wissenschaftlichen und objektiven Standpunkt nimmt der Rechtslehrer J. Baron ein ("Das Heiraten in alten und neuen Gesetzen," Berlin, 1874, *Sammlung gemeinverständlicher und wissenschaftlicher Vorträge*, Heft 211), wo S. 13 über Judentum und S. 101 über Christentum gesprochen wird.

Über die Wertschätzung der Frauen hat die jüdische Literatur des Mittelalters eine geringe Anzahl von belletristischen Schriften aufzuweisen, welche vielleicht erst durch eine Anregung der islamitischen oder christlichen hervorgerufen wurde, später besonders in Italien²

¹ מלכה (Psalm xlv. 14) wird später so angewendet.

² Vgl. L. Geiger's Noten zu Burkhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance*, 3. Aufl., Leipzig, 1877-8, II, 182.

einige Vertreter von *pro* und *contra* fand, während die allerneueste Zeit, meistens durch christliche Urteile über die Stellung der jüdischen Frau provocirt, das Thema geschichtlich und kulturgeschichtlich behandelt. Die älteste bekannte Schrift darüber ist *Das Geschenk Jehuda's des Weiberfeindes*, von Jehuda b. Isak ibn Sabbatai, einem Spanier zu Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts, wogegen ein sonst unbekannter Isak eine *Hülfe der Frauen* verfasste. Der Verteidiger der Philosophie, Jedaia ha-Penini, fühlte sich berufen als "Freund der Frauen" für sie das Wort zu ergreifen. Auch die Erzählung des Petronius von der Matrone zu Ephesus, welche man in neuester Zeit auf chinesischen Ursprung zurückführte, drang frühzeitig in die jüdische Literatur.

In dieser Debatte suchte man natürlich überall die aufgestellten Behauptungen historisch zu exemplificiren und griff vor allem zu biblischen Persönlichkeiten, von der ersten Frau, Eva, angefangen, deren Schöpfung schon den Midrasch veranlasst, die Schwächen der Frauen an ihr und den Frauen der Patriarchen nachzuweisen. Doch hat die ältere jüdische Literatur kein Buch aufzuweisen, welches eben nur Zusammenstellungen von hervorragenden Frauen enthielte, wie dergl. in neuerer Zeit, z. B. bei Giuliani (1588) und Anderen (*HB.*, XIX, 11). Über gelehrte Frauen hat bereits Asulai eine kleine Zusammenstellung unter dem Worte רבניות. Dieses Thema ist neuerdings in Schriften über ausgezeichnete Frauen überhaupt fortgeführt, unter welchen hier nur Kayserling's *Die jüdischen Frauen in der Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst* (1878) hervorgehoben sei, und dessen halbes Plagiat, das Buch von Nahida Remi. Einzelnes mit dem Frauengeschlechte Zusammenhängendes gehört in das Gebiet der Archäologie, z. B. N. W. Schroeder, *De vestitu mulierum*, zu Jesaia, iii. 10, Leyden, 1745 (Köcher, II, 199); Th. Hartmann, *Die Hebräerin am Putztisch*, I, 1809–10. Anderes gehört in den Abschnitt über Sitten und Gebräuche, s. unten.

D. Sitten und Gebräuche.—Dabei denkt man unwillkürlich an die sogenannte brennende Frage, d. h. die in der Hitze der Parteien verfochtenen Begriffe: Alt und neu, Orthodoxie oder Reform, conservativ oder destructiv, Symbolik u. s. w. In der That, was Schiller von der humanen Freude sagt: "Ja, wer auch nur eine Seele sein nennt auf dem Erdenrund — und wer's nie gekonnt, der stehle weinend sich aus unserm Bund" — das gilt auch im Bereiche der Religion und des Lebens; wer nie eine eigene Idee vertreten hat, wenigstens nicht öffentlich, hat nicht das Recht, in solchen Dingen mitzureden. Allein die strenge Wissenschaft hat die friedliche Aufgabe, eine Verständigung der Ideen, welche im Leben einander entgegentreten, zu vermitteln. Es handelt sich hier nicht um die Frage über den *Ursprung* einiger Sitten und Gebräuche, welche die

Kritik, die Symbolik und Geschichte zu erörtern haben, nicht um ihre gegenwärtige Anwendung, welche der praktischen Theologie anheimfällt, sondern um das Verhältnis der Sitten und Gebräuche überhaupt, und der jüdischen insbesondere, zu den *Grundideen* des Guten und Idealen.

Man vergleicht die Ceremonieen mit den Schalen der Schildkröte, über welche man fahren kann, so lange Leben in der Kröte ist. In der physischen Natur sind freilich die niedrigen Organismen — Weich- oder Schalentiere — kräftig nach aussen, während der höhere Organismus aus Wirbelsäulen im Innern sich aufbaut. Der Vergleich mag hinkend sein, wie alle andern! Zunächst ist der Begriff der Sitten und Gebräuche strenger zu fassen, da *alles* Nationale, Politische, Religiöse und Sittliche aus der Sitte hervorgegangen, letztere sogar danach benannt ist *חסד, מוס, Ethik, Sittlichkeit, Moral*. Sie bezeichnen den dunklen, schwankenden Begriff des allgemein Geltenden, die *מנהגים, מוסר, מנהגים, מוסר* (Munk, *Guide*, I, 739), Kant's "kategorischen Imperativ." Von dem Gebrauche heisst es: "Der Gebrauch Israels ist Gesetz, *חוקי ישראל*." Als Beispiel diene das Tanzen in Sicilien, worüber s. *Documenti*, gesammelt von den Brüdern Legumina.

Die Sitte, von der wir hier sprechen wollen, ist nicht das bestimmte Gesetz (*הלכה, דין*), nicht das Recht (*משפט*), nicht die Vorschrift oder das Decret (*חוק*), nicht das Statut, oder die Einrichtung (*תקנה*), nicht die Umsäunung, oder Vorbeugung (*נדר*), sondern der *usus* (*מנהג*) im engeren Sinne als solcher, abgesehen von seiner Entstehung oder seinen Quellen. Ist ein solcher möglich? Gerade hierin liegt etwas Charakteristisches für das Judentum; es ist gewiss Vieles ohne bestimmte Formel entstanden, durch die Macht der Gewohnheit beim Individuum, durch die Nachahmung in grösseren Kreisen. Die bestimmte Formel ist häufig jünger, die Untersuchung gehört einer noch späteren Periode an. Das Wort eines deutschen Dichters (Jean Paul?), "Sprache und menschliches Glück gleichen einander darin: wenn die Forschung anfängt, hat die Reinheit aufgehört," das gilt auch von der Sitte: Sitten und Gebräuche gedeihen still; wenn die Forschung beginnt, ist die Triebkraft erlahmt. Das Verhältnis der freien Sitte zu dem formulirten Satze, dem mündlichen und schriftlichen, also ganz besonders zur Literatur, ist hier von grösster Bedeutung und Gegenstand besonderer Forschung. Noch wichtiger ist die Unterscheidung der aus der Nation selbst hervorgegangenen und der fremden Gebräuche, welche von Maimonides und ihn Esra selbst in der Bibel angenommen werden; die Aufnahme und Modificirung letzterer ist später um so natürlicher, auch in der

Gegenwart recht anschaulich, z. B. am Christbaum und der sogen. "Confirmation."

Schwierig ist die Ausscheidung des *Ritus* im engeren Sinne, d. h. der Gebräuche, die sich an die Liturgie anschließen (vgl. Zunz, *Die Ritus, etc.*), welche Schriften in die Vorlesung über halachische Literatur gehören.

Kehren wir nunmehr zurück: Wie verhält sich die freie Sitte zur Sittlichkeit, zur Idee des Guten? Ich erlaube mir einen Vergleich mit dem Volkssprichworte, welches ebenfalls einen Teil der Kultur repräsentiert, ebenfalls eingeboren oder eingeführt ist, und zwar nicht die Sentenzen der Weisen, nicht die Citate der Dichter (die freilich selbst einen gleichen Kreislauf wie Sitte und Gesetz nehmen, in der jüdischen und arabischen Literatur sogar einen sichtlichen Übergang bilden), sondern das eigentliche Sprichwort (אמרי אישי). Einzelne Begriffe der Sittlichkeit und Lebensklugheit sind die *Barren*. Sprüche sind das geprägte Gold, welches durch seine Präge kursirt. In Anwendung auf das Judentum ist noch besonders charakteristisch die Kraft der *Assimilation*. Fremde Sitten werden oft so verwandelt, dass sie als eigene erscheinen; ein schlagendes Beispiel ist die polnische Nationaltracht der Juden in Osteuropa, mit welcher oft die Orthodoxie abgelegt wird. Der Begriff des Sittlichen bildet sich aus der Sitte, aber der *Trieb* nach Sittenbildung beweist eine gewisse Energie. Wenn die Sitte eine Schale ist, so ist sie doch von innen heraus gesetzt, nicht von aussen angesetzt, daher mit dem Leben verknüpft. So erklärt sich der Kampf um die Sitte als das eigentlich Nationale, mehr als um Gesetz und Vorschrift, die klar vorliegen, über welche mit Gründen gekämpft werden kann. בשעת השמר אפילו ערקתא דמסאנא מנהג עוקר הלכה. Das *Festhalten* an Sitte ist selbst ein Ausdruck einer Idee des Guten, die Pietät gegen das Gefäss selbst eine Art von Reliquienverehrung (שכרי לחות מונחות בארץ); es ist die Pietät gegen den Bund mit Nation, Stamm und Familie. So lange der Trieb nach Sittenbildung wie die Rinde am Baume immer neu ansetzt, so lange ist Leben darin; wenn aber Sitten wie Blätter welken, dann hilft das Herbarium nur zur Erkenntnis, nicht zur Belebung; wenn der Reliquie als solcher *gédient* wird, dann ist das nicht mehr Pietät, sondern Pietismus; wird endlich auch die Forschung verhindert und verpönt, dann tritt das subjektive Gute in Streit mit dem subjektiv Wahren, und überall in solchen Fällen siegt im Augenblick die Macht des Bestehenden, um mit seinem Siege auch dem unüberwindlichen Gedanken zu erliegen.

Hätten wir eine historische Untersuchung über jüdische Rechtslehre und Ceremonieen vorzunehmen, so wäre zur Einleitung das Verhältnis des Gebrauches zu demselben aus allerlei, meist *methodologi-*

sehen, älteren Schriften zusammen zu stellen; aber diese Frage wird wahrscheinlich eine der letzten bleiben, da auf der einen Seite die Resultate gefürchtet, auf der anderen die Früchte gern bald vom Baume geschüttelt werden.

II. Die Idee des *Wahren* in Beziehung auf die Kultur besteht nicht in der *Erreichung* desselben, sondern in dem *Streben* danach, nach dem bekannten Spruch Lessing's: "Wenn Gott in seiner Rechten alle Wahrheit verschlossen hielte," u. s. w. Das enthält auch der alte Lehrsatz: "Forsche und empfangen den Lohn" (דרוש וקבל שכר), was auf die Predigt sich zu beschränken beginnt. Sie besteht vielmehr in dem *Ränge*, den der Wissende behauptet, in der *Macht*, die ihm freiwillig übertragen wird, in den *Institutionen*, welche die Erforschung des Wahren zur Aufgabe haben, also insbesondere im Unterricht, in den Schulen und Hochschulen, in der Literatur selbst, mehr in ihrer Bedeutung für das Volk als für die Wissenschaft selbst. Man muss hier zwei Richtungen unterscheiden, die Gelehrsamkeit und die allgemeine Aufklärung.

Beiträge für diesen Ideenkreis giebt es in Menge, beinahe zuviel; es gehört ja hierher die gesamte Literatur in ihren verschiedenen Klassen. Wir bezeichnen diese näher, indem wir von den weiteren Kreisen zu den unserem Zwecke näheren gehen.

1. *Literaturgeschichte*, also Biographien von Gelehrten, Nachrichten von ihren Bestrebungen und Leistungen, namentlich Einwirkung und Anerkennung oder Bekämpfung, Controversen, z. B. zwischen Saadia und Salman b. Jerocham und anderen Gegnern, Josef ibn Abitur, Ahron b. Meschullam, im 13. Jahrhundert, Josef Colon, Jehuda Leon im 15., u. a. m.

2. *Geschichte* der verschiedenen *Wissenschaften*, insbesondere der sogenannten "profanen," insofern Bestrebungen zur Erfassung des Wahren zu Grunde liegen. (Schleiden's Schrift ist Machwerk, s. unter Literatur.)

3. *Literaturgeschichte*, d. h. Geschichte der Bestrebungen, das Wissen zu fixiren, ihm eine literarische Form zu geben, das Erforschte zu lehren (ללמוד וללמד), Geschichte der *Schriftstellerei*.

4. Eigentliche Geschichte der Erudition und der Bildung, Geschichte der *Schulen* und Lehrinstitute und des Unterrichtes überhaupt.

Bei den Bestrebungen zur Kenntnis dieses Teils der jüdischen Literatur, der stets von Juden und Christen gepflegt worden, ist auch Manches zur Geschichte des *Unterrichts* und der *Schulen* geleistet worden, freilich das Meiste über die Zeit des *Talmud* und über dessen Hauptbestandteil, die Halacha. Dahin gehören also die jüdischen *methodologischen* Schriften, welche in der halachischen Literatur ihren

eigentlichen Platz haben, ferner die Forschungen über die Schulen in Palästina und Babylon, zuerst in dem Werke *Tiberias* von Buxtorf. Die betreffende ältere Literatur ist zusammengestellt bei Wolf, *De fatis Talmudis inter Judaeos*, II, 914, IV, 446, wo § 11 zuerst die christlichen Autoren über die jüdischen Akademien aufzählt, II, 924, IV, 446; dazu Köcher, *Nova bibliotheca*, II, 266. Neuere Autoren s. in *Jüd. Literatur*, § 4, Anmerkung 35 (englisch, Anm. 36), wo auch über Fürst's angebliche Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte, dessen Citate, fast durchweg aus Jechiel Heilprin entlehnt, aber fehlerhaft abgedruckt, einer genauen Controlle bedürfen; vgl. auch Güdemann, *Jüdisches im Christentum*, 1870, S. 20, Anm. 18 u. 17, und andere Schriften.

Ein seltenes Beispiel unbefangener Behandlung bietet eine Dissertation von J. L. Pacht, *De eruditione Judaica*, Göttingen, 1740 (108 S.), in neun Kapiteln: I. Von der Natur der Erudition; II. Über die Verpflichtung zur heiligen Erudition; III. Die Verpflichtung zu lehren; IV. Der Lehrlohn (sehr kurz, wie es die Sache mit sich bringt); V. Kinderschulen; VI. Akademien für Vorgeschriftene; VII. Promotionen; VIII. Verhalten der Lehrer und Schüler; IX. Verhalten der Unterrichteten und Unwissenden (הלסר חכם und חכמ דע). Der Verfasser nimmt im Ganzen einen fast apologetischen Standpunkt ein; er meint, wenn die Christen sich wundern, dass die Juden den Talmud vorziehen, so liegt der Grund in der richtigen Interpretation der hl. Schrift; die Juden wüßten noch immer mehr davon, als die Christen; ebenso verhalte es sich mit den belächelten Fabeln und Parabeln. Die Christen müßten erst den richtigen Sinn beweisen, ehe sich die Juden für überwunden erklären; vorher könne das kein rechtschaffener und wahrheitsliebender Mann verlangen (p. 39). Pacht belegt seine Darstellung mit Citaten aus dem Talmud und Parallelen aus dem Neuen Testament; er giebt die hebräische Terminologie ziemlich vollständig. Fast jämmerlich erscheint Pacht gegenüber das Schriftchen des derzeitigen Hohenemser Rabbiners Daniel Ehrmann, *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Schulen und der Kultur unter den Juden*, Prag, 1846, 38 S., welche von Allem Etwas enthält und bis Elias' Opfer am Berge Karmel hinaufsteigt. P. Beer's *Skizze einer Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts bei den Juden*, Prag, 1832, eröffnet die Literatur der Neuzeit.

Die Hauptgesichtspunkte für die Kultur des Wahren im jüdischen Mittelalter sind folgende:

1. Das Bedürfnis zu studiren; dieses entwickelte sich aus folgenden Motiven:

a. Durch die *historische* Beziehung zur früheren Literatur.

b. Durch den Wechsel der lebendigen *Sprache* in verschiedenen Ländern, welcher das Sprachstudium förderte.

- c. Durch den *Mangel* an anderer Thätigkeit.
2. Die allmählig wachsende Achtung vor dem Studium und den Studirenden, dem Rang und Stand des Gelehrten.
3. Der aus dem Übermasse der Verstandesthätigkeit entstandene Missbrauch derselben. Nicht nur das Wissen wird zum Selbstzweck, sondern auch das Forschen; letzteres ist zwar ein absolut Gutes (wie in der aristotelischen Ethik), aber nicht ohne Ziel. Der Enthusiasmus für die Wissenschaft führt zur Überschätzung.
4. Das Verhältnis des Lernens zum Lehren nach dem alten Wahlspruche ללמוד וללמד wird ebenfalls zu einem Missverhältnis der voreiligen Lehrerschaft, der "Leute von kurzem Gedärm."
5. Die Literatur, insbesondere als *Schriftstellerei*, bietet einen Incidenzpunkt des Wahren mit dem Schönen: die Lehrkunst und die Schriftstellerei schliessen sich beide an die darstellenden Künste.

Wenn das Wahre die Uebereinstimmung des Gedankens mit dem Dinge ist, so ist die Vortragskunst die Harmonie zwischen der Form des Ausdruckes mit seinem Inhalte. Die eigentlichen Denker unter den Alten waren durchaus nicht gleichgiltig gegen den Ausdruck, sondern sorgfältig bis zur Pedanterie, in den Commentaren bis zum *Übermasse*, welches man als "Scholastik" zu bezeichnen pflegt, und zwar nicht blos wegen der Genauigkeit der Begriffe und der Methode des Denkens, wie z. B. in den Hauptstücken (*κεφάλαια*), welche in den Einleitungen stereotyp sind (acht, neben den vier Ursachen), sondern auch mit Rücksicht auf die Eleganz des Ausdrucks. Im Gegensatz dazu ist die *Esoterik* mitunter absichtlich entfernt von der gemeinverständlichen Form, ungewöhnlich kurz und möglichst technisch. Eine Art von *Esoterik* ist auch die Privataufzeichnung, die sich schon in alten Zeiten findet. Zwei wichtige Umstände haben hier mitgewirkt. Im Altertum wurde überhaupt selten für Andere aufgeschrieben, die ספרי ניאנרות und סגולות סתרים waren Privatnotizen ohne schriftstellerische Form; dazu kamen gewisse Formeln und Abkürzungen (סימנים, *Dukes, Rabbinsche Blumenlese*, u. Brüll, *רושן*, 1864; dazu Lebrecht, *HB.*, VII, 99). Mündliche Vorträge haben den Lehrstoff lange erhalten. Daher waren die Haggada und Halacha allmählich zu einer Collectivliteratur geworden, deren Formmängel sich bis in die neueste Zeit erhalten haben, in welcher Excerpte gedruckt werden.

Die *Esoterik* ist so alt als das scharfe Denken, und die Juden unterscheiden sich von anderen Nationen darin, dass bei diesen eine Bevorrechtung der Kasten stattfand, während bei jenen kaum die Aussprache des Tetragrammaton ein Vorrecht der Priester war, da ja das Volk, das in der Vorhalle wartete, denselben zu hören bekam. Angenommen aber, dass Jeder *befähigt* und berechtigt war, Alles zu

lernen, so gab es doch gewisse Ideenkreise, welche aus besonderer Rücksicht den Gelehrten vorbehalten waren; es war die Forschung nach dem Weltursprung und nach dem sogenannten Thronwagen Gottes (Theophanie), welche Maimonides mit Physik und Metaphysik identificirt; vielleicht gehört auch dahin die Polemik gegen das herrschende Heidentum. Vielleicht entwickelte sich daraus eine zusammenhängende Typik mit einer ängstlichen Ausdrucksweise; Beispiele solcher Art finden sich im Neuen Testament; s. auch Mandelstamm, *Horae talmudicae*; Redslob sucht allerdings in einigen Programmen (1848–56) das allegorische Mysterium der Freimaurerei in die Bibel hineinzudeuten. Die Esoterik ist auch im Mittelalter zu finden und wird niemals ganz zu umgehen sein, da gewisse Dinge nicht populär darzustellen sind; populäre ethische und praktische Gedanken können wohl ohne tiefe Entwicklung verbreitet werden, aber niemals streng philosophische und philologische Erörterungen ohne principielle und geschichtliche Grundlage und methodische Entwicklung.

Das Resultat der bisherigen Erörterung lässt sich kurz zusammenfassen: Der Enthusiasmus für das Wahre wird überall sichtbar; selbst in den Übelständen für die strenge Wissenschaft zeigt sich ein Streben, welches anzuerkennen ist, ohne dass man die Auswüchse als solche erkennt.

III. *Das Schöne*. — Im Allgemeinen ist die *Abstraktion* eine Gegnerin der Kunst, deren Aufgabe es ist, zu *individualisiren*. Der Kultus des Schönen knüpft naturgemäß an den Polytheismus: die sinnliche Erscheinung wird als *einzelne* vergeistigt: Genien, Dryaden, Nymphen etc. (Schiller's *Götter Griechenlands*). Wo Alles auf Einheit zurückgeführt wird, verliert das Einzelne seine Bedeutung. Andererseits waren die alten Künste ohne Unterschied der Nation im Dienste eines *sinnlichen* Kultus; das beweisen, unter Anderem, die *ägyptischen* Denkmäler von Königen, Katzen, Krokodilen (s. Duncker's *Geschichte des Altertums*). Der geistige Gottesdienst widersetzt sich von vornherein der Hochstellung sinnlicher Formen, namentlich der Darstellung *menschlicher* Figuren, wie sie später das Christentum wieder einführte. Das Judentum überträgt sogar mit einer gewissen Eifersucht *alle* Künstlerschaft auf Gott: אִין צֶדֶד כְּמַלְהוּתוֹ אִין צִיּוּר. Es ist für die Apologetik charakteristisch, dass M. Sachs (*Beiträge*, I, 47) sich auf diese Stelle als eine Apologie der menschlichen Kunst beruft! Die ältesten Quellen, die Poeten nicht ausgeschlossen, bieten in dieser Beziehung Stoff zu kritischen Erörterungen, welche schon im Talmud beginnen, so z. B. die Cherubim. Später finden sich noch andere Stoffe, wie z. B. der Thron Salomons¹, die Viergestalt in Ezechiel

¹ Jos. Perles, *Thron und Circus Salomons* (1872), vergleicht den Hippodrom.

(welche in neuerer Zeit in Persien oder Kleinasien aufgefunden worden ist).

Das Judentum war also schon principiell durch seinen Grundglauben der bildenden Kunst nicht günstig, und die erste Kunst des Altertums war keine schöne; Ägypten und Indien haben Fratzen, Ausgeburten einer abenteuerlichen Phantasie; Assyrien, dessen Denkmäler, durch die "Nineveh Marbles" in London u. s. w. bekannt geworden, haben etwas Erhabenes, aber nicht Reizendes.

Erst mit dem *Griechentum* trat das Schöne als Selbstzweck auf und *καλὸν κάγαθόν* als Ideal der Bildung, zugleich mit sinnlicher Selbstbefriedigung, wie im Wahren als *otium*, und im schroffen Gegensatz. Ein anderer Punkt ist die Verletzung der *Züchtigkeit* in Nuditäten u. dgl.

Die hebräische Sprache hat keinen eigentlichen Ausdruck für *Kunst*; die deutsche Sprache allein hat dafür ein Wort, welches zunächst das abstrakte Können bedeutet; das griechische *τέχνη*, das lateinische *ars*, bedeutet ursprünglich das von Menschen Herrführende, im Gegensatz zum Natürlichen, daher zunächst das Handwerk, dann die Kunst, später auch Kunstgriff, *artificium*, daher חכמה יונית nach einigen Talmuderkklärern = Kunstgriff. Eigentlich ist صناعة, hebr. מלאכה, im Gegensatz zu חכמה. Die Terminologie des Menachem b. Abr. giebt folgende Definition: מלאכה היא פעולה אנושית מסודרת: משכל מעשי והיא תעשה בתאר מוגבל ובכלים מוגבלים כון בה תכלית מהתכליות שהם טוב מה ומעלת האומן המלאכותית בטוב דמותו בטבע לפי האפשר כי המלאכה מקוצרת מהטבע . . . והמלאכה אין מציאותה בחסר אכל מציאותה אמנם היא בנפש . . . ואם יהיה בבאן אומנות בתכלית מן ההשלמה בחקירה וחפוש הוא מבואר כי זה האומנות יאמר Die Kunst ist ein menschliches Wirken, geordnet vom praktischen Intellekt; sie wird bewirkt in begrenzter Weise und durch beschränkte Instrumente, in möglichster Nachahmung der Natur, welcher sie nachsteht, etc. Sie liegt nicht im Stoffe, sondern in der Seele; eine höchst vollkommene Kunst in der Untersuchung und Forschung wäre absolute "Wissenschaft." Jeder Künstler liebt sein Werk insbesondere. Satanov erinnert hierbei an die Dichter und an die Vaterliebe. Hingegen heisst es bei Menachem חכמה היא השכל והיריעה הנופלת בדברים שהם נכבדים בטבע מאד. Damit ist die Definition im *Ta'rifat*, S. 140, ed. Flügel, zu vergleichen: الصناعة ملكة نفسانية يُصدر عنها الاعمال الاختيارية من غير روية وقيل العلم المتعلق بكيفية العمل.

So bezeichnet man auch die *Theorie* der Rhetorik als חכמת המליצה, während מלאכת השיר eigentlich die äussere Form bedeutet, welche zur Erfindung hinzukommt (s. unten).

Bevor wir zu den *einzelnen* Darstellungen der Künste übergehen, ein Wort über die *Erziehung* zum Schönen, oder *Kosmetik*, als Pflege des Körpers. Den Spruch "Mens sana in corpore sano" kennen auch die Juden, aber nur als Mittel, z. B. Schwimmen, Baden, als eine *sittliche* Pflicht (Sachs, *Beiträge*, I, 48). Die *Gymnastik* der Griechen war verbunden mit Anschauung der schönen athletischen Formen, welche zugleich die *Modelle* des Künstlers waren; später entstanden Kämpferspiele, Theater; die מיאטרות im Talmud sind Fechtspiele, denen Juden selbst als Opfer fielen (Alexander und Titus). Den Frauenschmuck schildert schon Jesaja, Schminke und Augenschminke kommen bei den alten Hebräerinnen vor (Hartmann, *Die Hebräerin am Putztisch*, Amsterdam, 1809–10). In neuerer Zeit kam Elchanan b. Isachar, Kantor in Prossnitz und Kremsier, auf den Gedanken, einen *Zierspiegel* (מראה לחזקשט) herauszugeben (1693), welcher Sittensprüche enthält. Schon viel früher erschien ein *Brautspiegel*, ein grosser, von Mose Henoch, und ein kleiner, Sprüche aus Al-Charisi's *Tachkemoni* enthaltend.

Die *Mimik* ist die eigentliche Darstellung des Schauspiels. Bekanntlich haben auch in Griechenland Männer die Frauenrollen in Masken gegeben; aber auch diese Verkleidung widerspricht dem Verbote des Pentateuchs (Deut. xxii. 5); dasselbe gilt vom Tanz, der zwar im Altertum als Gottesdienst betrachtet wurde (David), wie in talmudischer Zeit am 15. Ab getanzt wurde, am Versöhnungstag Reigentanz mit Wechselchor der Jungfrauen stattfand (Delitzsch, *Gesch. d. jüd. Poesie*, 195); der Tanz, wie jede Äusserung der Freude, wurde allmählich eingeschränkt, z. B. auf Hochzeiten, wo selbst der Rabbiner mit der Braut, durch ein Tuch verbunden, das sogenannte Mizwetänzchen ausführte. Als Curiosum kann es gelten, dass in Italien der Jude Guglielmo (15. Jahrh.?) ein *Arte di ballo* herausgab oder in seinem Namen ein solches Buch herausgegeben wurde (*Monatsschrift*, 1898, S. 419); dagegen schreibt der Cantor Salomo Chasan im 17. Jahrh. eine Satyre gegen das Tanzen (החישים והעזים), MS. Carmoly 24 = Halberst., jetzt Montef.). In Sicilien erlaubt die Regierung den Tanz gegen den angedrohten Bann! (Legumina, *Documenti*, II, s. oben).

Die *Musik* war von jeher ein geeignetes Mittel zur Erweckung heiliger Empfindungen und hat daher schon frühzeitig eine bedeutende Entwicklung durchgemacht (Saalschütz, *Die Musik der Hebräer*, 1825). Später hat sie an der Entwicklung der jüngeren Poesie teilgenommen,

¹ Eine Anspielung auf Bockssprünge.

auch die Philosophie berührte sie in der Pythagoräischen Theorie der Harmonie der Sphären. Jedoch ist die Musik selbst sowohl theoretisch als praktisch in der hebräischen Literatur nur in geringem Masse vertreten. Ein Werk oder ein Teil eines Werkes von abu 'l-Salt (11. Jahrh.) ist von einem Anonymus hebräisch übersetzt. Der Pariser Catalog Nr. 1037³ macht mit Unrecht zum Übersetzer den offenbar italienischen Verfasser der darauf folgenden Schrift (Hüb., § 527).

A. Die *plastische Darstellung* (צורה בולטת) ist vorzugsweise verboten. Von den Abbildungen (נִסְּךְ) der jüdischen Tempel ist in Honein's *Apophthegmen*, I, 8 die Rede (s. *Jeschurun*, V, 188); weniger verpönt sind Zeichenkunst, Malerei und Stickerei. Die Nachrichten darüber sind im Ganzen spärlich, z. B. aus dem 12. Jahrh., s. Parchon, s. v. עץ. Die *Mosaik* dürfte alt sein (vgl. מִסְכֵּית bei Sachs, *Beiträge*, I, 45; über den Namen "Mosaik," Redslob, *Z. D. M. G.*).

Für die hier folgende Übersicht gilt als leitender Gesichtspunkt, dass sie zugleich als Hilfsmittel für die Literatur diene.

(1) Unter den eigentlich *darstellenden Künsten* war hauptsächlich die *Plastik* verpönt. Das hierher Gehörige findet man in Maimonides, Tr. י"ע, wo der Ausdruck לָנִי zu beachten ist. Es ergibt sich als charakteristisch zweierlei.

(2) Die *Menschenfigur* wird besonders streng verpönt, weil sie vorzugsweise im alten Götzendienste stand und später in den Abbildungen von Jesus (dessen Passionsgeschichte eine Passionsgeschichte der Juden hervorrief), in Bildern von Heiligen u. dergl. angewendet wurde.

(3) Es war der Zweck der Abbildung von grossem Gewicht. ("Nicht die Anfertigung, sondern der Dienst der Bilder soll verboten sein; wie wären sonst die Löwen am Throne Salomo's angefertigt worden? Auch geschieht es ja täglich, dass wir viele Figuren צורות machen."—Natan, *MS. Mn.* 252, s. *Pelet. Sof.*, 8. 30, Hebr.). Der Karäer David b. Abraham (bei Neubauer, *Notices sur la Lexicographie*, 1863, p. 120) verbietet allerdings Verzierungen von Thorarollen und Gebetsorten überhaupt.

Im 13. Jahrhundert nahm man bei der Übersetzung von *Kalila und Dimna* auch die Illustrationen derselben mit auf, und Isak ibn Sahula, wahrscheinlich aus Guadaluza, i. J. 1295, der mit seinen alten Erzählungen fremde Eindringlinge abhalten wollte, die er in seinen eigenen Erzählungen nicht erkannte, nimmt keinen Anstand, sein Buch mit Bildern zu füllen, welche später durch allerlei Holzschnitte (darunter auch ein Ritter mit dem Kreuz, wiedergegeben im Serapeum) verdrängt wurden; allein gerade in *spanischen Hand-*

schriften haben sich eigentliche Bilder am wenigsten erhalten, und es fragt sich, ob die Pesach-Haggada im *Catalog Libri* wirklich spanischen Ursprungs sei; vgl. auch MS. Almanzi. — Eine Anweisung zum Coloriren der Handschriften, von Abraham b. Jehuda ibn Chajjim, in spanischer Sprache, enthält die Handschrift De Rossi 945 = Hisp. IX, 6. Die Ornamentik, Arabesken u. dgl., sind in Deutschland selbst in die Gebetbücher gedrungen; ein Gutachten darüber findet sich in Tosafot zu *Tractat Joma* (fol. 54), deren Redaktion von Meir Rothenburg, gest. 1294, herrührt; darin wird unter Anderem סורורים ננפא (Nymphe, nach Landau) erklärt. Über ein bemaltes Fenster in der Kölner Synagoge s. Zunz, *Zur Gesch.*, 175. Jene Ornamentik ist nicht eigentlich darstellende Kunst, die Verzierung von Buchstaben (סרגול) bietet sogar mystische Anknüpfungspunkte, welche schon in einem, dem Akiba beigelegten Buche der Krönchen (תנין, ed. Paris, 1866) angedeutet sind. Auch die Buchdrucker zu Ende des 15. und Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts verzieren ihre Titel und Einrahmungen mit Figuren von Eichhörnchen, Häschen u. dgl.; später wandte man in Basel Holbein'sche Rahmen, die an den Anfangsbuchstaben zu erkennen sind, auch auf hebräische Drucke an. Buchdrucker-Stemmata haben sich bei den Juden wenig entwickelt, doch kommt z. B. der Pfau in Mantua im 16. Jahrhundert vor, auch später der Hirsch (קנא) in Nordeuropa. Der Gegensatz zwischen orientalischer Ornamentik und griechischer Kunst trat hervor im "Sydenham Palace," während der ersten Londoner Weltausstellung, wo Abbildungen der Alhambra und aus Herculaneum einander gegenüberstanden. Hebräische Kunst war nicht vertreten. In der *Kunstgeschichte* von Lübke ist das Hebräische auf einer halben Seite erledigt und den Archäologen überlassen. Ein Anderer (O. v. Leixner) entdeckt sogar bei den Hebräern einen "Schönheitshass"!

B. *Denkmäler*, welche, hier anschliessend, behandelt werden sollen. Aus alter Zeit ist sehr wenig erhalten: Absalom's Säule, Reste von Aquädukten, u. dgl. Es giebt aber auch Allgemeines, was auf jüdische Geschichte Bezug hat: der Triumphbogen des Titus; "Manneken Piss" in Brüssel; die Abbildung des Messers, "mit dem die Juden ein Kind ermordet haben" (erinnert an die Anekdote von dem Schwerte des Bileam in einem Raritätenkabinet, welches nämlich das von Bileam gewünschte sein sollte).

In neuester Zeit (Ende d. 19. Jh.) begann man in Deutschland Gegenstände zu sammeln, welche jüdische Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte beleuchten sollten. Den Anfang bildete die spezielle Ausstellung in London (1887), über welche Einiges in Druck erschien, wobei nur zu bedauern ist, dass gerade England so wenig Bedeutung

für das Judentum überhaupt hat, obwohl J. Jacobs (*J. Q. R.*, XI) ihm eine solche (typische) zu vindiciren sucht. Die Vereine für Erhaltung von Antiquitäten in Frankf. a. M., in Hamburg und Wien sind für das grössere Publikum berechnet, die Mittheilungen des Hamburger Vereins räumen dem neuesten jüdisch-deutschen Jargon fast den Vordergrund ein.

Abbildungen des Tempels und Tabernakels stellte der Holländer Jakob Leon zusammen und zeigte sie öffentlich; er erhielt daher den Nebennamen "Templo," und seine Erklärung erschien in verschiedenen Sprachen (1642 etc.; *Catal. Bodl.*, p. 1226).

Allerlei Antiquitäten sind abgebildet und erklärt in Ugolino's grossem *Thesaurus* (1744-69).

Im Allgemeinen s. De Sauley, *Gesch. d. jüd. Kunst* (*HB.*, I, 61); Jos. Wertheimer in *Ben Chan.*, II, 143; Herzfeld, *Sieben Vorträge über die Kunstleistungen der Hebräer und alten Juden*, . . . 1864.

C. Münzen und Medaillen.—Alte Siklen und makkabäische Münzen sind in neuerer Zeit vielfach besprochen worden. Die Juden erscheinen oft in Verbindung mit den staatlichen Münzangelegenheiten. Schon zu Anfang des Islam wird der Jude Sumeir angeblich als erster Münzpräger genannt; s. auch die Stelle bei Ahmed b. Dja'far (p. xiv, anno 608 H., bei Mawerdi, p. xxv); *HB.*, II, 40; III, 109, Anm. 3; V, 113; Sam. b. Chananel (11. Jh.?), *Monatschr.*, 1895-6, S. 539; Schlom, Münzverweiser Leopolds VI. in Wien 1194 (*HB.*, IX, 57; X, 44); Jechiel unter Bischof Otto von Würzburg 1202-23 (*Monatsbl.*, 1891, S. 211); Etel Schneior, Schatzmeister König Ludwigs II. von Ungarn 1516-29 (*Ben Chananja*, IV, 429); andere im 16. Jahrh. im Orient und in Italien, s. *HB.*, X, 49. Auch in Damaskus waren die Juden bei der Münze beschäftigt (als Geldschmelzer) im J. 1654 (s. die Reisebeschreibung bei Gurland Ginse, St. Pet., 41). Einen Salomo im Orient s. *HB.*, XVIII, 76; einen Münzmeister Josef in Cairo Ende des 17. Jahrh. s. S. Cassel, *Juden*, S. 204; vgl. auch Abraham de Castro, *מסורה על מטבע*, bei Kapsoli (*Collect.*, p. 96). Aus der neueren Zeit giebt Wiener (*Ben Chananja*, 1865, S. 50) Nachweisungen. Die Juden gehörten also zur *haute finance* im eigentlichen Sinne. Die orientalische Legende, welche Terach zum Münzpräger macht (Gutschmidt, *Z. D. M. G.*, XV, 43), ist von B. Beer (*Leben Abraham's*) alles Ernstes behandelt worden; ebenso wenig gehören in die Geschichte angeblich Davidische Münzen (*Il Vessillo*, 1880, S. 55).

Was die Literatur der Münzen betrifft, so ist die Schrift von Ekkel bereits veraltet. Das letzte bedeutende Werk ist von F. W. Madden: *History of Jewish Coinage and of Money in the Old and New Testament*,

London, 1865, mit 254 Abbildungen; auch in 2. Ausg. Eug. Merzbacher, *De siclis, nummis antiquissimis Judaeorum, diss. inaug.*, Berlin, 1873, enthält auch die frühere Literatur. Von demselben: *Untersuchungen über althebräische Münzen*, in Sallet's *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Berlin, 1874. De Saulcy, l. c. (1874).

Über *Siegel* von Gemeinden und Privaten, von Dr. Bresslau und Berliner, s. *HB.*, IX, 149; X, 87; XII, 92; über *Siegelsteine* s. M. A. Levy, *Siegel u. Gemmen*, 1869.

Medaillen kommen selten vor. Eine Medaille des 15. Jahrh. hat viele Federn in Bewegung gesetzt. Der Arzt Elia, dem sie gewidmet ist, soll אליה geheissen haben. Erörterungen darüber von Carmoly, Jost, Zunz, haben den letzteren schliesslich darauf geführt, dass eine Abbeviatur von Psalm xxxi. 6 vorliege (*Geiger's Zeitschr.*, VI, 77; *Ges. Schr.*, III, 207; vgl. auch MS. München 210, S. 72, gegen Berliner, *Gesch.*, II, 1, S. 120). Demnach ist die Medaille auf Elia de Lattas und dessen Frau Ricca vom Jahre 1552 (*Monatsschr.*, 1893-4, S. 240) nicht die erste. Auch auf Grazia Nasi wurde 1556 eine Medaille geprägt.

Das erste *Porträt* soll dasjenige des Meir Katzenellenbogen sein (*HB.*, III, 109)¹. Ein Porträt des Maimonides entbehrt aller Autorität.

In neuerer Zeit ist eine Hohlmedaille mit einliegenden Bildern auf den 1738 gehängten Stüss Oppenheimer, dessen Leben und Thaten Scheible 1853 herausgab, angefertigt worden. (Roman von Hauff, *Krit. Biogr.* von Zimmermann, 1874.)

Allerlei Geräte finden sich auch aus späterer Zeit (vgl. *Papers read before the Jews' College Literary Society*, London, 1887; *Catalogue of the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition*, London, 1887: manches in diesen Schriften Behauptete bedarf kritischer Untersuchungen). Zu den schönen Erfindungen darf man wohl die Inschrift einer Mühle im J. 1536 zählen (Delitzsch, *Jüd. Poesie*, S. 172, wo angeblich "Millionen" solcher Denkmale existiren!). Über einige Denkinschriften nach Boekh s. M. A. Levy, *loc. cit.*

¹ Über Porträts von Moses u. Christus s. *Mag. f. d. Lit. d. Aust.*, 1846, Nr. 78, S. 312.

(To be continued.)

EINE ANGEBLICHE ERGÄNZUNG ZU JAḤJĀ ṢĀLIḤ'S TIKLĀL.

In seiner Schrift "Fragment eines Gebetbuches aus Yemen"¹ macht Dr. Pinkas Heinrich ein ihm von Dr. Gaster in London "zum Ediren anvertrautes Manuscript" zum Gegenstande seiner Untersuchung, die ihn zu folgendem Resultate geführt hat (S. 7): "Die Handschrift ist in Sana von dem dortigen Rabbiner Jachja Salich im Jahre 1708, als Ergänzung des von ihm längst geschriebenen ('alten') Tinklāl, also im Alter von ungefähr 30 Jahren geschrieben." Da ich jüngst (*J. Q. R.*, XIV, 582 ff.) ausführlich über Jahjā's ṢāliḤ's Tinklāl (wie das Wort geschrieben werden muss) geschrieben habe, so halte ich es für nötig, das von Dr. Heinrich gefundene Ergebniss seiner Untersuchung auf seine Richtigkeit zu prüfen. Ich bemerke, dass Dr. H. weder die jerusalemische Ausgabe des Tinklāl noch meine Abhandlung über dasselbe kennt, und seine Kenntnis von Jahjā ṢāliḤ nur aus der auch von mir angeführten Stelle in Jakob Saphir's Reisewerken (I, 101 a) schöpft.

Wie gelangt der Verfasser zunächst zu seiner so genauen Jahreszahl 1708? Die Handschrift bietet auf Blatt 9a folgendes Datum: כי . . . אנו מונין לחרבן בית אלהינו ולפור עם ה' מעל ארמת קדשנו היום לחרבן בית שני אשר בנה עזרא אדונינו אלק ושמנה מאות וארבע שני יגונותינו ולחרבן בית ראשון ולפור אנשי גלותינו אנחנו הגולים פה בארצות מונוני היום אלפים ומאתים ושנים וארבע שנים על רוב עונותינו זה המנין בשנתנו זו. Dazu hat dieselbe Hand als Randglosse hinzugefügt: שנת ב'קפ"ג' לשמרות. Es ist also 2183 Seleucidarum, d. i. 1872 der christlichen Aera. Mit dieser Jahreszahl stimmt die Angabe überein: 1804 nach der Zerstörung des zweiten Tempels, für die nach der jüdischen Chronologie bekanntlich nicht 70, sondern 68 p. Chr. anzusetzen ist. (Heinrich rechnet für Aera Seleucidarum 312—statt 311—ante Chr. und für die Zerstörung des zweiten Tempels 70 p. Chr.; dadurch bringt er die sich widersprechenden Jahreszahlen 1874 und 1871 heraus.) Was die Jahreszahl 2284 betrifft, so muss sie vielleicht — wie Heinrich vorschlägt — als Versehen für 2294 angenommen werden, da zwischen der Zerstörung des ersten und der des zweiten Tempels nach

¹ Wien, 1902.

talmudischer Chronologie 490 Jahre zu setzen sind. Auch die jerusale-mische Ausgabe des Gebetbuches von Jemen giebt für das Jahr 1897 die Daten 1829 seit der Zerstörung des zweiten, 2319 seit der Zerstörung des ersten Tempels. Jedenfalls ist laut jenen Angaben die Gaster'sche Handschrift im Jahre 1872 angefertigt, wenn wir nicht annehmen wollen, dass die Angaben auf Blatt 9a von anderer, späterer Hand her-rühren als die Handschrift selbst. Darüber aber sagt H. nichts, nimmt es vielmehr als selbstverständlich an, dass die chronologische Notiz vom Urheber der Handschrift selbst herrührt. Wie aber gelangt er zu seiner Jahreszahl 1708 p. Chr.? Er lässt nur die Jahreszahl 2294 (Berichtigung für 2284) gelten, ignoriert die beiden andern und setzt voraus, dass der Schreiber (nach ihm am Anfange des 18. Jahrhunderts) als Datum der Zerstörung des ersten Tempels das von der heutigen chronologischen Wissenschaft festgesetzte Jahr 586 ante Chr. gekannt und anerkannt hat! Da nun $2294 - 586 = 1708$, so war es dieses Jahr, in welchem die Handschrift verfertigt wurde. Zu dieser, dem Wort-laute der chronologischen Angabe der Handschrift selbst, aber auch jeder Kritik ins Gesicht schlagenden Annahme wurde der Verfasser durch eine andere seiner chronologischen Argumentation würdige Beweisführung hinsichtlich des Urhebers der Handschrift geführt. Er beweist nämlich nichts Geringeres, als dass Jaḥjā Ṣāliḥ dieser Urheber ist, und zwar mit folgenden Gründen: 1. In der Handschrift ist dreimal auf ein Gebetbuch Tiklāl verwiesen: הכתוב בכתבאל יטן (8a, 12a), עין למעלה בישן (12a), כמ"ש בתיכלל (12a). Die Abbréviation כמ"ש bedeutet nicht כמו שכתוב, sondern כמו שכתבתי. Der Ver-fasser des Gebetbuches Tiklāl war also der Schreiber der Handschrift. 2. Die Handschrift enthält ein Gedicht שא קינה mit der Rand-bemerkung סי' יהיא צאלח הרב. Da dem Namen nicht der Titel vorgesetzt ist, und da es nicht heisst תיכרה (wie bei einem andern Gedichte der Handschrift: חבריה הרב השלם מסמח), sondern סימן (was soviel bedeutet wie "gezeichnet"), so wird es ganz wahrschein-lich, dass er es selbst geschrieben hat, weshalb er sich eben auch keinen Titel geben konnte. 3. Der Verfasser des Gebetbuches Tiklāl war, wie wir aus Jakob Saphir's Reiseberichten wissen, thatsächlich Jaḥjā Ṣāliḥ. — Eine Widerlegung dieser Argumentation ist überflüssig. Ad 1. bemerke ich nur, dass כתבאל יטן irgend ein altes jemenisches Gebetbuch bedeutet (s. J. Q. R., XIV, 604 ff.); ad 2. dass סימן nichts anderes bedeutet als die Angabe des Akrostichs; das betreffende Ge-dicht zeigt nämlich in den Anfangsbuchstaben der Strophen den Namen יהיא צאלח.

Das ganze Resultat Dr. Heinrichs fällt also in nichts zusammen. Die Gaster'sche Handschrift ist im Jahre 1872 geschrieben; vielleicht liegt

ihr eine ältere Handschrift zu Grunde. Von einer Ergänzung zu Jahjā Ṣāliḥ's Tiklāl darf also keine Rede sein. Uebrigens finden sich einzelne Gedichte der Handschrift thatsächlich bereits in dem Gebetbuche Jahjā Ṣāliḥs.

In dem Haupttheile seiner Schrift (S. 16—80) veröffentlicht nämlich Dr. Heinrich sieben Gedichte der Handschrift, als "die noch ganz unbekannten Stücke" derselben, und versieht jedes mit Vorbemerkung, erklärenden Noten und deutscher Uebersetzung. Das zweite der edirten Stücke, das bereits erwähnte שֵׁאוֹ קִינָה von Jahjā Ṣāliḥ, steht schon in des letzteren Gebetbuche, Bd. IIb, S. 186 f. (s. *J. Q. R.*, XIV, 594). Nr. III יוֹרֶת הַשְּׁבָעוֹת אוֹזֵלָה steht ebendasselbst (S. 216), ist aber schon früher von H. Brody im Sammelbande der *Mehize Nirdamim* (XI. Jahrgang) veröffentlicht worden (s. *J. Q. R.*, XIV, 595). Dass Nr. VII bereits durch Hirschfeld in *J. Q. R.*, VI, 123 ff. herausgegeben wurde, hat der Verfasser, wie er S. 64 angiebt, erst während der Drucklegung erfahren.

Dr. Heinrich hat der Erklärung der edirten Stücke, die zum Theile arabisch, zum Theile auch zweisprachig (hebräisch und arabisch) sind, viele Sorgfalt gewidmet, und seine Arbeit, auf deren Einzelheiten ich nicht weiter eingehen will, macht den Eindruck grossen Fleisses und philologischer Orientirtheit. Aber auch in Einzelheiten zeigt sich der Mangel an Besonnenheit, der in den Argumentationen der Einleitung zu Tage tritt. Nur Einiges sei hervorgehoben. In der letzten Strophe des Gedichtes שֵׁאוֹ קִינָה (S. 28) heisst es: וְנִרְוֹר לְחַכְלִילִי בְּחֵן יֵשִׁיב לְאוֹהֲלִי. Das übersetzt H. so: "Das Licht Davids möge Er für mein Dunkel in Gnade zurückbringen zu meinem Zelt." Zu לְחַכְלִילִי heisst es in der Anmerkung "חֻכְלִל, 'Dunkel,' aramäisch חֻכִּירָא..." Aber חֻכְלִילִי ist aus Gen. xlix. 12 genommen und bedeutet Juda, den Herrscherstamm Israels. Die erste Strophe desselben Gedichtes hat nach der vierten Halbzeile den Zusatz רִשְׁפִּיהַ רִשְׁפִּיהַ אֵשׁ שֶׁלֹּהֲבַתִּיהַ aus Hohelied, viii. 6. Der Verfasser hält sich für berechtigt, des Metrums wegen רִשְׁפִּיהַ zu punktiren, ohne zu bedenken, dass die Strophen des Gedichtes nur je vier Halbzeilen zählen und der Zusatz, als inhaltlich passend der ersten Strophe angefügt, schon seiner Länge wegen nicht dem Metrum unterliegt. — S. 44, Anm. 13, citirt der Verfasser den Satz שְׁבָעִים פָּנִים לְתוֹרָה aus Numer. x. c. xiii und bemerkt dazu: "פָּנִים entspricht arab. كَنَ, mit hebr. Plural-Endung, und muss also ein dageschirtes Nun haben," also פָּנִים gesprochen werden. Aber פָּנִים ist ein alter Terminus für Auslegungsweise (s. *Die älteste Terminologie*, S. 151); nur in dem Hebraismus der philosophischen Litteratur mag es zuweilen für das arabische فَنّ gesetzt worden sein; aber auch dann ist es als פָּנִים zu sprechen.

Noch eine mich selbst betreffende Berichtigung will ich mir hier gestatten. H. imputirt mir die Annahme, dass der Verfasser des von mir besprochenen persischen Commentars zum Buche Samuel (*Z. d. D. M. G.*, LI, 392 ff.) kein anderer war als Salomo b. Samuel, der Verfasser des hebräisch-persischen Wörterbuches aus dem 14. Jahrhunderte. Aber die Stellen meiner Abhandlung über dieses Wörterbuch, auf welche er sich beruft, enthalten nichts dergleichen; auch habe ich niemals an eine solche Identification gedacht.

Zum Schlusse verweise ich auf die Besprechung, welche Herr Sigmund Seeligmann in der neuen holländischen Wochenschrift *De Joodsche Courant* (N. 14, vom 12. December 1902) der Heinrich'schen Arbeit widmet. In derselben erwähnt Seeligmann, zur Ergänzung meiner Angabe über den Aufenthalt Asulai's in Aegypten, dass Neubauer bereits im XIII. Jahrgange des *Hammaggid* (1869), p. 101, aus Cod. N. 2238 der Bodleiana eine Angabe veröffentlichte, laut welcher Asulai ungefähr fünf Jahre lang (1769-1773) Rabbiner in Kairo war.

W. BACHER.

BUDAPEST.

CRITICAL NOTICE.

ROGER BACON'S GREEK AND HEBREW GRAMMARS.

The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon, and a Fragment of his Hebrew Grammar. Edited from the MSS. with introduction and notes by the Rev. EDMOND NOLAN, B.A., and Dr. S. A. HIRSCH. pp. lxxv, 212 (Cambridge, University Press, 1902).

THE importance of Roger Bacon in the history of learning, and especially of Jewish learning, has already been clearly pointed out by Dr. Hirsch in this Review (October, 1899). The publication of the present handsome volume is the fulfilment of the promise then made, and will everywhere be gladly received as a welcome and precious contribution to knowledge.

Bacon was a *vox clamantis in eremo*, a marvellously broad and luminous intellect moving in the dark and cramped world of scholasticism. As Dr. Hirsch has shown, he possessed the true philological instinct; and he had few or none to follow in his footsteps. To his singularly interesting personality full justice is done by the editors of this book, of which the introduction is a model of clear and scholarly exposition.

The Greek Grammar consists of two works hitherto unedited—the Oxford Grammar (Corpus Christi Coll., MS. 148) and a Cambridge fragment (University Library, Ff. 6. 13). Of the former Bacon's authorship has never been contested, though the work itself bears no name; and the latter, which is equally anonymous, Mr. Nolan proves to be a draft of the first part of the same or of a similar work.

The Oxford Grammar consists of three parts. Part i, in 2 *Distinctiones*, contains the alphabet and the most elementary rules for reading, writing, and construing Greek, with exercises. The 8 *Distinctiones* of Part ii are occupied with a more detailed exposition of phonology and prosody. Part iii, originally in 6 *Distinctiones*, now lacks *Distinct.* 1, 2, and the first four chapters of 3; the remainder contains an *Accidence*, breaking off before the athematic conjugations are reached. This gives us the greater part of an elementary grammar; the

advanced treatise to which Bacon refers (iii. 6 § 3) was perhaps never written by him; it certainly has never been found.

Dr. Hirsch on the whole inclines to believe that the main source of this grammar comes through Priscian from Theodosius, though he does not fail to point out that Bacon also used other sources, including Erotemata ultimately derived from the school of Dionysius Thrax. Strong arguments have been adduced by Heiberg (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vol. 9, pp. 472 ff.) for deriving Bacon's grammar from some Byzantine manual. Against these Dr. Hirsch argues with much ability, and, we believe, with success (pp. lix-lxiii).

Bacon's knowledge of Greek was as much as any man could attain in the thirteenth century. It was necessarily the learning of the grammarian, not of the Hellenist, and imperfect at that¹. It could not be otherwise in an age when manuscripts of classical authors were almost unknown to western Europe. But withal it bears the distinctive mark of the *Urkraft* of his intellect. He bitterly comments on the miserable blunders of the medieval *Latini*. He rejects the modern Greeks' elaborately artificial system of nominal accidence; *debemus enim reducere ad principalia, ut artificiales regule stent penes principalia, magis quam penes accidentalia* (p. 147). He even criticises the great Priscian, in a passage showing a philological insight that in a more literary age might have made him not unworthy to rank with Bentley (pp. 131 f.; cf. xxiii f.).

The editors have made it their first object to give an exact transcription of the MSS., and hence all the scribes' blunders appear in the text with footnotes in most cases to correct them when there is any danger of the reader being misled. A captious critic might urge the desirability of correcting the scribes' errors in the text and registering them in the footnotes. But on the whole we think the editors have done wisely; our only regret is that these corrective notes are not quite numerous enough, and that Mr. Nolan has left a few textual sores unhealed². These, however, are mere trifles compared with the merits of a work which claims the gratitude of every Hellenist.

¹ Thus p. 63 *cynos est canis*; p. 69 *archos nihil est quia archon est princeps*; p. 115 *corripitur heremus* (scil. ἔρημος), *unus licet producat*; and he declines *βῶξ βακτός, πέριξ πέρικτος*!

² Thus p. 145 is *alc algos* Bacon's own mistake for the grammarians' paradigm *ἀλγ ἀλγί*, or a scribe's blunder for *αἰγ αἰγός*? On the same page it may be noted that the paradigm *μύκλωψ μύκλωπος* given in the text, for which Mr. Nolan suggests *μώλωψ*, should probably be corrected to *κύκλωψ*, which is also a paradigm in the early grammars; as every palaeographer knows, *κ* and *μ* are always liable to be confused with each other.

The fragmentary Hebrew Grammar (Cambridge University Library, Ff. 6. 13) is sadly exiguous. But in its small compass it has much of interest, and is edited by Dr. Hirsch with his customary acumen and scholarship. It begins with an alphabet in which six letters are reckoned as vowels, viz. א ה ו פ ף ץ, an error shared by no other medieval Christian Hebraist, as the editor points out. The letters כ ם ן ף ץ are distinguished in their medial and final forms as *primum* and *secundum*; and this difference is confused with that produced by dagesh. Only one value of פ is given; כ and ם are said to have double values in modern pronunciation, but their primitive sounds are declared to be only *ch* and *ph*.

As might be expected, the Hebrew is laid on the Procrustean bed of medieval grammar. It is interesting to find the half-truth enunciated that *quandocunque . . . invenitur etha* (i.e. ם ן ף) *semper sequitur accusativus casus*. A curious point is well brought out in a note by Dr. Hirsch. The theory of the six vowels suggested the propriety of inserting one of these to mark the distinct utterance of a vowel; hence Bacon gives us the strange form ם״ן״ף¹.

The well-known cypher of ׳שׁתכא, described in the *Opus Minus*, is also expounded here. The next paragraph is of interest for the history of Hebrew sounds. It mentions the custom of writing a line over a letter to mark the absence of dagesh, and ascribes a spirant sound to ך when so written: *sonat quasi zz, ut adamas. Nam d sic sonamus sicut zz, non in forti sono, vero in proprio. Caph tamen secundum* (i.e. ך) *sonat fortiter* (as a guttural stopped consonant?) *si linea sit supra, et debiliter* (as spirant?) *si habeat punctum intra. Sin vero punctatur aliquando in dextera parte supra vel intra, sic ם, tunc sonat fortiter. Set quando punctatur a sinistra parte supra vel intra, tunc sonat debiliter ם*. Then follows an exposition of the particles and accents with special reference to the Greek.

In fine, we may say that this *Editio Prima* is in every respect a worthy monument to Roger Bacon.

L. D. BARNETT.

¹ Seemingly the ם was suggested by other forms of the same paradigm. Bacon has just before given ם״ן, and immediately afterwards gives ם״ן; he evidently thought a 'vowel' necessary after the root in all such forms.

MACMILLAN & CO.'S PUBLICATIONS.

THE BIBLE FOR HOME READING,

EDITED, WITH COMMENTS AND REFLECTIONS FOR THE
USE OF JEWISH PARENTS AND CHILDREN,

BY

C. G. MONTEFIORE.

Part I. To the Second Visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem.

Second Edition, Crown 8vo, 4s. 6d. net.

Jewish Chronicle.—"By this remarkable work Mr. Claude Montefiore has put the seal on his reputation. He has placed himself securely in the front rank of contemporary teachers of religion. He has produced at once a most original, a most instructive, and a most spiritual treatise, which will long leave its ennobling mark on Jewish religious thought in England. . . . Though the term 'epoch-making' is often misapplied, we do not hesitate to apply it on this occasion. . . . A great book which must inevitably produce a profound sensation and work a salutary effect within and without the Jewish fold."

Jewish World.—"A book that every Jewish father and mother should carefully study and keep as a reference book while training their children in the most important of all subjects of instruction."

*Part II. Containing Selections from the Wisdom Literature,
the Prophets, and the Psalter, together with
Extracts from the Apocrypha.*

Crown 8vo, 5s. 6d. net.

Jewish Chronicle.—"The scholarship, the spiritual insight, the attractive style which distinguished the first part of Mr. Montefiore's *Bible for Home Reading* are displayed in their fullest development in the second part, now happily published. But, good as the older book was, the new is even better. Mr. Montefiore had indeed a great responsibility. How wonderfully he has risen to the occasion, how splendid a use he has made of the opportunity, we shall endeavour to show. But we cannot refrain from saying that this book is the despair of a reviewer. One cannot hope to do justice to such a work when its 800 pages are full to overflowing of learning simply utilized, of moral truths reverently enunciated, of spiritual possibilities forcibly realized, while over all there hovers a charm indefinable, yet easily and inevitably felt by any reader of the book. We will, however, try to indicate some of the excellences of Mr. Montefiore's book, the publication of which is the most important literary event of recent years, so far as the English-speaking Jews are concerned. . . . As masterly as it is spiritual, as scholarly as it is attractive."

MACMILLAN & Co., Ltd., LONDON.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE
Jewish Historical Society
of England.

MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL'S MISSION TO OLIVER

CROMWELL. Being a Reprint of the Pamphlets published by Menasseh Ben Israel to promote the Readmission of the Jews to England, 1649-1656. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by LUCIEN WOLF, Past-President and Vice-President of the Jewish Historical Society of England. With Portrait. Super Royal 8vo, 21s. net.

Jewish Chronicle.—"Mr. Wolf's introduction is a fascinating piece of work, and is unquestionably the most important contribution to Anglo-Jewish history that has yet appeared in any language. . . . In fact, the first thought suggested by Mr. Wolf's work is that it is beyond criticism. Owing to his careful preparation, Mr. Wolf is entitled to speak with almost undisputed authority on a subject which he has practically made his own. . . . From every point of view, then, this interesting volume should command the attention of scholars and the votes of the public. It is a book deserving of the highest praise, both for the freshness of its materials and for the vividness with which they are presented. Mr. Wolf is gifted with historic imagination and a splendid nervous style, and his work, which every student of the seventeenth century will have to read, is an admirable example of critical research combined with literary skill."

Pilot.—"The Jewish Historical Society is to be congratulated on the very interesting monograph on Menasseh Ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell, compiled for it by Mr. Lucien Wolf."

Westminster Gazette.—"A worthy memorial of the illustrious Menasseh Ben Israel."

THE ETHICS OF JUDAISM. By M. LAZARUS, Ph.D.

Translated from the German by HENRIETTA SZOLD. In Four Parts. Part I, Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net. Part II, Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

Jewish Chronicle.—"The first two volumes issued by the Jewish Historical Society under its new and wider powers deserve a very cordial reception. . . . Miss Davis's translation of some of the best poems of Mediaeval Jewish writers, and Professor Lazarus's interesting presentation of the principles of Jewish ethics, are equally admirable."

Spectator.—"For the present we must be content with a general commendation. . . . Occasional illustrations increase the interest of Professor Lazarus's chapters."

SONGS OF EXILE. By Hebrew Poets. Translated by

NINA DAVIS. Royal 16mo. Gilt top. 2s. 6d.

Pilot.—"Very tuneful translations. . . . There is enough character here to persuade us that we are listening not only to Miss Davis but to the poet himself, and there are not many translations that give this impression."

MACMILLAN & Co., Ltd., LONDON.

Printed at the CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD, by HORACE HART, Printer to the University.

The Jewish Quarterly Review.

EDITED BY

I. ABRAHAMS AND C. G. MONTEFIORE.

VOL. XV.

APRIL, 1903.

No. 59.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TRANSLATION OF THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS. By H. St. J. THACKERAY	337
THE HEBREW PAPYRUS OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS. By F. C. BURKITT	392
POETRY.—"IN THE SWEAT SHOP." Translated from the Yiddish of Morris Rosenfeldt. By the Rev. Dr. HENRY BERKOWITZ...	409
AUTO DE FÉ AND JEW (<i>concluded</i>). By E. N. ADLER	413
THE WISDOM OF BEN SIRA. By the Rev. Dr. C. TAYLOR	440
THE BEGINNINGS OF THE REFORM MOVEMENT IN JUDAISM. By the Rev. Dr. DAVID PHILIPSON	475
ZUR GESCHICHTE DER ZAHL π . By Dr. ELIAS FINK	522
THE ARABIC PORTION OF THE CAIRO GENIZAH. By Prof. I. GOLDZIEHER	526
THE JEWS IN PORTUGAL FROM 1773 TO 1902. By CARDOZO DE BETHENCOURT	529
INDEX TO THE DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF HEBREW MSS. OF THE MONTEFIORE LIBRARY. By Dr. H. HIRSCHFELD ...	531

London:

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED.

NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

Price 3s. 6d. Annual Subscription, Post Free, 11s.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS.

Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings. *WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND APPENDIX*

By the Rev. C. F. BURNEY, M.A. 8vo, cloth, 14s. net.

Previously Published.

NOTES ON THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL. By S. R. DRIVER, D.D. 8vo, cloth, 14s.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE BOOK OF GENESIS. By G. J. SPURRELL, M.A. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, cloth, 12s. 6d.

A HEBREW AND ENGLISH LEXICON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, with an Appendix containing the Biblical Aramaic, based on the Thesaurus and Lexicon of GESENIUS, by FRANCIS BROWN, D.D., S. R. DRIVER, D.D., and C. A. BRIGGS, D.D. Parts I-X. Small 4to, each 2s. 6d.

LONDON: HENRY FROWDE,
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN CORNER.

THE BIBLE FOR HOME READING,

*EDITED, WITH COMMENTS AND REFLECTIONS FOR THE
USE OF JEWISH PARENTS AND CHILDREN,*

BY

C. G. MONTEFIORE.

Part I. To the Second Visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem. **Second Edition, Crown 8vo, 4s. 6d. net.**

Jewish World.—"A book that every Jewish father and mother should carefully study and keep as a reference book while training their children in the most important of all subjects of instruction."

Part II. Containing Selections from the Wisdom Literature, the Prophets, and the Psalter, together with Extracts from the Apocrypha.

Crown 8vo, 5s. 6d. net.

Jewish Chronicle.—"The scholarship, the spiritual insight, the attractive style which distinguished the first part of Mr. Montefiore's *Bible for Home Reading* are displayed in their fullest development in the second part, now happily published. But, good as the older book was, the new is even better. Mr. Montefiore had indeed a great responsibility. How wonderfully he has risen to the occasion, how splendid a use he has made of the opportunity, we shall endeavour to show. But we cannot refrain from saying that this book is the despair of a reviewer. One cannot hope to do justice to such a work when its 800 pages are full to overflowing of learning simply utilized, of moral truths reverently enunciated, of spiritual possibilities forcibly realized, while over all there hovers a charm indefinable, yet easily and inevitably felt by any reader of the book. We will, however, try to indicate some of the excellences of Mr. Montefiore's book, the publication of which is the most important literary event of recent years, so far as the English-speaking Jews are concerned. . . . As masterly as it is spiritual, as scholarly as it is attractive."

MACMILLAN & Co., Ltd., LONDON.

THE JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW

APRIL, 1903

TRANSLATION OF THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS.

THE celebrated document, of which a new English version is here presented to the reader, professes to give a contemporary account of the translation of the Pentateuch into Greek in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.). It has long been recognized that the letter cannot be contemporary with the events described. The writer in various ways betrays his later date. Thus he says that the arrangements made at the Alexandrian court for the entertainment of foreigners "may still be seen in operation" (§ 182), and he describes the scrupulous care with which "all business used to be transacted by these kings" (§ 28), as though he were looking back over the history of a long dynasty of Ptolemies. He anticipates the incredulity with which his story will be received (§ 296). He is guilty of some historical inaccuracies, in making Demetrius Phalereus the friend and librarian of Philadelphus, and in his references to Menedemus (§ 201), Theopompus (§ 314), and Theodectes (§ 316). But that which chiefly arouses suspicion as to the historical character of the narrative is the apologetic tendency displayed in it. The writer is clearly a Jew of Alexandria,

not a heathen courtier as he professes to be, and his main object is to magnify the Jewish nation in the eyes of the Greek world by narrating the honour bestowed upon it by a Greek monarch and the praise accorded to it by heathen lips. This apologetic tendency is seen most clearly in the long exposition given by Eleazar of "the inner meaning of the law" (§ 171) with regard to clean and unclean food—a section which is penned with the intention of satisfying the "curiosity" which that law had excited (§ 128), and counteracting fallacious views on the subject which still found supporters although they had long been exploded (§ 144). Still, as has been said, "a work written with a tendency, with a romantic colouring, may nevertheless be trustworthy," and the problem of sifting the false from the true in this story yet awaits solution.

Recent criticism has set in the direction of rehabilitating the story here told, or at any rate a part of it. The numerous papyri of the Ptolemaic age which have been unearthed in Egypt in recent years have shown that the writer employs the titles of court officials and the technical terms connected with royal decrees and court usage with strict accuracy. The information which he gives with regard to Alexandria and the customs and institutions of the Ptolemies may be accepted as trustworthy, and may sometimes be used to supplement the information supplied by the papyri.

But the question of the date of the letter is still so far from being settled that there is a difference of more than two centuries between the earliest and the latest date assigned to it. The three dates which critics of the present day have suggested are (1) that of Schürer, who places it at about 200 B. C., i. e. little more than half a century after the time when the translation is said to have been made; (2) that of Wendland, who sets it between 96 and 63 B. C., rather nearer to the former date; (3) that of Willrich (*Judaica*, 1900), who, following Graetz, brings it down as late as the time of Caligula (after 33 A. D.). It is impossible

here to discuss the grounds on which these critics have arrived at these widely differing results. Suffice it to say that the date assigned by Willrich is almost certainly too late, while the evidence afforded by the papyri on some minor points tends to show that Schürer's date is somewhat too early. The chief reason which has induced him to assign to the work so high an antiquity is the picture here presented of the political position of Palestine and its relation to Egypt. The fortress of Jerusalem is still in the possession of the Jews, Alexandrians are allowed to enter the country and its capital without molestation, and "the Jewish people and their high priest appear as almost politically independent." This, according to Schürer, presupposes the period before the conquest of Palestine by the Seleucid dynasty in 198 B.C. as the date of writing. A further argument in favour of the early date is the supposed reference of Aristobulus (170-150 B.C.) to the Aristeas letter in a passage (ap. Eus. *P. E.* xiii. 12. 664 b) where he states that the whole law was first translated under Philadelphus through the instrumentality of Demetrius Phalereus. The authenticity of the passage has, however, been disputed.

On the other hand must be set certain details which point to a date not earlier than the middle of the second century B.C. Strack¹ has shown that, while the honorary title ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ, in conjunction with some other title such as διοικητής or στρατηγός, is found in the papyri of the third century B.C., the use of the plural τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων, which occurs in Aristeas § 40, is not met with before about 145 B.C.² A similar instance is that of the phrase ἐὰν φάληται with no dative following it (Aristeas § 32, see my note on the passage), which appears to be unattested in the papyri before 163 B.C. Again, some of the names of the Seventy (§§ 47 ff.), such as Jason, are names which

¹ *Rhein. Museum*, LV, 168 ff.

² The earliest instance seems to be Tebtunis Papyri, 79. 5a (about 148 B.C.).

only came into vogue in the Maccabean age. The alleged widespread interest in the Jewish law (§ 128) and the false views which were in circulation about it (§ 144), the pointed reference to a difference between the Greek text and the Hebrew in a passage of Exodus (§ 57), and the probable allusion to attempts which had been made to improve on the rendering of the translators (§ 310)—all these appear to indicate a date further removed from the age of Philadelphus than that which Schürer would adopt. The writer refers in § 31 to Hecataeus of Abdera (who lived in the time of Alexander the Great and the first Ptolemy), and Wendland has shown¹ that in the description of Palestine he has probably made a large use of the genuine work of that historian, and not of the spurious writings which have been attributed to him. May not the picture of Palestine as it existed before the Seleucidæan conquest have been taken over directly from Hecataeus by a writer of a slightly later age?

It is not the place here to enter into a discussion of the questions to which the letter gives occasion: whether the translation was made in the reign of Philadelphus, whether it owed its origin to a Greek monarch, or rather, as we should expect, to the growing need felt for such a version by the Jewish colony at Alexandria, and whether the translators were Palestinians or Alexandrians. Neither can we dwell on the subsequent accretions to the story, according to which the whole of the Old Testament, and not the law only, was rendered by the seventy-two translators, who worked independently in separate cells, or two and two in a cell, and all produced identical versions, whereas Aristæus definitely states that the rendering finally agreed upon was the result of comparison and conference (§ 302). For a discussion of these and kindred questions reference may be made to Dr. Swete's *Introduction to the O. T. in Greek*, an article by Mr. Abrahams in the *Jewish*

¹ In Kautsch, *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, II, 1 f.

Quarterly Review for January, 1902, Wendland's text (Teubner, 1900) and translation (in Kautzsch, *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, 1900), and Schürer (*Geschichte des Jüd. Volkes*³, III, 466-73), where the further literature on the subject is given.

The text used for this translation is that contained in the Appendix to Dr. Swete's *Introduction* (second edition, 1902). Constant reference has also been made to the text and translation of Wendland, from whom also are taken the sections into which the text is divided. The felicitous conjectures of Wendland and Mendelssohn have again and again brought out the true meaning of the letter.

H. ST. J. THACKERAY.

[THE OCCASION OF THE TRANSLATION AND PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS.]

As the story of our interview with Eleazar, the high priest of the Jews, is a remarkable one, and because thou, Philocrates, hast set thy heart, as thou art constantly reminding me¹, on learning the object and the occasion of our mission, I have endeavoured to give thee a clear account of what took place. I know that love of learning of thine; and it is indeed man's highest task "ever to make addition to his store of learning and acquirements,"² either by the study of history or by actual experience of affairs. For in this way there is formed a pure disposition in the soul, which, assimilating what is best, and inclining towards that which is all-important, even piety, directs its course by the guidance of an unerring rule³.

¹ Wendland restores the grammar by reading *ἐπομνήσκεις*, "you remind me that you are keen to learn."

² These words form an iambic line in the Greek, and are probably a quotation from a lost tragedy. Two fragments of Sophocles are very similar: "And we must ever be daily acquiring (knowledge), while it is possible to learn better things," "ever desire to add something useful to thy knowledge" (Fragments 779 and 622 in Dindorf, *Poetae Graeci*).

³ I have, following Wendland, made *τὴν προαίρεσιν* the beginning of the next sentence, and slightly altered the punctuation, reading *διάθεσις ἀναλαβούσα τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ κ.τ.λ.* I have taken *δοικεῖ* to be used in an absolute sense.

3 Having determined to make a close investigation into things divine, we offered our services for an¹ embassy to the man above-named, who, owing to his virtuous character and exalted position, is held in high honour both by his countrymen and by the rest of the world, and is in possession of [documents of] the greatest service to his nation, whether at home or abroad. The object of our mission was² the translation of the law of God, because in their country
4 they have it inscribed on parchment in Hebrew letters. And the interest which we displayed³, when an opportunity offered itself, in bringing before the king the case of the men who were removed to Egypt from Judaea by the king's father, who was the first possessor of the city [of Alexandria] and ruler of Egypt, this also it is worth
5 while my telling thee. For I am convinced that thou above all men, with thy leanings towards the holiness and the sentiments of the men who live in accordance with the holy law, wilt gladly listen to the story about them which we are proposing to narrate, having but recently come over from the island⁴ to us, and being anxious to gather any
6 instructive information. On a former occasion I sent thee a description of matters in my opinion worthy of record concerning the Jewish nation, which we obtained from the high priests, the most
7 learned body in that most learned of countries, Egypt⁵. It is right to communicate such things to thee with thy eagerness to learn what may benefit the mind; I would, if possible, impart them to all

¹ Or "the embassy," with Wendland's reading *eis tēn prōs tōn κ.τ.λ.*

² Possibly *πρὸς τὴν ἐρμηνείαν κ.τ.λ.* should be taken with the preceding sentence, "documents of the greatest service . . . for the translation," &c. (Wendland).

³ The text is at fault. I have adopted the easiest correction, that of Mendelssohn, *ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐποιησάμεθα ἡμεῖς σπουδῇν*. Wendland, keeping *ἦν δὲ* and *σπουδῇ*, supposes that some words (*δὲ δὲ διελέχθημεν*) have fallen out before *λαβόντες*. The translation will then run, "This embassy we actually undertook, and with no little zeal. And our address to the king, when an opportunity offered itself, on behalf of the men," &c. But *πρεσβείαν* seems rather too far off to be taken as the antecedent to *ἦν*.

⁴ It is doubtful whether Cyprus or Pharos is intended. A comparison of § 301, where "the island" clearly means Pharos, suggests the latter. But it is difficult, in that case, to understand why Philocrates should need a description of events with which he must have already been well acquainted.

⁵ Possibly the writer wishes to identify himself with the historian Aristæas, who wrote a work *περὶ Ἰουδαίων*, a fragment of which is preserved by Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.*, 430 d. With the reference to the learning of Egypt, cp. Herodotus, II, 3 *οὐ γὰρ Ἑλισπολίται λέγονται Αἰγυπτίαν εἶναι λογιώτατοι*.

who are like-minded with thee, but chiefly to thee; so sincere are thy principles, and not only does thy conduct show thee to be my brother by birth, but in thy striving after goodness thou art at one with us¹. For precious gold or any other of the objects that 8 the vain-glorious hold in honour does not confer the same advantage as the training of culture and the study of these subjects. But, lest we become tedious by extending our introductory remarks to an inordinate length, we will come back to the thread of the narrative.

Demetrius of Phalerum², being keeper of the king's library, received 9 large grants of public money with a view to his collecting, if possible, all the books in the world; and by purchases and transcriptions he to the best of his ability carried the king's purpose into execution. Being asked once in our presence, about how many thousands³ 10 of books were already collected, he replied, "More than two hundred thousand, Sire: but I will ere long make diligent search for the remainder, so that a total of half a million may be reached. And I am informed that the Jews also have certain laws which are deserving of transcription and a place in thy library." "What is 11 to hinder thee, then," replied the king, "in this task? For all the necessary means are at thy service." And Demetrius answered, "Translation is also required. For in the Jews' land they use a writing of their own (just as Egyptians have their system⁴ of letters) as well as a language peculiar to themselves. It is commonly thought that they use the Syrian language⁵, but this is an error: it is another dialect." And when the king had learnt all the facts, he gave command that a letter should be written to the high priest of the Jews, in order that the proposal above-mentioned might be carried into effect.

And now thought I was the opportunity for introducing a matter 12 about which I had often made request to Sosibius of Tarentum and Andreas, the heads of the body-guard, namely the liberation of

¹ By a slight transposition of words (*ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πρόπον*) the sentence is improved (Wendland). It will then run, "and not only art thou my brother by birth, but also in thy character, which in its striving after goodness is akin to ours."

² Demetrius lived from about B. C. 345 to about B. C. 283. The last part of his life was spent at the court of Ptolemy Soter, but we are told by Hermippus that he was out of favour with Ptolemy Philadelphus, and banished by him. He was never the royal librarian. For a discussion as to the part which he may have taken in suggesting the translation, see Swete, *Introd. to O. T.*, 18 f.; *J. Q. R.*, Jan., 1902, 338.

³ Greek, "tens of thousands."

⁴ Literally, "arrangement."

⁵ i. e. Aramaic.

the Jews who had been carried away from Judaea by the king's father. For he, after overrunning the whole of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, assisted by good fortune and his own prowess, transplanted some and made prisoners of others, terrorizing and reducing the whole country to submission. It was on this occasion that he carried away more than a hundred thousand persons from the Jews' country
 13 into Egypt, of which number he armed about thirty thousand picked men and settled them in the fortresses in the country. Many Jews had already before this entered the country along with the Persian, and others had at a still earlier time been sent out as auxiliaries to fight in the army of Psammetichus against the king of the Ethiopians; but these immigrants were not so large a body as those
 14 whom Ptolemy, son of Lagus, introduced¹. Well, as we said before, he selected those who were best fitted by their age for service and the strongest, and armed them, but the rest of the multitude, old and young, and the women, he handed over [to the soldiers] as menials, not of his own free will, but rather compelled thereto by the soldiers, in return for the services which they had rendered on his campaigns. When, therefore, we found some pretext for their release, as has been already explained, we addressed the king some-
 15 what as follows: "It would surely be unreasonable, O king, to let ourselves be placed in the wrong by the actual facts. For, as the laws which we are proposing not only to transcribe but also to translate are binding on all Jews, what reasonable ground shall we have for our mission, whilst large numbers of the race continue in slavery in thy kingdom? Nay, with a perfect and bounteous heart release those who are held fast in miseries, since the same God who gave them the law directs thy kingdom, as my careful investigations
 16 have taught me. For the God who seeth and created all things Whom they worship is he whom all men worship, and we too, O king, though we address him by other names as Zeus and Dis; and by these names they of old time not inappropriately signified that he

¹ The immigration of Jews into Egypt in the time of Ptolemy I Soter is no doubt historical. He made three expeditions into Syria in 320, 312, and 302 B.C. A passage of Hecataeus of Abdera, probably genuine, preserved in Josephus (*cont. Ap.* I, 186), says that after his victory at Gaza many Jews voluntarily returned with him and settled in Egypt. Nothing is known of the earlier settlements alluded to. "The Persian" seems to refer to Cambyzes who conquered Egypt in 525 B.C. Psammetichus was king of Egypt from about B.C. 671 to 617; he was the first king of Egypt to employ *Greek* mercenaries in foreign campaigns (Hdt. II, 151 ff.). Others think that Psammis or Psammetichus II, as he is sometimes called, is here intended. He became king of Egypt about 595 B.C., and carried on war with Ethiopia (Hdt. II, 159-61).

through whom all things receive their life and being, is the director and lord of all¹. Outdo, then, all men in magnanimity, and set at liberty those who are held in bondage." The king kept silence 17 for a brief while, and we inwardly prayed to God to incline his mind to a general release. (For the human race, being God's creation, is subject to change and alteration under his hand; and therefore I called with many and divers prayers upon him that rules the heart, that he might be constrained to fulfil my desire. For I had a good 18 hope, in bringing forward a proposal concerning the deliverance of men², that God would cause the fulfilment of my desires; for when men piously think that they are working for righteousness and the furtherance of good deeds, their actions and designs are directed by Almighty God.) But the king, raising his head and looking at me with a cheerful countenance, said, "How many 19 thousands³ dost thou think there will be?" And Andreas, who was standing beside him, replied, "A little over a hundred thousand." "Of a truth," said he, "it is but a small request which Aristeas makes of us." But Sosibius and some of the bystanders said, "It is indeed an action worthy of thy magnanimity to offer the release of these men as a thank-offering to the most High God. For, as thou hast been most highly honoured by the Almighty and exalted above thy forefathers, so is it fitting that thou shouldst make the very highest of thank-offerings." And he, greatly elated, gave orders that [the 20 redemption money] should be added to the soldiers' pay: for every slave the owner should receive twenty drachmas: a royal decree should be issued on the subject, and the lists should be drawn up forthwith. So magnificent was his zeal, and thus did God fulfil our whole desire, constraining him to liberate not only those who had entered the country with his father's army, but also any who were there before, or had since been introduced into the kingdom. It⁴ was pointed out that the donation would exceed four hundred talents. And I think that it will not be without use to set down here the copy 21 of the royal decree. For the munificence of the king, who was enabled by God to be the means of deliverance to vast multitudes, will thus be made far clearer and more evident. It ran thus:—

"BY THE KING'S DECREE. All persons who took part in the 22

¹ The two accusative forms of Ζεύς, viz. Ζῆνα and Δία, are here derived from ζῆν (to live), and διέν (through). This etymology is found in Orphic and other writings: see the Orphic fragment quoted by Blass on Acts xvii. 28.

² Cf. § 292. With this punctuation it is not necessary to read, with Mendelssohn, "the men."

³ Greek, "tens of thousands."

⁴ Possibly the word "although" has fallen out in the MSS.

- expedition of our father into the regions of Syria and Phoenicia, and invaded the territory of the Jews, and became possessors of Jewish slaves, and have brought these over into the city and the country, or have sold them to others, likewise also if any such were beforetime [in the country] or have since been introduced, the possessors shall straightway release them. Compensation shall forthwith be paid for every slave twenty drachmas, to the soldiers with their
- 23 pay, and to the rest at the royal bank. For we are of opinion that the making of these persons prisoners was contrary to the will of our father and to justice, and that the spoliation of their country and the transportation of the Jews into Egypt were due to the recklessness of the soldiery; for the spoil which accrued to the soldiers on the field of battle should have sufficed, and that, not content with this¹, they reduced these men to subjection is therefore
- 24 wholly unreasonable. Forasmuch then as we undertake to award justice to all men, but chiefly to those who are without reason kept in subjection, and do in all things seek after what is right from motives of justice and piety towards all, we have decreed that the owners of all Jewish persons who are held in bondage anywhere² in any manner within the kingdom, shall on receipt of the prescribed sum release them: and no one shall in any way be dilatory in arranging for these matters, but they shall within three days from the date of publication of this decree hand in their lists to those who are set
- 25 over this business, and shall also forthwith exhibit the persons. For we are resolved that it is expedient for ourselves and for the realm that this matter be accomplished. And any who will may give information concerning defaulters, on condition that the informer shall become owner of the person if found guilty, but the property of such persons shall be confiscated to the royal purse³."
- 26 When the decree was submitted to be read over to the king, containing all the rest with the exception of the words, "Also if any such were beforetime [in the country] or have since been introduced," the king himself⁴ out of his munificence and magnanimity appended this clause, and gave orders to assign a grant of the moneys in a
- 27 lump sum to the regimental paymasters and the royal bankers. This decision being arrived at, the decree was confirmed within seven days: and the donation amounted to over six hundred and sixty⁵

¹ *Kal.*² Perhaps read "with any one and."³ Cf. the draft of a royal decree in 3 Macc. iii. 25-28, in which the same technical phrases occur (*προστετάχαμεν—διελήφαμεν—μηνύειν δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον κ.τ.λ.*).⁴ Reading *αὐτός* with Josephus.⁵ Josephus says, "over 460 talents."

talents. For many children at the breast were also liberated along with the mothers. And when the further question was referred, whether twenty drachmas should be given for these as well, the king ordered that this also should be done. So strictly to the letter did he carry out every detail of the resolution.

And when this business was ended, he ordered Demetrius to submit ²⁸ a statement concerning the transcription of the Jewish books. For all business used to be transacted by these kings¹ by means of decrees and with great security, and nothing was done in an offhand or casual manner. And therefore have I set down here the copy of the memorial, and the copies of the letters, and the number of the presents sent, and the nature of each, for every one of these excelled in magnificence and technical skill. And the following is a copy of the memorial.

"To the great king [a statement submitted] by Demetrius. In ²⁹ obedience to thy order, O king, concerning the books that are wanting to complete the library, that these should be added to the collection, and that those which have been lost should be duly replaced, after making careful inquiry into these matters, I refer the following statement to thee.

"Certain ³ books of the Jewish law with some few others are wanting; ³⁰ for these are composed in Hebrew letters and in the Hebrew tongue, but have been interpreted ³ somewhat carelessly and not according to their true meaning, according to information supplied by the experts, because they have not hitherto received the supervision of royalty. And it is necessary that these books should in an emended form ³¹ find a place in thy library, because these laws, in that they are divine, are most full of wisdom and faultless. For this reason the writers of prose and verse and the host of historians have avoided any mention of the books aforesaid, and of the men who have lived [and are living]⁴ their lives in accordance with them, because the views presented in them have a certain sanctity and holiness,

¹ This is one of several indications in the letter that the writer lived at a later age than that which he is describing.

² It is not necessary to read τὰ δὲ τοῦ νόμου. Demetrius is made to speak indefinitely of certain books, as in § 10 ("certain laws"), where also there is no article in the MSS.

³ If *σεσχημαται* is correctly rendered, there appears to be a reference to an earlier Greek translation of the law than the LXX (cf. § 314). Aristobulus (second century B.C.), in a well-known passage refers to such a translation (see Swete, *Introduction to O. T. in Greek*, p. 1). *Σεσχημαται* may, however, merely mean "committed to writing." The explanation of Diels that incorrect vocalization is referred to is ingenious.

⁴ Perhaps a gloss.

32 as says Hecataeus of Abdera¹. Be it then thy good pleasure², O king, that a letter be written to the high priest at Jerusalem, bidding him send such men as have lived the best of lives and are advanced in years, versed in their country's law, six from each tribe, in order that we may test wherein the more part agree, and so obtaining an accurate translation may deposit it in a conspicuous place³ in a manner worthy of the undertaking and of thy gracious 33 will. Fare ever well!"⁴ And when this memorial had been pub-

¹ A contemporary of Alexander the Great and Ptolemy I, and author of a history of Egypt. A history of the Jews, attributed to him, and often mentioned by Josephus and others, is probably a forgery, though, as Schürer thinks, based on genuine portions of Hecataeus. Wendland (Kautzsch, *Apokryphen*, II, 1 f.) has made it probable by the similarities which he has traced between our letter and the first book of Diodorus, whose main authority at this point is Hecataeus, that pseudo-Aristeas made a very large use of the true Hecataeus, especially in the description of Palestine.

² *Ἐάν οὖν φαίνηται*. In this little phrase we may have a clue to guide us to the date of the letter. In the Papyri we find three formulae: (a) *εἰ σοὶ δοκεῖ (ἐάν σοι δόξῃ)*, (b) *ἐάν σοι φαίνηται*, (c) *ἐάν φαίνηται*. I find, after examining several collections of Ptolemaic papyri, that the classical phrase (a) is common in the earlier Ptolemaic period, (b) makes its appearance in 252 B.C., but does not occur after 163 B.C., at which date (c) first appears, and is common down to 70 B.C. I find no instance of the omission of the pronoun before 163 B.C. The evidence may of course be upset when more third-century papyri come to light, but it certainly looks as if our letter were not earlier than the middle of the second century. It should be added that the reading of B *ἐάν οὖν φαίνηται σοὶ ἐννομον* is clearly a correction. The instances in the papyri are: for (a) Grenfell (series 2), XIV a (270 or 233 B.C.), Petrie Pap. (series 2), IV, 5, 2 (255 B.C.), XII, 13 (241 B.C.), Petrie Pap. (series 1), XXVI (third cent.), Petrie Pap. (series 2), XVII, 12 (third cent.), Turin Pap., III, 33 (circa 120 B.C.); for (b) Petrie Pap. (series 2), XX, 2, 3, 9 (252 B.C.), IX, 5 (241-239 B.C.), I, 20 (third cent.), Brit. Mus. 22, 6 (164 B.C.), 35, 22 (circa 164 B.C.), 24 (163 B.C.), Paris, 35, 34 (163 B.C.); for (c) Paris, 37, 47 (163 B.C.), Brit. Mus., 44, 28 (161 B.C.), Paris, 12, 17 (157 B.C.), 13, 22 (157 B.C.), 40, 50 (156 B.C.), Grenfell, Erotic Fragment, XV, 4 (146 or 135 B.C.), Paris, 7, 17 (129 B.C.), Turin Pap., I, 3, 7 (? 120 B.C.), II, 40 (? 120 B.C.), V, 19(?), VI, 20(?), Grenfell, Erotic Fragment, XXXVIII, 16 (71 B.C.): to these may be added Letronne Inscr. (Philae), XXVI (127 B.C.).

³ i. e. in the Alexandrian library (cf. § 38). It is just possible, however, that we should translate "may make the meaning plain" (cf. § 30, *ἀμελέστερον . . . σέσημανται*).

⁴ *Εὐρύχει*, as Mahaffy has shown, is the regular formula at the end of

sented, the king ordered that a letter should be written to Eleazar on these matters, informing him also of the liberation of the captives that had taken place. And he likewise presented towards the construction of bowls and vials¹ and a table and cups for libations fifty talents' weight of gold and seventy talents of silver and of precious stones a great number (enjoining the treasurers to leave to the craftsmen the selection of such materials as they might desire), and of stamped money for sacrifices and other purposes as much as a hundred talents. And we will describe to thee the construction [of these works of art], 34 but must first set out the copies of the letters. The tenor of the king's letter was as follows: "King Ptolemaeus to Eleazar the high 35 priest greeting and health. Forasmuch as many of the Jews chance to have been forcibly removed from Jerusalem by the Persians at the time of their power and to have been settled in our country, and others have entered Egypt as captives in the train of our father—of these he 36 enrolled many in the army, giving them higher pay, and in like manner from his confidence in those who were already in the country he placed under their charge the fortresses which he built, that the native Egyptians might² be intimidated by them: and we too on inheriting the kingdom meet all men, but chiefly thy countrymen, in a very friendly spirit—we, then, have given liberty to 37 more than a hundred thousand captives, paying their owners the value in money which is right, and making good any wrong which they have suffered through the violence of the rabble. For we are resolved that in this we are doing a pious action, and we hereby dedicate a thank-offering to the most high God, who has preserved our kingdom in peace and in the highest esteem throughout the whole world. And we have further placed in the army those who are in the prime of their life, but to such as are qualified for attendance on our person, and deserving of confidential posts at court, have we assigned offices of state. And since we desire to 38 confer a favour not on these only, but on all Jews throughout the world, and on future generations, it is our royal will that your law be translated from the Hebrew, as you call it, into Greek, that so these writings also may find a place in our library with the other royal volumes. Thou wilt therefore do well and wilt duly 39 repay our zeal, if thou lookest out men who have lived honour-

an address from a subordinate to his superior, and is therefore correctly used here. A person addressing his subordinate or his equal uses *ἑρπυσσο* (so in the letters that follow, §§ 40, 46).

¹ Or "saucers."

² I have, following Josephus and Eusebius, omitted the negative which stands in the Aristeas MSS.

able lives, advanced in years, well versed in the law and able to translate, six out of each tribe, that we may discover wherein the more part agree: for the inquiry concerns matters of more than ordinary import. For we are of opinion that we shall through this
 40 achievement gain great renown. And we have sent on this business Andreas, of the chief of the body-guards, and Aristetas, who hold honoured places in our court, to confer with thee. They bring with them dedicatory offerings for the temple, and for sacrifices and other purposes a hundred talents of silver. And shouldest thou also write to us concerning any desires of thine, thou wilt be welcome and wilt be doing only what friendship requires: and be assured that thy wishes will receive instant fulfilment. Farewell."

- 41 In reply to this letter Eleazar wrote much¹ as follows: "Eleazar the High Priest to king Ptolemaeus, a sincere friend, greeting. Do thou fare well and the queen Arsinoe, thy sister, and the children², so will it be well and we have our desire: we ourselves also are in good
 42 health. On receiving thy letter we greatly rejoiced because of thy royal purpose and noble resolve, and we collected the whole people and read it to them, in order that they might know thy pious reverence for our God. And we also exhibited the vials³ which thou sentest, twenty of gold and thirty of silver, the five bowls, and a table as dedicatory offerings, and the hundred talents of silver for the offering of sacrifices and for such repairs as the temple may
 43 require—gifts which were brought by Andreas, who is of those who hold an honoured place at thy court, and Aristetas, virtuous and cultivated men, who in all ways show themselves worthy of thy high principles and righteousness. They have also imparted to us thy commissions, and have heard from our lips such replies as befit what
 44 thou hast written. For in all things which are to thy profit, even though they be contrary to our natural impulses, will we do thy bidding: for this is a mark of friendship and affection. For thou too hast in divers manners⁴ done great services to our countrymen
 45 which cannot pass out of mind. We therefore straightway offered

¹ The force of *ἐνδεχομένως* (which elsewhere seems equivalent to *ὅσον ἐνδέχεται*, "so far as possible") is doubtful. Wendland suggests "so far as he could write Greek," the writer excusing the use of this language by a Jew of Palestine. It does not seem necessary to alter the reading, with Diels, to *ἐνδεχομένως*, "straightway."

² The marriage of Ptolemy with his sister Arsinoe II probably took place in 278 B.C.; she appears to have been childless, but is said to have adopted the children of Arsinoe I (Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, 137, 155).

³ Or "saucers."

⁴ Read *κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους* with Eusebius.

sacrifices on thy behalf and on behalf of thy sister and thy children and thy 'friends'¹, and the whole people prayed that thy undertakings might ever prosper, and that Almighty God would preserve thy kingdom in peace with honour, and that the transcription of the holy law might be to thy profit and carefully executed. And in 46 the presence of them all we selected virtuous men, advanced in years, six from each tribe, whom we are also sending with [the copy of] the law. Thou wilt therefore do well, O just king, if thou givest orders that, so soon as the transcription of the books be accomplished, the men may be restored to us again in safety. Farewell. ² And 47 their names are, of the first tribe, Joseph, Ezekias³, Zacharias, John, Ezekias³, Elisha: of the second, Judas, Simon, Samuel⁴, Adaius⁵, Mattathias, Eschlemias⁶: of the third, Nehemiah, Joseph, Theodosius, Baseas⁷, Ornias⁷, Dakis: of the fourth, Jonathas, Abraius, Elisha, 48 Ananias, Zacharias⁸, Chelkias⁹: of the fifth, Isaac, Jacob, Jesus, Sabbataius⁹, Simon, Levi: of the sixth, Judas, Joseph, Simon, Zacharias, Samuel, Selemias: of the seventh, Sabbataius⁹, Zedekiah, Jacob, 49 Isaac, Iesias¹⁰, Natthaius: of the eighth, Theodosius, Jason, Jesus, Theodotus, John, Jonathas: of the ninth, Theophilus, Abraham, Arsamus¹¹, Jason, Endemias, Daniel: of the tenth, Jeremiah, Eleazar, 50 Zacharias, Baneas, Elisha, Dathaius¹²: of the eleventh, Samuel, Joseph, Judas, Jonathas, Caleb¹³, Dositheus: of the twelfth, Isaelus, John, Theodosius, Arsamus, Abietes, Ezekiel: in all seventy-two persons."

¹ A court title.

² The names form a postscript to the letter (*ὑπογεγραμμένα ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ*, Jos.).

³ Possibly one of these names is due to corruption.

⁴ *Σομόηλος* here and in § 48: in § 50 *Σαμούηλος*.

⁵ Either Adaiah (אדאיה) or Iddo (אדדו).

⁶ Representing אשלים, which is more correctly represented by *Σελεμίας* in § 48.

⁷ Cf. 3 Reg. ii. 46 h 'Οπρελου . . και Βασά: 2 Reg. iii. 4 A 'Οπρία.

⁸ The names Zacharias, Chelkias are derived from the list of names in the Syriac version of Epiphanius, *De mens. et pond.*, who uses the narrative of Aristeas. In the MSS. of Aristeas *Χαβρίας* stands in place of Zacharias, and the sixth name in this tribe has disappeared.

⁹ *Σαββαταίος* occurs, in conjunction with *Αεβελ*, in 1 Esdras ix. 14 (= אבשל Ezra x. 15, *Σαβαθαί δ' Αεβέλ*): *Σαββαταίος* in 1 Esdras ix. 48 A.

¹⁰ Probably = Jesse (Epiphan. אשש).

¹¹ The nearest form in the LXX is 'Αρσά, 3 Reg. xvi. 9 A. For the termination cf. *Βαδλσαμος*, 1 Esdras ix. 43.

¹² Or Thaddaeus, as one MS. reads.

¹³ So Epiphanius. The MSS. have *Χαβεύ*.

- 51 Such, then, was the reply which the king's letter met with at the hands of Eleazar.

[DESCRIPTION OF THE ROYAL PRESENTS.]

I will now fulfil the promise which I made to describe the works of art. For these were wrought with extraordinary technical skill, as the king not only made large contributions, but also exercised a constant supervision over the craftsmen, so that they could not neglect or slur any of the details. I will first give thee an account of
 52 the table. Now, the king's intention was to make this structure of gigantic dimensions. However, he gave orders that an inquiry should be made of persons in the locality as to the size of the existing
 53 table¹ which stood in the temple at Jerusalem: and on receiving their reports of these dimensions, he inquired further whether the dimensions of his structure should be larger. Thereupon some of the priests and of the people said there was nothing to prevent it. But the king replied that, though his wish was to make his gift five times as large, yet he doubted whether such a table might not be useless
 54 for the public ministrations. For it was not his desire that his offerings should merely be deposited on the spot, but it would afford him far greater satisfaction, if the appropriate services were duly performed by the proper ministers on the structures which he had
 55 designed. He added that the small scale on which the former works were constructed was not due to any lack of gold, but was apparently so planned for some definite reason. For had any injunction been given² [for a larger table], there would have been no lack [of means to supply it]: it was not therefore right to surpass or exceed what
 56 had been well designed. At the same time he ordered that the utmost diversity of artistic skill should be employed, since all his conceptions were on a grand scale, and he had a natural gift for comprehending the impression which objects would produce³. And whatever details were left unrecorded [in scripture], these he ordered [the craftsmen] to beautify, but wherever written directions were given, they were to be guided by these in the measurements.

¹ The table of shewbread.

² Adopting Mendelssohn's ingenious emendation *ἐπιταγῆς* for *ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς*. But the reading of the MSS. may perhaps stand. "For nothing could have been lacking for the existing table."

³ Or "for designing the appearance of objects." The artistic talent of Philadelphus is attested by the historians of his time. Callixenus of Rhodes (Athenaeus, V, 36. 203 C) says ὁ Φιλάδελφος . . . περὶ πάντα ἐσπουδάκει τὰ κατασκευάσματα φιλοτίμως.

So they fashioned [the table] two cubits in length and a cubit 57 and a half in height, making the work of pure gold and perfectly solid; that is to say, the gold was not overlaid upon other material, but the plate of beaten metal was affixed entire¹. And they made 58 a border of an hand-breadth round about, and its ledges of twisted work², with a design of ropes in relief, the chasing being wonderfully executed on the three sides. For the ledges were triangular in shape³, 59 and the work on each side was fashioned upon the same pattern, so that, whichever way they were turned, the appearance was the same, and while the ledge rested on the border that side of it which sloped towards the table was beautifully worked, although the side which sloped outwards [alone] met the eye of the spectator. And so 60 the edge in which the two sloping sides met, and which ran along the top, was a sharp one, since, as we have said already, the shape was a triangular one [whichever way the ledge was turned]⁴. And precious stones were inlaid in the ledge between the rope-work: set one kind beside another they were interwoven in an inimitable manner. And 61 they were all perforated and securely fastened by golden pins. And at the angles the clamps held them⁵ firmly in their places. And slanting 62

¹ Lit. "was itself attached" or welded, i. e. to other similar plates of gold. The table is in part modelled on the description of the table of shewbread in Exod. xxv. 23 ff.; from that passage are taken the dimensions, the pure gold, the border of a hand-breadth, and the *κυμάτια στρεπτά*. The passage is interesting as showing that the writer was aware of a remarkable divergence between the Hebrew and Greek texts which we find at this point in Exodus. While the Hebrew text says that the shewbread table was to be made of acacia wood and overlaid with pure gold, the LXX says it was to be "gold, of pure gold" (*χρυσόν, χρυσού καθαροῦ*). Possibly the LXX text has come from the description of the golden shewbread table in Solomon's temple (1 Kings vii. 48).—The MSS. of Aristeas only mention the length and height of Ptolemy's table. Josephus adds the breadth "one cubit," as in Exodus, and Wendland accordingly inserts *μήχρος δὲ τὸ εὔρος* into the text of Aristeas. But it is noticeable that the breadth of the table in Exodus is there also omitted in the Codex Ambrosianus.—Much of the following description is obscure, especially as regards the *κυμάτια στρεπτά*.

² Or "and its mouldings (or 'rims') were made so as to revolve." The words *καθ' ὃ δὲ ἄν μένος στρέφοιτο* below suggest that the writer took *στρεπτά* in the sense of "revolving."

³ Reading *τρίγωνα* with Josephus in place of *τρίγωνία*. The table, having four legs, was presumably not triangular.

⁴ These words should perhaps be omitted.

⁵ It is doubtful whether the precious stones or the "ledges" are intended.

upwards from the border and encircling the table there was an egg pattern set with precious stones, and elaborately worked with a series of flutings¹, packed closely together round the whole table².

63 And beneath the raised work of the stones which formed the egg pattern the craftsmen made a crown of fruits of all kinds: projecting from it were shown vine-clusters and corn-ears, dates also and apples and olives and pomegranates and the like. They worked the stones, which had the colour of each species of the aforesaid fruits, to resemble those fruits, and then attached them edgeways to the gold

64 all round the table. And next to the crown the egg pattern was worked over again, and the rest of the fluted and relief work, because the table was made to be used on either side according to choice³, and with such symmetry that the ledges and the border reappeared

65 on the side nearest the feet. For they made a plate of solid metal, four fingers broad, extending along the whole breadth of the table, into which the legs could be inserted, these being provided with pins and clamps to secure them to the border, in order that either side of the table might be used according to choice. This metal plate was visible on the surface, as the work was constructed so as to

66 be reversible. And on the top of the table they worked a meander in relief, with precious stones of divers hues standing out in the middle of it, carbuncles and emeralds, and onyx, and the other kinds which

67 are noted for their beauty. And next to the meander there was a wonderful design of open net-work, giving the centre of the table the appearance of a lozenge-shaped pattern; and into this were inlaid crystal and the so-called electron⁴, affording an in-

68 imitable spectacle to the beholders. And the legs they made with lily-shaped capitals, the lilies bending over beneath the table, while the parts which met the eye represented the leaves in an upright posi-

69 tion. The basis of the leg which rested on the ground consisted entirely of carbuncle, a hand-breadth [high] and of eight fingers' breadth, and in appearance had the shape of a shoe; upon this rested the whole

70 plate into which the leg was inserted⁵. And they represented ivy, intertwined with acanthus, growing out of the stone and encircling the leg, together with a vine and its clusters (these being worked in stone), and reaching to the capital. And the pattern of the four legs was the same: all the parts were carefully made and attached,

¹ Or "with continuous mouldings."

² Some variation of the egg and dart pattern seems to be meant.

³ Read *alpōwrai* for *āpōwrai* in this and the next section (Wendland).

⁴ Probably "amber."

⁵ Literally "the whole plate of the leg," apparently that mentioned in § 65.

and with such consummate skill and craftsmanship as exactly to resemble nature, insomuch that if a breath of air blew upon them the leaves stirred in their places; so closely was every detail modelled to imitate nature. The top of the table they made in three pieces, 71 as it were a triptych, the pieces being fitted together by dovetailing which was secured by pegs in the thickness of the structure, and the joinings being rendered invisible and undiscoverable. The thickness of the whole table was no less than half a cubit, so that many talents went to the whole fabric. For, as the king had determined not 72 to increase the dimensions at all, he expended all the more upon these details¹, even as much as would have been required for a table on a larger scale; and in accordance with his purpose the whole of the work was completed in a marvellous and memorable style, and was inimitable in its craftsmanship, in its beauty magnificent.

As regards the bowls, two of them were wrought in gold, and from 73 their bases to half way up their sides bore a device of scales in relief, and precious stones cunningly set between the scales. Then above 74 this was a meander, a cubit in height, with raised work of stones of divers hues on its surface², which besides having a beautiful effect displayed the most elaborate skill. Over this was a mosaic of interlacing lozenge-shaped figures extending to the brim and producing the appearance of net-work. And in the middle were bosses of 75 stones of various kinds, arranged alternately, and not less than four fingers broad, which completed the beauty of the spectacle. And round the crown of the brim were worked lilies with their blossoms and interlacing vine-clusters. Such was the fashion of the golden 76 bowls, and they contained over two firkins each. But those of silver were made with a smooth surface, and formed a veritable mirror, marvellous on account of their very smoothness, which was such that anything brought close to them was reflected more clearly than in mirrors. But it is impossible to describe the real impression pro- 77 duced by the completed works of art. For when the vessels were finished and were set side by side—that is to say, first a silver bowl, then a golden, then another silver and another golden one—the nature of the sight was quite indescribable, and those who came to view it could not tear themselves from it, so dazzling was the brightness and so entrancing the vision. There was variety in the effect of 78 the spectacle. If one looked at the gold work, it was one of delight and astonishment, as the mind took in one by one each detail of the execution. And again, when one wished to turn one's eyes to the silver vessels which stood there, all the surrounding objects were

¹ Text and meaning are uncertain.

² Read *ἐν ὑπεροχῇ* for *ἐν ὑψηλῇ* (Wendland).

reflected, wherever one stood, causing a still greater ecstasy to the beholders. So the artistic skill displayed in the works is quite beyond description.

- 79 And on the golden vials¹ they engraved vine-wreaths in the centre, and round the rims they plaited in relief work a wreath of ivy and myrtle and olive, in which they set precious stones. And the rest of the relief work they wrought in various patterns, as they zealously strove to make everything in a manner worthy of the king's pre-
80 eminent position. In a word, there was no such work for costliness and artistic skill either in the royal treasures or in any other. Great interest was shown by the king, who loved to gain a reputation
81 for the excellence of his designs. For often he would omit to give his public audience, and would carefully supervise the craftsmen, to see that they executed the works in a manner befitting the place to which they were to be sent. And so they were all made in a magnificent style, and were worthy of the king who was sending them and of the high priest who was the governor of the place.
82 So excessive was the number of the precious stones (there were not less than five thousand, and they were large to boot), and so first-rate was all the craftsmanship, that the expenditure upon the precious stones and the skilled work amounted to five times the value of the gold.

[DESCRIPTION OF JERUSALEM AND ITS VICINITY.]

- 83 I have given thee this description, as I considered that a record of these presents was required. The next portion [of my letter] contains an account of our journey to Eleazar. But first I will indicate the configuration of the whole country. When we reached the district, we beheld the city lying in the centre of the whole
84 of Judaea upon a mountain which rose to a great height. Upon its crest stood the temple in splendour, with its three enclosing walls, more than seventy cubits high, their breadth and length corresponding to the structure of the edifice. The whole was built with a mag-
85 nificence and liberality beyond all precedent. The lavish expenditure of money was apparent even in the great doorway, and in its frame-
86 work of door posts, and in the stability of its lintel. And the fashion of the curtain bore a very close resemblance to a door², the woven hanging being kept in incessant motion by the current of wind underneath. For while the current took its rise from the ground, the swell extended to the upper and tauter part of the curtain³:

¹ Or "saucers."

² Reading *θύρα*.

³ Text and meaning are uncertain. Schmidt's emendation *κατακείμενη* is adopted.

and the effect was a beautiful spectacle, from which it was hard to tear oneself away.

And the altar was built of a size in keeping with¹ the place and with 87 the sacrifices which were consumed by fire, and the ascent to it was on a like scale. The place was approached by a gentle slope from a proper regard for decency, and the ministering priests were clad in coats of fine linen reaching to the ankles². And the house looks toward the east, 88 and its back is turned westwards. And the whole floor is paved and slopes away in the right directions, so as to admit of the influx of water, with which it is flushed to wash away the blood from the sacrifices. For many thousands of cattle are offered on the feast-days. And there 89 is an unfailing supply of water, because a rich natural spring bubbles up within the temple area, and there are also wonderful underground reservoirs passing description. These, as was explained to me, extended at a distance of five furlongs all round the site of the temple, and had innumerable pipes attached to each of them, since the channels converge on every side. [It was explained] also how all 90 these were soldered with lead to the ground and the sides³, and over them is laid a great mass of plaster, so that everything is made secure: and they have numerous outlets at the base of the temple, which are invisible to all except the actual ministrants: and in this way all the vast accumulation of sacrificial blood is swept away in the twinkling of an eye. And, having myself been convinced 91 as to the nature of the reservoirs, I will explain how I reached that conviction. They led me more than four furlongs out of the city, and at a certain place bade me stoop down and listen to the rushing noise of the meeting of the waters; thus was the magnitude of the receptacles made evident to me, as I have described them⁴.

And the priests' ministration in its exhibition of physical strength 92 and in its orderly and silent performance could in no way be surpassed. For they all of their own free will undergo labours requiring much endurance, and each has his appointed task. And their service is without intermission, some [carrying] wood, others [having charge

¹ Read *συμμέτρως ἔχουσιν* (Mendelssohn).

² Exod. xx. 26; xxxix. 27 (LXX xxxvi. 35). Read *τῶν λειτουργούντων ἱερῶν* (Mendelssohn).

³ Or "had their bases and sides of lead."

⁴ For these underground cisterns see (Ecclus. i. 3 *ἀποδοχείων ὑδάτων*) Philo the epic poet (second century A. C., ap. Eus., P. E., 453 b *αὐτὸ δ' ἄρ' ἐκπύουσι διὰ χθονὸς ὑδροχόοισι σωλῆνες*), Tacitus, *Hist.*, V, 12 (*fons perennis aquae, cavati sub terra montes et piscinae cisternaeque servandis imbribus*) and the *Itinerarium Burdigala Hierosolymam* (circa 333 A. D., *Palaestinae descriptiones*, ed. T. Tobler, 1869).

of] oil, others of fine flour, and others of the spices, while others again offer the burnt-offerings of the flesh, displaying herein extraordinary power. For they grip with both hands the legs of the calves, each animal weighing wellnigh over two talents, and then with both hands and with wonderful dexterity sling the beast to a considerable height, and never fail to plant it on the altar. The sheep and goats are, likewise, remarkable for their weight and fat. For those whose duty it is always select such as are without blemish and of exceeding fatness, and then the offering already described is performed. And there is a place set apart for them to rest, where those who are relieved from duty take their seats. And thereupon, some of those who have relaxed their toil rise up willingly, without any order for their ministration being given. And the deepest silence prevails, so that one would suppose¹ that there was not a single person in the place, although the ministers in attendance number some seven hundred, not to mention the large multitude of those who bring their sacrifices to be offered: but everything is performed with awe and in a manner worthy of the divine majesty².

And when we beheld Eleazar in the course of his ministration, and his apparel, and the lustre lent by the wearing of the coat³ wherewith he is clad and by the precious stones which encircle it, we were struck with a great amazement. For there are bells of gold around [the border of] his long robe, giving out a peculiar musical sound, and on either side of these are pomegranates embroidered in gay colours, and of a marvellous hue. And he was girt with a rich and magnificent girdle⁴, woven in the fairest colours. And on his breast he wears what is called the oracle⁵, wherein are set twelve stones of divers kinds, enclosed in gold, [bearing] the names of the heads of the tribes according to their original order, each of them flashing forth in indescribable fashion its own natural hue. And on his head⁶ he has what is called the turban, and over this the inimitable mitre, the consecrated diadem, bearing in relief upon a plate of gold in holy letters the name of God, set between his eyebrows, full of glory. [Such is the raiment worn by him]⁷ who is judged worthy of these things in the public services. And the general aspect of these things produces terror and discomfiture, inasmuch that one thinks that one has passed into another sphere

¹ Read *ὡστε ὑπολαμβάνειν*.

² Literally "great divinity."

³ Exod. xxviii. 4, 31-35.

⁴ Ibid., 39.

⁵ Ibid., 15-21; xxxix. 8 ff. The apposition of *λίθοι* and *τὰ ὀνόματα* is to be explained by Exod. xxviii. 21 *οἱ λίθοι ἑστῶσαν ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων*.

⁶ Exod. xxviii. 36 ff.; Ecclus. xlv. 12.

⁷ Some words appear to have fallen out in the Greek.

outside the world; indeed I confidently affirm that any man who witnesses the spectacle which I have described will experience an amazement and wonder beyond description, and will be profoundly moved in his mind at the sanctity attaching to every detail.

To obtain an accurate knowledge of everything, we ascended to 100 the citadel of the city, which lies hard by, and watched the spectacle. The citadel is situated on a very lofty spot, and is fortified with several towers, which are constructed up to their highest points of great blocks of stone, as a defence, so we are informed, to the precincts of the temple, in order that, in case of any attack or 101 revolution or invasion of an enemy, no one might effect an entrance within the walls which surround the house. For there are engines for discharging missiles and machines of various kinds on the towers of the citadel, and the place commands the enclosing walls aforementioned, and the towers are guarded by the most trusted men who have 102 wrought great achievements in their country's service. And these had orders not to quit the citadel, except on the feast days, and then only in turn, nor did they suffer any one to enter. And even 103 when any injunction was given by their leader¹ to admit any persons as sightseers, great care was exercised, as was shown in our case. For although we were unarmed and only two in number they could hardly be brought to admit us to witness the offering of the sacrifices. And they said that they were pledged by oaths 104 to act thus. For they all had sworn, and had of bounden duty and for conscience sake fulfilled their bond, that they, although numbering five hundred men, would not admit more than five persons at the same time; for the citadel was the one protection of the temple, and its builder had thus securely fortified its tower of defence.

The extent of the city is moderate, its circuit being about forty 105 furlongs², to give a rough estimate. And the arrangement of its towers and of the thoroughfares which pass out between them reminds one of a theatre, the resemblance extending to the cross-streets which are seen, some below, and some above, in the usual manner [of a theatre]³. For the ground is irregular, as the city is built

¹ Apparently the high priest is meant (cf. § 122).

² So Timochares (Eus., *P. E.*, 452 b). Hecataeus (Ios. *cont. Ap.*, I, 197), whom pseudo-Aristeas is probably following in this description, says the circuit was "about fifty furlongs (or stadia)."

³ Reading *εἰσισπένων*, an emendation suggested by Dr. Redpath, and regarding *καὶ φαινόμενον* ... *ἐν τῷ θεῷ* as parenthetical; *εἰσισπένων* of the MSS. might mean "which are the most frequented." With the comparison to a theatre cf. *Encyc. Bibl.*, II, 2412, art. Jerusalem, "There is, however, a second affluent or head of the central Tyropoeon valley on the W. side

106 on a mountain. And there are also stair-ways leading to the cross-streets. For some persons take their way along the higher level, and others underneath, ¹the distinction in the means of journeying being chiefly made¹ for the sake of those who are undergoing the usual purifications, to prevent them from coming into contact with any forbidden thing.

107 And it was not without reason that the original founders built the city of convenient proportions, but from a wise insight. For as the country is extensive and fair, and some parts, namely those in Samaria so called, and those adjoining the country of the Idumaeans, are level plain, while other parts are mountainous, ²namely those adjoining the country of Judaea, the inhabitants must² devote their unremitting attention to agriculture and the care of the soil, in order that the mountain-dwellers also may thereby obtain a fair crop. And in this way cultivation of every sort is carried on and an abundant harvest reaped throughout the whole of the
108 district above-mentioned. On the other hand, it has been the fate

of its main course—a kind of dell or *theatre-shaped depression* extending westwards," a depression which would face a spectator looking westwards from the Temple Mount, where the writer of our letter professes to be standing. Strabo employs the same comparison in his description of Jericho (763 Ἱερικοῦς δ' ἐστὶ πεδῖον κύκλῳ περιεχόμενον ὁρειῇ τινι καὶ πον καὶ θεατροειδὺς πρὸς αὐτὸ κεκλιμένῃ), and it is perhaps noteworthy that in the same chapter he has the word *διαβάθραι* of the scaling-ladders used by Pompey against Jerusalem. The *διαφόδοι* (the main streets leading out of the city) and the *δίοδοι* (cross-streets) seem to be distinguished: for the former cf. Matt. xxii. 9 τὰς διεόδους τῶν ὁδῶν, and for the large number of the latter cf. the added words in the LXX of Jer. ii. 28 καὶ κατ' ἀριθμὸν δίοδων τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔθνον τῇ Βάβλ. "Jerusalem, like other ancient cities, was probably divided into quarters by main streets that passed out to the country through gates . . . The principal streets must from the nature of the ground have run from north to south, and these must have been connected by cross-streets, forming *insulas*, which were no doubt intersected by numberless narrow winding lanes" (Smith, *Dict. Bibl.*³, I, ii. 1593). With the word *ἀνὰλασις* (bending back) we may perhaps compare the statement of the same writer that the northern and southern outliers of the Mount of Olives "*bend round slightly towards the city*, and give the effect of 'standing round about Jerusalem'" (ibid., 1587).

¹ The meaning is doubtful. Wendland, reading *διεστηκυίας*, interprets the passage "especially if they have a long journey to make."

² Restored by conjecture, some words having been lost in the MSS. But it is doubtful if Judaea would be used in this restricted sense, and Wendland's reading "namely those in the centre" is perhaps nearer the mark.

of all large and consequently prosperous cities to be thickly populated themselves, while they neglect the country, as the thoughts of every one are bent on enjoyment, and all men have a natural propensity to pleasure¹. And this is what happened to Alexandria, a city which 109 surpasses all others in size and prosperity. For the country folk by migrating to the town and making a long stay there brought the tillage of the soil to a low ebb. And so the king, to prevent them 110 from making a stay, ordered that their visits should not exceed twenty days: and he likewise gave written injunctions to the officials, that if it were necessary to summon any such persons [to town], they should decide their cases within five days. And as he considered 111 the matter one of great importance, he established judges with their subordinates in every district², that so the tillers of the soil and their directors might not, while making private gain, diminish the granaries of the city, I refer to the proceeds of agriculture³.

¹ Cf. Aristot., *Eth. N.*, ii. 8. *ὅλον αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον πεφύκαμεν πρὸς τὰς ἡδονάς, διὰ εὐκατάφοροι ἔσμεν μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀκολασίαν ἢ πρὸς κοσμιότητα.*

² Κατὰ νομούς (the technical name for the districts into which Egypt was divided), not κατὰ νόμους.

³ The agricultural class are to be kept on the land and prevented from deserting their employment in order to make the large private incomes which they could acquire by setting up business in the city. The meaning of *προστάται* (? directors or agents) is doubtful. Possibly we should render "the agricultural class who are also the protectors (or backbone) of the city," *τῆς πόλεως* being taken to refer both to it and to *τὰ ταμεία*. A good deal of light is thrown on the passage by an important papyrus document which is assigned to the year 165 B.C. (Paris Papyri, no. 63, *Notices et Extraits*, tom. XVIII, ed. Letronne and Brunet). This document contains directions from a superior official in Alexandria to subordinate officials explaining the meaning of a previous edict which had been issued with regard to agriculture, and had been misunderstood (*τῶν πρὸς ταῖς πραγματείαις οὐ κατὰ τὸ βέλτιστον ἐνδεχομένων τὸν τοῦ περὶ τῆς γεωργίας προστάγματος νόον*). It probably refers to a crisis following a drought, and illustrates the importance attaching to the agriculture of the country. An explanation of the previous edict is required, because some of the military class had, contrary to the intention of the edict, been forced to take part in the agricultural labour imposed by it when they should have been exempted. Town and country are contrasted as in Aristeas. The subordinate officials have ludicrously (*παιδριώδη*) supposed that the citizen class already laden, day and night, with the burden of the public services (*τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ διὰ νυκτὸς καὶ δι' ἡμέρας ἐν ταῖς λειτουργίαις καταπονουμένους*) were to be forced to till the ground. Many words and phrases in Aristeas find illustration in this papyrus. With *δι' ἐγγράπτων διαστολὰς ἔδωκεν* cf. in the Papyrus *καθὼτι προδιεστάλμεθα, διεστάλμεθα* (col. 7), and *τηλικούτων διαστολῶν γεγονυῖαν ὑμῖν καὶ ἐνοπίους* (*sic*)

- 112 We have been led into this digression by Eleazar's admirable exposition to us of the principles to which we have referred. Their industry in agriculture is indeed great. For their country is thickly planted with olive trees, and is rich in cereal produce and pulses, in vines also and honey in abundance; fruit trees of other kinds and palms are beyond reckoning with them. And there are cattle
 113 in abundance of all sorts, and rich pastures for them. And so they rightly recognized that the [rural] districts needed a dense population, and they constructed the city and the villages in correct proportions.
 114 And a great mass of spices, precious stones, and gold is conveyed by the Arabs into the district. For the country, besides being suited for cultivation, is also adapted for commerce, and the city is skilled in many arts, and has no lack of any wares that are carried across
 115 the sea. For it has havens well situated which supply its needs—namely, that at Ascalon, and Joppa, and Gaza, as well as Ptolemais which was founded by the king¹. And it holds a central position as regards these places, and is not far distant from them. Thus the country enjoys everything in plenty, being well watered on every
 116 side and securely enclosed. And round it there flows the Jordan so-called, a river which never runs dry. The country originally embraced not less than sixty million acres (although subsequently the neighbouring peoples encroached upon it), so that six hundred thousand men became possessors of lots of a hundred acres each².

καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων (col. 2, 35). With *πρὸ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος* (of the importance which the king attached to agriculture), cf. (col. 6, 185) *πρὸ πάντων γὰρ ἡγησάμενοι τὴν περὶ τοῦ μέρους τούτου σπουδὴν* (of the same). It may also be noted, in connexion with the word *προσάται* in Aristaeus, that the verb *προσθῆναι* is twice used in the papyrus, meaning apparently "to superintend" or "see to" agricultural work. On the *χρηματισταὶ* (or circuit-judges) see the Turin Papyri, ed. Peyron, p. 94.

¹ I.e. Ptolemy Philadelphus. The writer is correct in implying that the place received its name of Ptolemais from Ptolemy II (Schürer, *Geschichte*², II, 112). Its earlier name was Acco. It is pointed out that Joppa did not fall into the hands of the Jews until after 146 B. C., when it was taken by Jonathan, and shortly after finally secured by Simon (1 Macc. x. 76; xiv. 5, 34): Gaza did not belong to the Jews till it was taken by Alexander Jannaeus about 96 B. C., while Ascalon and Ptolemais never formed part of their territory. In view of the error with regard to the two places last named, it is impossible to draw any inference as to the date of the work from this passage. Wendland, on account of the allusion to Gaza, dates the letter after 96 B. C.

² The text is doubtful. Two MSS. read *ὀπίσθησαν* for *ἐπίσθησαν*, and Wendland accordingly translates "(when) the neighbouring peoples retired" (I.e. were gradually driven back by the Israelites), but it is

And the river, like the Nile, is swollen about the time of harvest¹, and irrigates a large part of the land. But the former discharges 117 its waters into another river in the district of the people of Ptolemais², while the latter empties itself into the sea. And there are other so-called brooks flowing down [into the plain] and embracing the parts about Gaza and the region of Azotus. And surrounded as 118 the country is by natural defences, invasion is difficult and impracticable for large numbers, because the passes are narrow, being flanked by steep cliffs and deep defiles, and the whole mountain-range which surrounds the entire country is of a rugged character.

It was further reported that in former days there were copper 119 and iron mines in the neighbouring mountains of Arabia. But the working of these ceased at the time of the Persian rule, as the overseers of those days spread a false report that the working of them was unprofitable and expensive, in order to prevent the country from 120 being spoiled for the sake of the mining of the aforesaid places, and possibly taken out of their hands as a consequence of the Persian overlordship, while by the help of the false report which they had spread they found a pretext for entering the district³.

difficult, with that rendering, to understand the contrast between *κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον* and *μετέπειτα*. The number 600,000 is taken from Exod. xii. 37 (the number of Israelites who journeyed from Egypt); cf. xxxix. 3 LXX, Numb. xi. 21. For *ἑκατονταρούροις* we must read *ἑκατοντάρουροι* as Mahaffy pointed out. The word, "a hundred-acre man," is frequently used in the Petrie Papyri of the veterans to whom lots of land in the Fayyum were assigned by Ptolemy II.

¹ Cf. Joshua iii. 15.

² Such seems to be the meaning; "the district of Ptolemais" is referred to in 1 Macc. x. 39. It is useless to attempt to explain the writer's geographical errors.

³ The meaning of this section is obscure. There is a passage in Agatharchides (second half of the second century B.C.) in his work on the Erythraean Sea which appears to have some relation to it. Agatharchides describes certain gold mines on the confines of Egypt and Ethiopia (Diodorus says they were on the borders of Egypt, Arabia, and Ethiopia), the working of which ceased partly owing to the Persian rule: *εὕρηται μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πρώτων τοῦ τόπου βασιλέων τῶν μετὰ τὴν ἡ φύσιν, διέλιπε δὲ ἐνεργεῖν, ὅτε μὲν Αἰθιοπῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον πλήθους συνελθόντος . . . ὅτε δὲ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν ἐπικρατησάντων* (Müller, *Geog. Graec. Min.*, I, 128, § 29). This description is repeated by Diodorus, III, 12 ff.

[ELEAZAR TAKES LEAVE OF THE TRANSLATORS.]

I have now given thee, dear brother Philocrates, such a summary description of these matters as was necessary. The story of the translation we will tell in the sequel. Well, the high priest selected the men of the best character and the highest culture, such as one would expect from their noble parentage. They were men who had not only acquired proficiency in Jewish literature, but who had also given profound study to that of the Greeks. And for this reason they were well qualified to be sent on embassies, and undertook this office whenever occasion required. And they possessed a great genius for conferences and discussions bearing on the law. They cultivated the due mean, the best of courses¹, and while they abjured a harsh and uncouth disposition, they were likewise above conceit and the assuming of an air of superiority over others, and in conversation they condescended² to listen and to give a suitable reply to every question. And this bearing they all observed, and it was in such conduct that they most desired to outstrip each other, being all worthy of their leader and of his virtue. And one might see how they loved Eleazar, in their unwillingness to be torn from him, and he them. For not only did he write to the king on the subject of their safe return, but he also earnestly besought Andreas to work³ [for the same object], entreating us to assist to the best of our power. And although we promised to give good heed⁴ to his wishes, he said that he was deeply distressed, for he knew how the king in his love of goodness considered it the greatest of privileges, wherever he heard of any one excelling in culture and wisdom, to send to fetch him to his court. Indeed, I have been told of a wise saying of his, that by having about his person just and prudent men he would possess the greatest defence for his kingdom, as friends unreservedly offer advice for one's best interests. And these qualities were assuredly present in the men whom Eleazar was now sending. And he asseverated on oath that he would not let the men go, if it were any private interest of his own which impelled him so to do, but it was only for the common benefit to all his countrymen that he was sending

¹ With this praise of "the mean" (τὸ μέσον κατάστημα) cf. § 223 πλὴν ἐν πᾶσι μετρίότης καλόν, and § 256 μετριοπαθῆ καθεστῶτα (in the answer to the question, What is philosophy?). The writer clearly favours the Peripatetic school. There is an Aristotelian element in his vocabulary.

² Reading παραδεγμένοι.

³ Wendland "and us," reading καὶ ἡμᾶς for ποιεῖσαι.

⁴ Reading εὖ φροντίζειν (Wendland).

them. For [he added] a good life consisted in the observance of 127 the laws, and this end was attained much more by oral communication than by reading. From these and similar observations it was clear what were his feelings towards them.

[ELEAZAR'S DISCOURSE ON THE LAW.]

And it is worth while briefly¹ to mention the explanations given 128 by him in reply to our inquiries. For I believe that most men have some curiosity about the regulations in the law² concerning meats and drinks and the animals which are considered unclean. Well, 129 when we inquired why, although there was only a single creation, some things are considered unclean for food, and some even to the touch (for the law is scrupulous in most things, but in these matters it is excessively³ scrupulous), he began his reply as follows:—

"Thou seest (said he) the powerful influence of ordinary intercourse 130 and association, since through associating with evil persons men become perverted and are rendered miserable all their life long, whereas, if they consort with the wise and prudent, they pass from ignorance and enter on a better life. Our lawgiver, then, in the first 131 place defined the principles of⁴ piety and righteousness, and gave detailed instructions concerning these, not merely in the form of prohibitions but also by positive commands, and showed clearly the harmful effects [of disobedience] and the visitations sent by God upon the guilty. In the very first place of all he taught that God is one, 132 and that his power is made manifest through all things, every place being filled with his sovereignty, and that none of the things done in secret by men on earth is hidden from him, but whatever a man does, aye and that which is yet to be, is manifest in his sight. When he 133 had carefully elaborated these points and made them plain, he proceeded to show that even if a man should but think of acting basely, let alone the doing of the wrong, he could not be hid: thus throughout the whole of the law he displayed the power of God. Such then was 134 the preface with which he opened, and he showed that all other men except our nation consider that there are many gods, although they

¹ Reading διὰ βραχείαν.

² Cf. Lev. xi; Deut. xiv. 3-20. Compare also the treatment of the same subject in the Epistle of Barnabas, § 10.

³ The reading is doubtful. Πάλιν, the reading of Eusebius and most MSS., may be right. Cf. its use in compounds like παλιμμήκης, "doubly long," παλινσκοῖς, "thickly shaded."

⁴ Or perhaps "enjoined."

are themselves far more powerful than those whom they vainly
 135 reverence. For they make effigies of stone and wood¹, and assert
 that they are images of those who discovered something useful for
 their life, and these they worship, although their senselessness is
 136 obvious. For that any one should be a god in virtue of this, namely
 a discovery, is altogether foolish²: for the inventors but took certain
 created things and put them together and exhibited them in a useful
 137 form, but they did not create the substances themselves: therefore it
 is idle and vain to deify men like themselves. Moreover, there are
 still at the present day many men more inventive and more learned
 than the men of yore, and yet they would never think of worshipping
 them. And the men who have concocted and created these fables
 138 consider that they are the wisest of the Greeks. For what further
 need is there to speak of the rest who are quite sunk in vanity,
 Egyptians and the like, who have put their trust in wild beasts and
 most of the creeping things and vermin, and worship these, and offer
 139 sacrifice to these, whether alive or dead? When, therefore, the law-
 giver, who was fitted by God to know all things, had in his wisdom
 considered everything, he fenced us about with impregnable palisades
 and with walls of iron, to the intent that we should in no way
 have dealings with any of the other nations, pure in body and
 mind, released from vain ideas, reverencing the one Almighty God
 140 above the entire creation. And hence it comes that the priests
 who rule the Egyptians and have closely investigated many things
 and been conversant with the world³, call us 'men of God,' a designa-
 tion which does not belong to the rest of mankind, but to him only
 who reverences the true God: but they are men of meat and drink
 141 and raiment⁴, for their whole nature finds its solace in these things.
 But with our countrymen these things are counted of no worth, but
 their reflections throughout their whole life concern the sovereignty
 142 of God. To the intent, then, that we should not become perverted
 through joining in the pollutions of any⁵ or consorting with base
 persons, he fenced us round on all sides with laws of purification in
 matters of meat and drink and handling and hearing and seeing.
 143 For, speaking generally, all these, if viewed in the light of their
 inward meaning, are alike, being directed by a single power, and in

¹ The treatment of idol-worship and its origin should be compared with Wisdom xiii-xv.

² Reading *ἐν τῇ* and *ἀνθρώπων*.

³ Or "with literature," reading *γραμματέων* for *πραγμάτων* (Diels).

⁴ This, not "shelter" or "housing," is certainly the meaning of *σκέπη* here (cf. the use of *σκέπασμα* in 1 Tim. vi. 8).

⁵ Or "through intercourse with any," reading *συνμυσγόμενοι* (Wend.).

every detail there is a profound reason for the things which we abstain from using and those of which we make use. And, to give an example, I will explain my meaning to thee by touching on one or two points. For thou must not be led to follow the rejected view that it was out 144 of regard for mice and weasels¹ or such creatures that Moses drew up this code of laws with such exceeding care: no, all these ordinances have been solemnly made to promote holy meditation and to build up character for the furtherance of righteousness. For all the winged 145 creatures, of which we partake, are tame and distinguished by cleanly habits, using wheat and pulse for their sustenance, such as doves, turtle-doves, locusts², partridges, geese, and the like. But as touching 146 the forbidden winged creatures, thou wilt find that they are wild and carnivorous and that they use the power which they possess to oppress the remainder of their kind, and that they get their sustenance by preying on the aforesaid tame creatures with violence: and not on these only, but they also carry off lambs and kids, and do violence to dead men and living. By these creatures, then, which he called 147 unclean³, the lawgiver signified that those for whom the laws were ordained, must be inwardly righteous and oppress no one through confidence in their own strength, nor carry off anything by violence, but must direct their lives by righteous motives, even as the tame creatures among the aforesaid winged things consume the pulse that grows on the earth, and do not exercise oppression by destroying their kin⁴.

"By such injunctions, then, the lawgiver has taught persons of 148 understanding to note that they must be just and do nothing by violence, nor oppress others through confidence in their own strength. For whereas it is not meet even to touch the aforesaid creatures by 149 reason of their several natures, what strict precautions must we not take to prevent the character from degenerating to a like condition? He has, then, set forth all these rules as to what is permitted us in 150 the case of these and the other creatures by way of allegory. For the parting of the hoof and the dividing of the claws⁵ symbolize discrimination in directing every action to a good end: for the strength 151 of the whole body, in order to display itself in action, is dependent upon the arms⁶ and legs. He constrains us, then, to do everything with discrimination and with a view to righteousness, as he signifies⁷ by these symbols. He further [signifies] that we are distinct from

¹ Lev. xi. 29.² Lev. xi. 22.³ Deut. xiv. 19.⁴ Perhaps we should read, with Eusebius, "by destroying the inferior or kindred creatures."⁵ Lev. xi. 3 ff.; Deut. xiv. 6 ff.⁶ Lit. "shoulders."⁷ The text is doubtful: I read *ὁ σημεῖον*.

152 all men. For most other men defile themselves by promiscuous unions, working great unrighteousness, and whole countries and cities pride themselves on these things. For not only do they prostitute their males¹, but they even defile mothers and daughters. But we are
 153 expressly kept apart from these things². He has further characterized the possessor of the aforesaid gift of discrimination as possessing also the gift of memory. For "all things which part the hoof and chew
 154 the cud³" to thoughtful minds clearly indicate memory. For the chewing of the cud⁴ is nothing else but a calling to mind of one's life and existence⁵: for he considers that life exists by taking food.
 155 And therefore he gives exhortation by this scripture also where he says thus, "Thou shalt well remember the Lord who wrought in thee the great and wonderful things⁶." For, when clearly perceived, they do appear great and glorious, in the first place the construction of the body, and the means for digesting the food, and the distinction
 156 between the several members: but much more do the orderly arrangement of the senses, the operation and invisible movement of the mind, and its rapidity in suiting its action to each several occasion and its
 157 discovery of the arts bear the marks of an infinite wisdom⁷. And therefore he exhorts us to bear in mind, how that the aforesaid things are both created and preserved by the power of God. For he has appointed every time and place for the continual remembrance of
 158 God, the Almighty and the Preserver. For instance, in our meat and drink he bids us first to offer our sacrifice [of prayer] and not till then to partake of food. In our clothing, too, he has given us a distinctive token to bring [these things] to remembrance⁸. Likewise also he has commanded us to set the oracles upon our gates and doors⁹, that God
 159 may be had in remembrance; and he expressly orders that the sign be

¹ Or, with Eusebius, "have intercourse with males."

² Διαστέλλειν seems here to combine the two senses of "to distinguish" and "to command," with a reference to Lev. xviii. 6 ff. Wendland notes that the Egyptian custom of marriage with a sister is purposely passed over without remark.

³ Lev. xi. 3.

⁴ Cf. with the following allegorical explanation the Epistle of Barnabas 10, 11: Philo *De Concupiscentia* 5: Theodoret *Quaest.* in Lev. xi. 189.

⁵ Or "constitution," "structure."

⁶ A combination of Deut. vii. 18 and x. 21 LXX, *ἐν σοὶ* of the latter verse being here interpreted as meaning "in thy body." Cf. a similar eulogy of the human anatomy in Clem. *Recog.* VIII, 29 ff.

⁷ Literally "contain an infinite manner."

⁸ Cf. for these "mementoes" in the dress of an Israelite Schürer² II, 483 ff. (Engl. trans. II, 2, 111 ff.).

⁹ Deut. vi. 7 ff.

bound round upon the hands, clearly indicating that every action must be righteously performed with a remembrance of our condition, and above all with a fear of God. And he bids men when lying down 160 and when rising up to meditate on the things which God has created, considering not in speech only but also in thought the change and the impression which passes over them when they fall asleep, and the manner of their waking, and how divine, as it were, and incomprehensible is the interchange of these states¹. Thou hast now been 161 shown the exceeding wisdom of the saying² concerning discrimination and memory, for so we have expounded the parting of the hoof and the chewing of the cud. For the laws have not been made at random and capriciously, but for the sake of truth and to point out where right reason lies. For by his detailed injunctions concerning meat 162 and drink and touch, he bids us do and hear nothing at random, and not by availing ourselves of the overbearing power of speech have recourse to unrighteousness. And in the case of the vermin the same 163 principle may be discovered. For the habits of weasel and mouse³ and of all the like animals expressly named are injurious. For mice 164 mar and injure everything not only to get themselves food, but also in such a way that anything which they have started injuring becomes utterly useless for man. And the weasel tribe is unique, for beside 165 the aforementioned habit it has a characteristic which defiles⁴ it: it conceives through its ears and gives birth through its mouth⁵. And 166 therefore the like habit of men is unclean; that is to say, whenever they have embodied in speech the things which they have received through the ear and involved others in ills, they are guilty of gross uncleanness, and are themselves utterly tainted with the pollution of their impiety. And your king rightly puts such men to death, as we are informed."—And I said, "I suppose that thou speakest of the 167 informers: for them indeed he unfailingly submits to tortures and painful deaths."—And he replied: "Yes, I speak of them. For the practice of lying in wait for men's destruction is unholy. And our law 168 forbids us to injure any whether by word or deed. I have now given a brief summary of these matters, and have shown further how every regulation has been made with a view to righteousness, and nothing

¹ Cf. §§ 213-16 and 3 Macc. v. 11.

² We should probably read *εὐλογίας*, taking the word to mean "a good saying" (cf. *εὐλογεῖν* = *εὖ λέγειν*, § 249). Wendland, adopting this reading, would render "reasonableness."

³ Lev. xi. 29.

⁴ Wendland would correct to *μολυντικόν*. But *λυμναίνεσθαι* may bear this sense, e. g. in 4 Macc. xviii. 8.

⁵ Cf. Ep. Barn. X, 8.

has been set down in the scripture at random or of a legendary character¹, but [all is] to the end that throughout our whole life we may in our actions exercise righteousness towards all men, remembering
 169 the sovereignty of God. So then every single word concerning meats and the unclean creeping things and vermin tends towards righteousness and righteous dealings between man and man."
 170 To my mind, then, he appeared² to make an excellent defence in every particular. He added, moreover, with regard to the calves and rams and he-goats that are offered, that men must take these from the herds and flocks and sacrifice tame animals, and nothing that is wild, that so the offerers of the sacrifices may be conscious of no arrogance, while they take to heart the true meaning of the legislator. For he that presents the sacrifice makes an offering of the whole
 171 disposition of his soul. I consider, then, that his discourse on these matters was worth repeating; and therefore have I been led on, knowing thy love of learning, dear Philocrates, to explain to thee the solemnity and the inner meaning of the law.

[RECEPTION OF THE TRANSLATORS AT ALEXANDRIA.]

172 So Eleazar, when he had offered sacrifice and selected the men and made ready many gifts for the king, sent us on our way with a strong
 173 escort³. And when we reached Alexandria, the king was informed of our arrival. And Andreas and I, being admitted to the court, gave friendly greetings to the king and delivered the letter from Eleazar.
 174 And, since he attached great importance to the reception of the delegates, he gave orders to dismiss all the other officials and to summon
 175 the men. And this proceeding excited universal surprise, because the custom is that those who come on official business⁴ gain access to the king's presence on the fifth day, while envoys from kings or eminent cities were hardly admitted to the court within thirty days. But since he considered the new comers worthy of higher honour, and rightly estimated the eminent position of him who sent them, he dismissed those whom he considered superfluous, and remained walking to and fro, waiting to greet them on their arrival. And when
 176 they entered with the gifts which had been sent and the precious⁵ parchments, whereon was inscribed the law in gold in the Jewish

¹ Read *μυθωδῶς*.

² Reading *ἐνομίετο*: the MSS. have *ἐνόμισε*, "he thought."

³ Literally "with much security."

⁴ Reading *χηματισμὸν*.

⁵ Possibly *διαφόροις* has come into the text through dittography of *διφθέρας*. Josephus has no equivalent for it.

characters, the material being wonderfully prepared, and the joining of the several leaves being rendered imperceptible, the king, when he saw the men, made inquiry concerning the books. And when they had taken the rolls out of their coverings and unrolled the leaves, the king after pausing for a long while and making obeisance some seven times, said, "I thank you, friends, and him that sent you still more, but most of all do I thank God, whose oracles these are." And when all with one accord and with one voice, both the new comers and the bystanders, exclaimed, "Well spoken, O king," he was moved to tears out of the fullness of his joy. For the tension of mind and the exceeding greatness of the honour where our achievements are successful constrain to tears. And when he had ordered them to put the rolls back in their places, then at length did he greet the men and say, "It was right, O God-fearing men, first to pay due homage to those treasures, for the sake of which I sent for you, and thereafter to extend the right hand to you: for that reason have I done this first. But I have regarded this day of your arrival as a great day, and from year to year shall it be held in honour all our life long. Moreover it happens that our naval victory over Antigonos fell on the same day. And therefore also it shall be my pleasure to sup with you to-day. And all things (he added) of which your customs allow you to partake shall be duly prepared for you, and for me with you." And when they had expressed their gratitude, he ordered that the best chambers should be given to them in the neighbourhood of the citadel, and the banquet made ready.

So Nicanor, the lord high steward¹, summoned Dorotheus, who had

¹ Apparently five rolls or volumes (τεῦχος), each containing one book of the Pentateuch.

² Philo tells us (*de vita Mos.* II, 7, 140 M.) that in his day there was an annual festival on the island of Pharos to commemorate the translation.

³ Ptolemy Philadelphus was defeated by Antigonos Gonatas in the naval battle of Cos (circa 260 B.C.), and Egypt lost the command of the sea for several years until Ptolemy defeated Antigonos at Andros about the year 245 B.C. See Mahaffy, *Emp. of the Ptolemies*, pp. 150, 171, 490; Droysen, *Hist. de l'Hellénisme*, III, 390. Wendland thinks that the defeat of Ptolemy at Cos has been transformed by Aristeas into a victory. More probably the victory of Andros is referred to. See J. Q. R., XIV, 336. Both battles took place long after the death of Demetrius Phalereus.

⁴ Reading ἀρχιδέσποτος for ἀρχιηγρος, a conjecture made by Letronne. Josephus has ὁ ἐν τῆς τῶν ξένων ἀποδοχῆς τετραγμένος. The word ἀρχιδέσποτος is found on an inscription (*C. I. G.*, 4678); the title δέσποτος, originally borne by an official who tasted the dishes before the king, was borrowed by Alexander from Persia. See Lumbroso, *Recherches sur l'économie polit. de l'Égypte*, 205.

- the charge of guests from this nation, and ordered him to make preparation for everything. For such was the arrangement decreed by the king, and it may still be seen in operation. To every state which has its special usages in matters of drink and meat and in its mode of reclining, was there a corresponding official in charge: and then, whenever any persons visited the reigning king, preparations were made in accordance with their customs, in order that they might experience no discomfort but live at their ease. And this happened
- 183 in the case of these men. For Dorotheus, the patron of visitors from this nation, was a most attentive man. He laid out all the coverings for the couches which were in his keeping and were set apart for receptions of this kind. And he placed the couches in two rows, according to the king's direction: for he had ordered him to make half of the men recline at his [right] hand, and the remainder behind¹ his own couch, neglecting no means of showing them honour.
- 184 And when they had taken their places, he ordered Dorotheus to perform the customary rites of all his visitors from Judaea. So he dispensed with the services of the sacred heralds and ministers of the sacrifices and the others who usually offered the prayers, and requested one of our number, Elisha², a priest advanced in years, to offer a prayer. And he, upstanding, uttered this noteworthy prayer:
- 185 "May the Almighty God give thee thy fill, O king, of all the good things which he has created, and may he grant thee and thy wife and children and them that live in harmony with thee unending
- 186 enjoyment of them all throughout life!" At these words there was a burst of applause with shouting and jubilation lasting for some while: and thereafter they betook themselves to the enjoyment of the feast spread out before them. All the attendance at table was undertaken by the staff of Dorotheus, among whom were royal pages³ and some of those who held places of honour at the king's court.

[THE WISE ANSWERS OF THE TRANSLATORS.]

- 187 And after an interval, when an opportunity presented itself, he asked him who occupied the first place at table (they had been arranged according to age⁴), how he should preserve his kingdom

¹ As Wendland points out, a person reclining on his left arm would turn his back on those who were placed on his left.

² The true reading is preserved by Josephus. The Aristeas MSS. call him Eleazar.

³ See Lumbroso, *op. cit.*, 207 ff.

⁴ Cf. Gen. xliii. 33, and Josephus, *Ant.*, XII, 4, 9 (of a guest at the table of Ptolemy Epiphanes) ὑποκατακλίνεται . . . καταφρονηθεὶς ὡς παῖς ἐπὶ τὴν φλυδᾶν ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦτοις κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν διανεμόντων.

unimpaired to the last. And he, after a brief pause, replied, "In this 188 way wilt thou best direct it aright, by imitating the never-ceasing forbearance of God. For if thou usest longsuffering and punishest such as deserve punishment with greater forbearance than ¹ is due to them, thou wilt turn them from wickedness and lead them to repentance."

And the king praised his reply, and asked the next one how 189 he should behave in all his actions². And he replied that if he observed justice towards all men, he would act in all things for his best interest, with the conviction that every thought is clear to God, and that by beginning with the fear of God, he would never be disappointed.

To him too he gave a cordial recognition, and asked another how 190 he could keep his friends like-minded with himself. And he said, "If they see thee taking great forethought for thy subjects: and this thou wilt do by observing how God does good to the human race, in that he provides them with health and food and all else in due season³."

He signified his assent and asked the next, how when he held 191 his audiences and sat in judgment, he might obtain a good report even from such as failed in their suits. And he said, "If thou showest impartiality to all in thy words, and takest no action against the offenders in an overbearing or tyrannical spirit. And this thou wilt 192 do if thou beholdest the ordering of God's ways. The deserving have their supplications fulfilled, while to such as fail to obtain them the harmful nature of their requests is made known through dreams or actions, and God does not smite them according to their sins nor according to the greatness of his might, but uses forbearance."

And after highly commending him, he asked his neighbour how he 193 might be invincible in warfare. And he said, "If he did not put his trust in numbers or forces, but always entreated God to direct his enterprises, while he conducted all in a spirit of justice."

He approved his reply, and asked the next one how he might 194 inspire terror into his enemies. And he said, "If while possessing an abundant supply of arms and forces, he recognized that these were powerless to produce any lasting and conclusive result: for God also,

¹ Reading, with Schmidt, ἡ καθύς. The word translated "punish" properly means to feel or pinch birds to see whether they are worth buying (Aristoph., *Av.*, 530). With the last words of the section of Rom. ii. 4 τὸ χρηστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς μετάνοιαν σε ἔγει.

² Or, reading *ἕκαστα κάλλιστα* with Wendland, "do everything for the best."

³ Cf. § 259: also Pa. cxlv. 15, civ. 27, Acts xiv. 17, xvii. 25.

by granting a reprieve and making but a display of his sovereignty¹, instils terror into every breast."

- 195 He praised him, and inquired of the next what would be the best thing for his life. And he replied, "To recognize that God is supreme over all, and that in our best actions it is not we ourselves who direct our resolves aright, but God in his sovereignty perfects and guides the actions of us all."
- 196 He admitted the wisdom of his words, and asked the next one how he could preserve all his possessions unimpaired, and finally deliver them to his descendants in the same condition. And he said, "By continual prayer to God to give thee good designs in thy undertakings, and by warning thy descendants not to be dazzled by their high station or wealth, since it is God who bestows these gifts, and it is not on their own account that they have pre-eminence over all."
- 197 He gave his assent thereto, and inquired of him who followed how he should bear what befell with equanimity. And he replied, "By taking thought that all men are fashioned by God to partake of the greatest evils, as well as good things, and it is not possible for a *man* to escape from experiencing them. But God gives a good courage, and one must beseech him [for the same]."
- 198 He gave him cordial thanks, and said that all their answers had been good. "And when I have questioned yet one more I will cease for the present, in order that we may turn to enjoyment and take our ease. And in the following six days I will gain some further knowledge from each in turn of those who remain." Thereupon he asked the man, "What is the true aim of courage?" And he said, "To execute in the hour of danger, in accordance with one's plan, resolutions that have been rightly formed. But thy resolutions, O king, are good, and are all through God's grace fulfilled to thy profit."
- 200 And when they had all signified their assent with loud applause, the king said to the philosophers, many of whom were present, "I think that the virtue of these men is extraordinary and their wisdom profound, seeing that, with such questions propounded to them, they have on the spur of the moment given suitable replies,
- 201 while they all take God for the starting-point of their words." And Menedemus, the philosopher of Eretria², said, "True, O king: for,

¹ Reading *τὴν θειότητα* with Wendland. He suggests that the want of exactness in the parallel between human and divine relations, here and elsewhere, may be due to the writer having before him some older collection of sayings, to each of which he has appended, not always very skilfully, a theological termination. Cf. with the section Wisdom xii. 16-18.

² Menedemus is said to have died at the court of Antigonus Gonatas

since the universe is ruled by providence, and these men are right in holding that man is a creature of God, it follows that all power and beauty of speech has its beginning in God."

The king assented thereto, and the speeches came to a close, 202 festivity taking their place. And when evening drew in, the banquet broke up.

On the following day the guests again took their places, and the 203 banquet proceeded in the same order. And, when the king thought that the time had come to put some inquiries to the men, he questioned those who were placed next to the answerers of the previous day. He began the discussion with the eleventh (ten having been questioned 204 on the previous day), and when silence was established, inquired how he could continue to be rich. And after a brief interval he to whom 205 the question was addressed said, "If he did nothing unworthy of his empire or wantonly, and did not expend money on empty and vain things, but¹ by acts of kindness drew his subjects to wish him well: for God is the cause of good to all men, and his example must be followed."

The king commended him, and asked of another how he should 206 adhere to the truth. To this he replied, "By recognizing that lying brings great disgrace to all men, but chiefly to kings. For as they have power to do what they will, what object have they for falsehood? And thou must further take to heart, O king, that God is a lover of the truth."

He gave this reply his hearty approval, and turning his gaze 207 [to another] said, "What is the teaching of wisdom?" And the next one replied, "As thou desirest that evils should not befall thee², but to partake of all that is good, thou shouldst act in this spirit to thy subjects and to offenders, and shouldst more gently admonish such as are virtuous: for God leads all men by gentleness."

He commended him, and asked of his neighbour how he might 208 be humane. And he said, "By considering after how long a time and through what great sufferings the human race comes to maturity, age and to the birth. And therefore it is wrong to punish with slight provocation, or to subject men to injuries, while one recognizes that human life consists of pains and penalties. Thou wilt therefore, on reviewing everything, be disposed to mercy: for God also is merciful."

about 277 B. C. It is not known that he ever visited Egypt, and what is here recorded of him is doubtless fictitious.

¹ Reading τοὺς δὲ ὑποταγμένους, and δαπάνην just before.

² Cf. the Jewish (negative) form of the golden rule (Matt. vii. 12) e. g. in the Didache, i. 2 δὸς ἅνθρωπον τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ σου, καὶ σὺ ἄλλοι μὴ ποιεῖς.

- 209 With a word of approval to him he inquired of the next in order, "What is the most essential characteristic of kingship?" "To keep oneself incorruptible," he replied; "to be sober for the greater part of one's life, to hold righteousness in high esteem, and to make persons with these qualities one's friends: for God also is a lover of righteousness."
- 210 He applauded him, and said to the next, "Wherein does piety consist?" And he said, "In the conviction that God is working in, and has knowledge of all things at all times, and that no unrighteous deed or evil action of man can escape his eye: for as God doeth good to the whole world, so wouldst thou, by imitating him, be void of offence."
- 211 He signified his assent, and said to the next, "What is the end at which kingship should aim?" And he said, "To govern oneself aright, and not to be led by wealth and rank to entertain proud and unseemly desires, if thou wouldst reason aright¹. For thou hast all things at command, and they are as nothing²: but God has need of nothing and is gentle withal. And let thy thoughts be as becomes a man, and aim not at many things, but at those which suffice for thy kingly office."
- 212 He commended him, and asked the next one how his deliberations might be for the best. And he replied, "If in everything he continually set justice before him, and considered injustice to be the annihilation of life: for God also always promises the greatest blessings to the just."
- 213 He praised him, and inquired of the next in order how he might be free from disturbing thoughts in sleep. And he said, "Thy question is hard to answer. For in sleep we cannot bring our true selves into play, but are therein at the mercy of sensations in which reason has no part. For we have an impression on our minds that we see the things which pass before us, but we are unreasoning in supposing that we are on ship-board and ranging over the sea, or flying through the air and passing to other climes, and doing other such things, which we then suppose to be really taking place³. But my decision, so far as I may form one, is this. Thou shouldst by every means, O king, bring thy words and actions to the test of piety, that so thou mayest be conscious that in adhering to the path of virtue thou art not deliberately conferring any favour in defiance of reason, nor setting justice aside by a misuse of thy power. For every man's mind moves in sleep among the same things in which his waking hours are chiefly

¹ The last words are perhaps corrupt.

² Wendland conjectures "of which thou hast need" (*δσα δέον*).

³ The text is corrupt. I read *ἀ κατὰ ταῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνομεν καθιστάμεναι*.

spent, but God directs every thought and action which aims at the highest both in waking hours and in sleep¹. And therefore art thou always encompassed with tranquillity."

Him too he extolled, and said to the next one, "As thou art the 217 tenth to answer, when thy reply has been given, we will betake ourselves to the banquet." And he asked, "How might we do nothing unworthy of ourselves?" And he said, "Look ever to thy dignity 218 and eminence, in order that thy words and thoughts may be in keeping therewith, knowing that the thoughts and conversation of all thy subjects are concerned with thee. For thou must not appear as 219 the least of² the actors, for they look to the part which they must assume and suit all their actions thereto: but thou art not acting, a part, but art king indeed, God having given thee the governorship of which thy character renders thee worthy."

And when the king had graciously applauded loud and long, they 220 exhorted the men to take some rest³. And when the turn of these men was ended, they betook themselves to the next portion in the order of the banquet.

On the following day the same order was observed, and when 221 the king thought that the time was come to put some inquiries to the men, he asked the first of those who yet remained to be questioned, "What is the highest form of sovereignty?" And 222 he replied, "To be master of oneself and not to be carried away by one's impulses. For all men's minds have some innate proclivity; 223 most men are naturally inclined to eating and drinking and pleasure, while kings in virtue of their high station are bent on the acquisition of territory⁴. But moderation in all things is good. Take what God gives and keep it, but desire not what is unattainable."

He was pleased with his words, and asked his neighbour how he 224 might be free from envy. And he, after a pause, said, "Chiefly by considering how it is God who apportions to all kings their glory and great wealth, and that no one by his own power⁵ is king: for all men desire to partake of this glory, but they cannot, since it is a gift of God."

¹ I should now read *θεὸς δέ* (in place of *ὁς δέ* of the MSS.) and *ἐγχορμός*. The divine name is never wanting in the concluding words of each speaker, and *κατεθέσθαι* elsewhere is used actively and generally of the guiding hand of God (cf. § 18 a very similar passage).

² Or "inferior to the actors."

³ Lit. "to sleep." Possibly there has been some dislocation in the text.

⁴ Perhaps (reading *καί* for *κατά* with Wendland) "while kings are bent on the acquisition of territory and great renown."

⁵ Probably *κατ' ἑαυτόν* should be read with Wendland.

- 225 He commended the speaker at some length, and asked the next one how he should despise his foes. And he replied, "If thou hast exercised goodwill towards all men and formed friendships, thou hast no need to fear any man. But to be in high favour with all men is the very best of good gifts to receive from God¹."
- 226 He assented thereto, and called upon the next one for a reply to the question, how he might retain his glory. And he said, "If by kindness and gracious acts thou showest thyself liberal and bountiful to others, thou wilt never have lack of glory; but that the aforesaid graces may continue to be thine, thou must always entreat God."
- 227 After a kindly word of praise to him he asked another, "To whom² should we show a studied generosity?" And he replied, "All men think that such should be shown to those who are well disposed to us, but I am of opinion that a keen and open-handed generosity is owing to those who dissent from us, that by these means we may bring them over to the path of duty and of their own interest. But one must entreat God that this end may be attained, since he rules the minds of all men."
- 228 He assented thereto, and called upon the sixth man for a reply to the inquiry, "To whom should gratitude³ be shown?" And he replied, "To parents at all times, since God has given a very great commandment concerning the honour due to parents⁴. And in the second place he sets the relations of friend with friend, calling a friend as precious as a man's own soul⁵. But thou dost well in making all men thy friends."
- 229 He gave him a word of commendation, and inquired of the following one, "What is of like value with beauty?" And he said, "Piety: for this is a beauty of the first quality. And its power is love, for this is a gift of God. And this dost thou possess, and therein thou hast all blessings comprised."
- 230 He applauded his answer very warmly, and asked of the next, how, after a failure, he should regain the esteem which he enjoyed before. And he replied, "Failure for thee is impossible, as thou hast sown thy favours broadcast, and these cause goodwill to spring up, which is mightier than the strongest armour and affords the greatest protection. But should any fail, they should no longer do those things which occasion their failure, but form friendships and act righteously. But to be a doer of good deeds and not of the reverse is a gift of God."

¹ The text appears to be corrupt. I suggest tentatively *καὶ καλὸν δῶρον*.

² Reading *Πρὸς τίνα* with Wendland.

³ Or "kindness," "consideration."

⁴ Exod. xx. 12.

⁵ Deut. xiii. 6 (7 Heb.).

Well pleased therewith he asked of the next one, how he might be 231
free from grief. And he replied, "By injuring no one, doing good to
all, and following after righteousness, since its fruits produce freedom
from grief. But supplication must be made to God, that unforeseen 233
accidents may not spring up to our injury, I mean such as deaths,
diseases, pains, and the like. But, as thou art pious, doubtless no such
accident will befall thee."

He commended him highly, and asked the tenth man, "What is the 234
greatest glory?" And he said, "To honour God, and that not with
gifts or sacrifices, but with purity in the soul and in the devout con-
viction that all things are fashioned and directed by God in accord-
ance with his will. And thou art ever of this mind, as all may see
from thy actions in the past and in the present."

Thereupon the king with a loud voice gave them all a hearty 235
welcome and a word of praise, the other guests, especially the
philosophers, joining in the applause. For these men in their con-
duct and speech far excelled the philosophers, in that they took God
for their starting-point. And after this the king proceeded graciously
to drink their healths.

On the following day the order of the banquet was as before, and 236
when the time seemed opportune to the king, he questioned those
who came next to the men who had already given replies. Of the
first he asked, "Can wisdom be taught?" And he replied, "The
soul is through God's power so adapted as to accept all that is good
and to reject what is contrary thereto."

He assented, and inquired of the next one, "What contributes most 237
to health?" And he said, "Temperance. But this cannot be
attained unless God dispose the mind thereto."

He gave him a kindly word, and asked of the next, how he should 238
pay his debts of gratitude to his parents. And he replied, "By giving
them no pain. But this is impossible unless God guides the mind to
what is best."

To him also he gave his assent, and inquired of the next in order, 239
how he should become an eager listener. And he replied, "By
recognizing that it is to thy profit to know all things, so that by
selecting some one of the things which thou hast heard, and bringing
it to bear on an emergency, thou mayst counteract the events of
critical times¹ with God's guidance: for the fulfilment of men's actions
rests with him."

He commended him, and inquired of the next how he should avoid 240
any action contrary to law. He replied thereto, "If thou wilt recog-

¹ Text and meaning are doubtful.

nize that God gave the lawgivers their ideas to the end that men's lives might be preserved, thou wilt let thyself be led by them."

241 He approved his reply, and said to another, "What advantage does kinship¹ bring?" And he replied, "The strength of kinship is apparent if we consider that we are the losers by the misfortunes
242 which befall [our kin], and if we suffer as they do (and by such conduct we shall win their esteem and a higher place in their regard, for a kindly sympathy² forms of itself an indissoluble [bond] whate'er befall), while in their prosperity we should require nothing of theirs, but entreat God to give them every blessing."

243 He extended a like approval to him as to the others, and asked another man, "How is fearlessness produced?" And he said, "When the mind is conscious of no wrong-doing, and God directs it so that all its counsels are good."

244 With a word of assent to him, he inquired of another how he might have right reasoning at command. He replied, "If he constantly kept the misfortunes of men before his eyes, and marked how God takes away their prosperity and advances others to glory and honour."

245 He gave him his hearty approval, and requested his neighbour for a reply to the question, how he might avoid falling into sloth or a life of pleasure. He replied, "By bearing in mind that thou art ruler of a great kingdom and governor of vast multitudes, and so thy mind must not be occupied with anything else, but devote its attention to their welfare. But thou must ask God that none of thy duties may be neglected."

246 Him too he commended, and asked the tenth man how he might detect persons who were acting deceitfully towards him. To this he replied, "By observing whether the behaviour of those about thy person is gentlemanly, and whether an orderly conduct is preserved at receptions and councils and in general intercourse, and by seeing that the bounds of propriety are in no way exceeded in congratulations
247 and in their whole behaviour. But God will guide thy mind, O king, to what is best." The king applauded and praised them all one by one, the other guests doing likewise, and they began to make merry³.

248 On the following day he waited for the right moment and asked the next in order, "What is the grossest negligence?" To this he replied, "When a man is careless of his children, and does not devote every effort to their education. For our prayers to God are

¹ For the *συγγενείς* or relatives of the king (a court title) see Lumbroso, *Recherches sur l'économie pol. de l'Égypte*, 189 ff.

² Reading *συνεργίης*.

³ Or perhaps the literal meaning of *μέλπειν* "to sing" is intended: cf. *Ecclus.* xlix. 1 (*ὡς μουσικὴ ἐν συμπόσιον οἶνον*), xl. 20.

always not so much for ourselves as for our offspring, that every blessing may be theirs. But the desire that our children¹ may be endowed with discretion comes through the power of God."

He said that he had spoken well, and asked another how he might²⁴⁹ be a lover of his country. "By keeping in mind," he replied, "that it is good to live and die in one's own land. But to live in a foreign country² brings contempt for the poor man, and disgrace for the rich, who are suspected of being in exile on account of their misdeeds. If, then, thou doest good to all men (as is thy constant habit, since God grants thee graciousness towards all) thou wilt prove thyself a lover of thy country."

After hearing him he inquired of the next one, how he might live²⁵⁰ amicably with a wife. "By bearing in mind," he replied, "that the female sex is rash³ and energetic in pursuing its desires, and subject to sudden changes of opinion through fallacious reasoning, and weak by nature: and one must treat them in a rational way and not by opposing provoke a quarrel. For life is then guided aright, when the²⁵¹ steersman knows the port to which he must direct his course. But, if God's help be invoked, life itself is in all things steered aright."

He admitted the wisdom of his words, and asked the next one how²⁵² he might be kept free from error. And he said, "By doing every action gravely⁴ and with deliberation, and not giving credence to slanders, but testing for thyself what is told thee, and pronouncing thy own judgment on the petitions submitted, and being guided by thy own judgment in granting them, so wouldst thou be free from error, O king. But to be of this mind and to live this life is a work which demands divine power."

He was delighted with these words, and asked the next one how he²⁵³ might avoid anger. To this he replied, "By bearing in mind that thou hast power to do all things, even to inflict sentence of death if thou art angry⁵: and this were unprofitable and grievous that thou shouldst deprive many of life because thou art their lord. And where²⁵⁴ all are thy subjects and none resists thee, to what end shouldst thou be angry? And thou must know that God orders the whole world with gracious kindness and without wrath at all, and thou," said he, "must follow his example, O king."

¹ Reading *ταῖα* with Wendland. Perhaps we should adopt his further correction *τὸ δὲ ἐπιδοῦναι ταῖα κ.τ.λ.*, "But to live to see our children endowed with discretion (or 'temperance') is a gift which comes" &c.

² *Ἡ δὲ ξενεῖα* Wendland. Cf. the description of the humiliating life of "the sojourner" in *Ecclesiastes* *xxix. 22-28.*

³ Or "impetuous."

⁴ Adopting Mendelssohn's correction *ἐφ' ἑμῶν* in place of *ἐφ' ἑσέων* 'Ως.

⁵ Reading *ἐπιφύειν*.

- 255 He said that he had answered well, and inquired of him who came next, "Wherein does sound judgment consist?" "In doing all things aright with deliberation," he replied, "and while forming our decisions not neglecting to weigh¹ the injurious effects of following the opposite view, that so after considering every point we may be well advised and our purpose may be fulfilled. But, what is more important than all, every resolution of thy will, through the sovereign power of God, find accomplishment, since thou dost practise piety."
- 256 He said that he too had answered rightly, and asked another, "What is philosophy?" "It is to deliberate well over all contingencies," he replied, "and not to be carried away by one's impulses, but to ponder the injuries which are the outcome of the passions, and to do the duty of the moment as it should be done, keeping one's passions under restraint. But we must pray to God that we may give our attention to these things."
- 257 Him too he applauded, and asked another how he might meet with approbation when living in a foreign country². "By treating all men as thy equals," he said, "and behaving rather as the inferior than as superior to those among whom thou sojournest. For God accepts the lowly disposition, and the human race likewise³ deals kindly with the humble."
- 258 He gave his assent thereto, and asked another how the structures which he raised might endure hereafter. To this he replied "[that they would do so] if his creations were on a great and magnificent scale, so that beholders would spare them for their beauty, and if he neglected no one who produced such works, and did not compel others
- 259 to carry out his requirements without pay. For if he considered how God shows great consideration for the human race, supplying them with health and keenness of perception and his other gifts⁴, he too would act in a way corresponding somewhat thereto, by giving men the due reward for their labours. For it is the works which are done in righteousness which also endure."
- 260 He said that he too had spoken well, and asked the tenth, "What is the fruit of wisdom?" And he replied, "To be conscious of no
- 261 wrong-doing, and to live a life of sincerity. For from these things thou gainest the highest joy and a tranquillity of soul, most mighty king, aye, and good hopes in God, while thou dost govern thy kingdom in piety."

¹ Literally "comparing," i. e. with the advantages of the course adopted.

² Reading *ἐν ξενείᾳ* with Mendelssohn.

³ *κοινῶς*. Or "For it is commonly found that God" &c. Wendland (Addenda) suggests *καθῶς*.

⁴ Cf. § 190.

And all [the company] after hearing them, expressed their approval with loud applause. Thereupon the king in the fullness of his joy turned to the drinking of healths.

On the following day the banquet proceeded in the same order as ²⁶² before, and when the time was come the king questioned those who yet remained. And to the first he said, "How should one keep oneself from pride?" And he answered, "By preserving an impartial ²⁶³ attitude and reminding himself constantly that he was a man as well as a leader of men. And God putteth down the proud but exalteth the meek and humble ¹."

After a kindly word to him he asked the next in order, "Whom ²⁶⁴ should one take for one's counsellors?" "Those," he replied, "who have been tried in many matters, and preserve a sincere loyalty to thee, and all who share thy principles. But, that these ends may be attained, God manifests himself to those who are worthy."

He commended him, and asked another, "What is the most neces- ²⁶⁵ sary possession for a king?" "The good wishes and love of his subjects," he replied. "For by these there is formed an indissoluble bond of loyalty. But it is God who causes these things to fall out as thou wouldst have them."

He commended him highly, and inquired of another, "What is the ²⁶⁶ aim of oratory?" And he said, "To persuade one's opponent, pointing out his errors by means of the chain of arguments which he has formulated². For in this way wilt thou win over thy hearer, not by direct contradiction, but by showing appreciation withal, in order to convince him. But persuasion is attained through God's working."

He said that he had spoken well, and asked another how, in view ²⁶⁷ of the mixture of races within his kingdom, he should live amicably with them. "By adapting thy manner to suit each man," was his reply, "taking righteousness for thy guide, even as thou dost, since God grants thee right judgment."

He gave him his cordial thanks, and said to the next one, "For ²⁶⁸ what things should one be grieved?" To this he replied, "For our friends' misfortunes, when we watch their long continuance and hopelessness; for reason does not permit us to be grieved for such as are dead and released from ills. Yet all men when they are grieved think only of themselves and their own advantage. But to escape from every ill is possible only through the power of God."

He said that he had answered aright, and addressed another with ²⁶⁹ the words, "How does ill-repute arise?" And he replied, "When

¹ Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 7 f.; Prov. iii. 34; Luke i. 51 f.

² The meaning is a little doubtful. Wendland translates "by a skilful arrangement of the arguments."

pride and unbounded self-confidence lead the way, dishonour and ruined reputation follow close on their heels. But all reputation is at God's disposal, who assigns it where he will."

- 270 His reply also he endorsed, and asked of the next in order, to whom he should entrust himself. "To those," he replied, "who attend upon thee out of goodwill, and not from fear or self-interest¹, making gain their sole motive. For the former manner is a token of love, but the other of illwill and time-serving: for the man who is bent on² advancing his own interests has a treacherous nature. But thou hast the goodwill of all men, since God gives thee good counsel."
- 271 He said that he had answered wisely, and said to another, "What preserves a kingdom?" To this he replied, "Care and watchfulness to see that no injury is inflicted by those who are set over the people in official positions. And such is thy practice, since God grants thee the gift of grave reflection."
- 272 He corroborated his words, and asked another, "What keeps favour and honour secure?" And he said, "Virtue, for it is the fulfilment of good works, and rejects what is base: and even so thou dost preserve thy perfect bearing towards all—a gift which thou hast from God."
- 273 He received his reply graciously, and asked the eleventh (for their number exceeded seventy by two), how even in warfare he might maintain a peaceful tranquillity of soul. And he gave his opinion thus: "If thou canst reflect that no harm has been done to any of thy subjects, and that all will fight for the glory of rendering thee service, knowing that even though they lay down their lives thou dost care for their welfare. For thou never failest to make good the losses of all men, such is the kindheartedness which God has given thee."

He loudly applauded and expressed his hearty approval to them all, and then drank a long draught to the health of each and gave the reins to enjoyment³, sharing the men's society with merriment and high elation.

- 275 And on the seventh of the days the banquet was prepared on a larger scale, as many other visitors from the cities⁴ were admitted, for a great number of ambassadors were in attendance. And when the time came the king asked the first of those who had not yet answered,
- 276 how he might avoid being deceived. And he said, "By scrutinizing the speaker and his words and the subject of his speech, and by taking time and asking the same questions in different forms. But the pos-

¹ Literally "consideration," either for their own interests, or, it may be, "to gain thy consideration."

² Mendelssohn's conjecture *ὀφμᾶται* for *ὀπᾶται* is probably right.

³ Insert *ἐν πᾶσι* after *τερεθῆναι*.

⁴ Cf. § 175.

session of a keen understanding and the power of passing judgment in every case is a good gift of God : and this dost thou possess, O king."

The king loudly applauded, and asked another, "Why do most men 277 not embrace virtue?" "Because," he replied, "all men are by nature intemperate, and hanker after their pleasures, by reason of which things comes unrighteousness and a sea of covetousness. But the 278 virtuous state checks those who are drifting into a life of self-indulgence, and bids them prefer temperance and righteousness. But all this is under the direction of God."

The king said that he had answered well, and asked the next one¹, 279 "Whose guidance should kings follow?" And he said, "The guidance of the laws, that so by righteous dealings they may restore the happiness of men's lives, even as thou by such action hast made an everlasting memorial for thyself, through following the divine commandment."

He said that he also had spoken well, and asked the next, "Whom 280 should one appoint chief magistrates?" And he said, "Those who have a hatred of wrong and do what is just, imitating thy conduct, to the intent that they may ever be in good repute: even as thou dost," he added, "most mighty king, as God has given thee a crown of righteousness".

He loudly signified his approval, and turned his face to the next one 281 and said, "What persons should one place in command of the forces?" And he replied, "Those who are distinguished for bravery and justice, and are more anxious for the safety of their men than to gain a victory while risking their lives in rash enterprises. For as God does good to all, so dost thou, making him thy example, do good to thy subjects."

He said that his answer was good, and asked another, "What man is 282 deserving of admiration?" And he said, "He that is endowed with glory and riches and power and yet inwardly regards himself as on an equality with all men, even as thou by such action art worthily admired, since God grants thee to take heed to these things."

To him also he gave his assent, and said to the next, "Upon what 283 matters should kings spend most of their time?" And he said, "In reading, and in studying the records of official journeys⁴, which are

¹ Reading τὸν μετ' αὐτὸν ἡρώτα.

² The reply and the succeeding question show that στρατηγός is here used of a civilian official (the governor of a district of Egypt). See Lumbroso, *op. cit.*, 260 ff.

³ Cf. 2 Tim. iv. 8: the nearest parallel in the LXX is Ecclus. vi. 31 στήσανον ἀγαλλιάματος.

⁴ The papyri afford examples of the diaries or *acta diurna* which officials in Egypt had to keep. See an article on "Προμηθεϊσμοί" by Wilcken in *Philologus* LIII, 80 ff., to which Wendland refers, and cf. § 298 of this

drawn up for the good of kingdoms¹, with a view to improving and securing the existence of the subjects. And by so doing thou hast won a renown which to others is unattainable, since God fulfils thy desires."

284 To him too he expressed his keen approval, and asked another what he should take for his pastimes in his hours of relaxation and recreation. And he said, "To watch plays which are played with propriety and to set before one's eyes scenes from life enacted with
285 decency and restraint is profitable to one's life and seemly². For even in these matters some instruction is contained, since often by the very least of things some desirable lesson is conveyed. But thou hast practised all restraint and carriest thy philosophy into thy actions, while thou art honoured by God for thy perfect virtue."

286 He was well pleased with these words, and said to the ninth, "What should be one's conduct at banquets?" And he said, "Thou shouldst invite such as are lovers of learning and able to suggest what may be useful to the kingdom and to the lives of thy subjects³. No more
287 harmonious or sweeter music couldst thou find. For these are beloved of God, as they have trained their minds in all that is best. And such indeed is thy practice, since all thy actions are directed by God."

288 He was delighted at his words, and inquired of the next one, "Which is the best for the people, that a commoner should be set over them⁴ as king, or one born of royal blood?" And he said, "[It is best that] the man⁵ of the noblest nature [should be king].

289 For kings born of royal blood are inhuman and harsh towards their subjects: and much more is this the case with commoners, some of whom after experiencing misery and poverty have come into power, and proved themselves more cruel than the unholy
290 tyrants. But, as I said before, a good disposition which has had the advantage of culture is fitted to bear rule, even as thou art a great king, not so much because of the pre-eminence given thee by the glory of thy rule and by thy wealth, as because thou hast outstripped

letter. Cf. also Plutarch, *Apophthegm. Reg. et Imp.*, 189 Ε Δημήτρης ὁ Φαληρεὺς Πτολεμαίῳ τῇ βασιλεῖ παρήγει τὰ περὶ βασιλείας καὶ ἡγεμονίας βιβλία πᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν· ὃ γὰρ οἱ φίλοι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὐ θαρροῦσι παρατεῖν, ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις γέγραπται.

¹ Perhaps "for kings," reading τοὺς βασιλεῖς with Mendelssohn.

² Adopting Mendelssohn's admirable restoration of the text, βίῃ συμφύρον καὶ καθήκον.

³ Τὸ χρήσιμα τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀρχ. βίαις, corrected by Mendelssohn. Cf. on the same topic Ecclus. ix. 16, xxxi (xxxiv). 12 ff.

⁴ Reading ἐπ' with Mendelssohn. The MSS. have ἐπ', "appointed by them," which may be right.

⁵ Τὸν must, I think, be read.

all men in gentleness and kindness, since God has conferred these gifts upon thee."

He commended him at some length¹, and asked him who was last of 291 all, "What is the greatest achievement in the office of a king?" To this he replied, "If his subjects enjoy continual peace and get speedy justice done them when their cases are tried. And these results 292 follow when the governor is a hater of evil and a lover of good, and regards the saving of a man's life as a matter of high importance, even as thou regardest unrighteousness as the greatest of evils, and by thy just government in all things hast made for thyself an imperishable renown, since God vouchsafes to give thee a pure mind without any taint of evil."

When his speech was ended, there was a burst of applause with 293 shouting and jubilation lasting for a good while. And when this ceased, the king took a goblet and drank a toast² in honour of all his guests and the speeches which they had delivered. And in conclusion he said, "You have brought me the greatest of blessings by your coming, for I have derived great benefit from the doctrine which you 294 have laid down to guide me in my kingly office." And he commanded that to each should be given three talents of silver and the slave who should hand it to him. And when all [the rest] had unanimously expressed their approbation, the banquet became a scene of rejoicing, and the king gave himself up to unstinted festivity.

Now, if I have been too prolix³, dear Philocrates, I pray thee 295 to excuse this fault. For I admired beyond measure the way in which the men on the spur of the moment were ready with their replies which required much meditation⁴, and seeing that their interrogator 296 had carefully thought out each question, while the respondents one after the other had the task of replying thereto, they did indeed appear to me and to those who were present, but chiefly to the philosophers, to deserve our admiration. And I believe that to all into whose hands this narrative may come it will appear incredible. But to be untruthful in matters which are recorded in public registers 297 is not meet: were I even to pass over anything, it would be an act of impiety where such matters are concerned: no, we describe just what took place, scrupulously keeping clear of all error. And to this end,

¹ Possibly the words "during a long time" should be attached to the preceding speech.

² Lit. "had it filled."

³ Another excellent emendation of Mendelssohn, *et περιέτριψε τοὺς λόγους*.

⁴ Cf. the story told by Diogenes Laertius (II, 111) of Diodorus Cronus, who is said to have been given the surname of Cronus by Ptolemy Soter because he failed to solve at once a dialectic problem proposed by Stilpo when the two philosophers were dining with the king.

after hearing with approval at their own mouth¹ their powers of speech, I endeavoured to obtain information from those persons who record in detail all that takes place at the king's audiences and entertainments².

298 For it is the custom, as thou art aware, to have a record kept of all that is said and done from the hour³ when the king begins to give audience until he retires to rest, and the practice is a good and useful
299 one. The next day, before any audience is given, the minutes of the doings and sayings of the previous day are read through, and any
300 irregularity which has occurred is corrected. We have, then, as we said, obtained accurate information on all points from the keepers of the public records⁴, and have set it down here in writing, knowing as we did thy love of useful learning.

[THE TRANSLATION AND ITS RECEPTION.]

301 Now after three days Demetrius took the men with him, and passed over the break-water⁵ of seven stadia in length to the island, and crossing the bridge proceeded to the northern quarter. There he held a session in a house which had been prepared by the sea-shore, magnificently built in a situation of perfect stillness, and bade the men carry out their work of translation, since all appliances necessary
302 for the task had been well provided. And so they proceeded to carry it out, arriving at an agreement on each point by comparing each others' work: and the appropriate rendering agreed on was then
303 transcribed by Demetrius. And the session used to last until the ninth hour, and thereafter they would depart to attend to their bodily
304 comforts, all their wants being plentifully supplied. Moreover, Dorotheus⁶ used every day to make the same arrangements for them as were made for the king, for he had the king's order to do so. And every morning they would come to the court, make their salutation

¹ Such seems to be the force of the emphatic position of *αὐτῶν*.

² For these court journals see the article of Wilcken mentioned in the note on § 283.

³ MSS. *ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρας*; Wendland reads *ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρας <ἕως>*, Mendelssohn corrects *ἡμέρας* to *ἕως*. Probably the original text ran *ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ὁ βασις ἀρχήται*, with an ellipse of *ἕως* (cf. Luke vii. 45 and Blass, *Grammar of N. T. Greek*, § 44, 1), and *ἡμέρας* is an interpolation.

⁴ Correcting *πάντων ἀναγεγραμμένων*, with Wendland, to *παρὰ τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων*.

⁵ For the island of Pharos and the *ἑραστᾶδιον χῶμα*, which formed a bridge (*γέφυρα*) between the mainland and the island, see the description in Strabo XVII, 6, 792.

⁶ Cf. § 182.

to the king, and depart to their own place. And when, as is the custom of all the Jews¹, they had washed their hands in the sea, and had offered a prayer to God², they betook themselves to the reading and interpretation of each passage. And I also propounded this question, "Why do they wash their hands before praying?" And they explained that it was in token that they had done no wrong, since the hands are the means by which every action takes place³: in such a beautiful and pious spirit do they make all things symbols of righteousness and truth. And so, as we have said already, they assembled every day in this spot, which the stillness and brilliant light rendered so delightful, and carried on their appointed task. And so it came about that the translation⁴ was accomplished in seventy-two days, as though this coincidence had been intended. And when the work was ended Demetrius assembled the Jewish people in the spot where the translation had been made and read it through to the whole assembly in the presence of the translators, who received another⁵ great ovation from the people in recognition of the great services which they had rendered. And they gave a similar reception to Demetrius, and requested him to deliver a copy of the whole law to their rulers. And after the reading of the rolls the priests and the oldest of the translators and some members of the [Jewish] community⁶ and the rulers of the people stood up and said, "Forasmuch as the translation has been well and piously executed and with perfect accuracy, it is right that it should remain in its present form, and that no revision should take place." And when

¹ See Schürer², II, 481 ff. (Engl. Trans., II, 2, 109), Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, II, 9 ff. That the Jews in Egypt had the same scruples on the subject of hand-washing in the second century B. C. as their Palestinian brethren had at a later time is attested by the Sibylline Oracles, III, 591 ff.

² Reading *ὡς δὲ εὐχόμεται*, in accordance with the usage of *ὡς δὲ* elsewhere in this book.

³ Cf. Aristobulus (ap. Euseb., *P. E.*, VIII, 10, 377 a) "Ὡς αἱ χεῖρες ἐνὶ συνάμεινον νοοῦνται θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ νοῆσαι τὴν πᾶσαν λογὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν εἶναι.

⁴ Literally "transcription."

⁵ *Kai* seems to refer back to the reception previously accorded to them by the king.

⁶ "Although the Jews who lived here [at Alexandria] enjoyed the rights of citizenship . . . they nevertheless formed an independent municipal community within or co-ordinate with the rest of the city, precisely as in the case of Cyrene" (Schürer², III, 40, Engl. Trans., II, 2, 244). A Cyrenaic inscription of 13 B. C., quoted by Schürer, contains the phrase *τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἡμῶν Ἰουδαίοις*.

all had assented to these words, they¹ bade them, in accordance with their custom, pronounce an imprecation upon any who should revise the text by adding to or altering in any way whatsoever or omitting anything from what had been written²; and herein they did well, to the intent that the work might for ever be preserved imperishable and unchanged.

- 312 And when word of this also was brought to the king, he greatly rejoiced, for it seemed that his purpose had been securely attained. And the whole work was read through to him, and he was amazed exceedingly at the mind of the lawgiver. And he said to Demetrius, "How is it that when such great things have been achieved none of
313 the historians or poets ever thought of mentioning them?" And he said, "Because the law is holy and has been given by God: and some of those who attempted to do so were smitten of God and desisted
314 from their attempt." For he said that he had heard Theopompus³ tell how when he was too rashly⁴ intending to introduce into his history some of the incidents from the law which had previously been translated, his mind was deranged for more than thirty days. And when the disorder abated he besought God that the cause of the
315 mischance might be made plain to him. And when it was shown him in a dream that his desire to disclose the things of God to common men was misguided, he desisted, and thereupon recovered his reason.
316 "And I have also been informed by Theodectes⁵, the tragic poet, that when he was intending to introduce into one of his plays something

¹ Or, "he (Demetrius) bade them." So the MSS. of Aristæus and Eusebius read.

² Cf. Deut. iv. 2, xii. 32, and for the imprecation Rev. xxii. 18 f.

³ Theopompus, the historian, a pupil of Isocrates, lived from about 378 to 300 B. C. About 305 B. C. he came to Egypt, but was not in favour with Ptolemy I, who would have put him to death as a dangerous busybody (*ὁ πολυπράγμων*), had not his friends interceded for his life (Phot. Cod. 176). The epithet *πολυπράγμων* is interesting in view of the statement in Aristæus as to his meddling with divine matters (*περιεργασμένος* § 315), although the incident has probably no foundation in fact.

⁴ *Ἐπισημνότερον*: cf. Demetrius, *de Elocut.*, 80 (ed. Roberts) *ὁ δὲ καὶ Πλάτων ἐπισημνός τι δοκεῖ ποιεῖν μεταφοραῖς μᾶλλον χρώμενος*, it is "a risky feature in his style." Wendland renders "when he was intending to introduce . . . some of the incidents from the law which had previously been translated in a somewhat misleading way." The reference is to the earlier and less careful translation of portions of Scripture which is said to have been in existence before the LXX (see on § 30 *ἀμειλιότερον* . . . *σεσημανται*).

⁵ Theodectes, a rhetorician and tragic poet, a contemporary and on one occasion a rival of Theopompus, circa 375-334 B. C.

recorded in the Book¹, he was afflicted with cataract of the eyes: and suspecting that this was the reason for his mishap; he besought God's mercy, and after many days recovered his sight."

The king, when he heard the explanation which Demetrius gave of ³¹⁷ this matter, as above narrated, made obeisance, and ordered that great care should be taken of the books, and that they should be guarded with proper awe. He further besought the translators that after ³¹⁸ their return to Judaea they would visit him very often. It was but right, he added, that they should now be let go, but should they visit him, he would in bounden duty treat them as friends, and they would meet with the utmost consideration² at his hands. And he ordered ³¹⁹ preparations to be made for their sending off, and treated the men, munificently. For to each one he gave three of the finest changes of raiment, and two talents of gold, and a side-board³ of a talent [in weight], and a complete set of cushions for the three couches of a dining-room. To Eleazar also he sent by the hands of their escort ³²⁰ ten couches with legs of silver and all the appurtenances thereof and a side-board of thirty talents and ten changes of raiment and a purple robe and a magnificent crown and a hundred pieces of fine linen cloth and vials⁴ and dishes⁵ and two golden bowls as a dedicatory offering. And he wrote a letter also requesting him that if any of ³²¹ the men should choose to return to him he would not prevent them from so doing: for he highly valued the company of educated men, and preferred a lavish expenditure of his wealth on such persons to squandering it on vain things.

There, Philocrates, thou hast the whole story which I promised thee. ³²² And indeed I believe that thou findest greater pleasure in these matters than in the books of the romancers: for thou hast a natural inclination to the study of those things which can profit the mind, and art at most times occupied therewith. And I will make a further attempt to record whatever else is worthy of narration, in order that in the perusal thereof thou mayst win the fairest reward for thy zealous desire.

¹ This seems to be the earliest use of ἡ βίβλος for a collection of sacred writings. We have elsewhere βίβλος or βιβλίον διαθήκης (Ecclus. xxiv. 23; 1 Macc. i. 57), τὰ βιβλία τοῦ νόμου (1 Macc. i. 56), αἱ ἱερὰ βιβλαὶ (Jos.). See Ryle, *Canon of O. T.*, 290.

² Read πολυωρίας, Mahaffy's correction of πολυωρίας, and ἔχειν for ἔξει.

³ Κελίκιον, which is used here and in § 320, ordinarily means "a cup," while κυλικεῖον, which Wendland reads in both places, means "a side-board." The form κυλικιον, however, occurs in 1 Macc. xv. 32, where a piece of furniture for supporting vessels is clearly intended, and that is probably the meaning here.

⁴ Or "saucers."

⁵ Or "cups."

THE HEBREW PAPYRUS OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

A HEBREW papyrus is a rarity in any case, but the document that forms the subject of this paper is unique. It is a papyrus containing the Decalogue in Hebrew followed by the *Shema*^a, the text differing in many notable particulars from the Massoretic standard, and agreeing with that which underlies the Septuagint version. When we add that there is every reason to suppose that the Papyrus is at least five or six hundred years older than any piece of Hebrew writing known to scholars, it is evident that the tattered fragments of which a facsimile is here inserted are interesting and important from every point of view.

The recent history of the Papyrus is involved in some obscurity. It came into the possession of Mr. W. L. Nash, the Secretary of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, having been bought in Egypt from a native dealer along with some very early uncial fragments of the *Odyssey*. Mr. Nash thinks it very probable that the whole "find" comes from somewhere in the Fayyûm. These Greek fragments must be as old as the second century A. D., and are probably much earlier: they contain portions of *Odyssey* XII. 279-304, and have been edited by the present writer with a facsimile in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for November, 1902, p. 290 ff. The Hebrew fragments which form the subject of the present article were entrusted to Mr. Stanley A. Cook, Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, and one of the sub-editors of the new *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. Mr. Cook identified the fragments and published them in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical*

Archæology for January, 1903, in an admirable paper which contains, in addition to the text and translation, a full discussion of the interesting questions to which this discovery has given rise. The Papyrus itself has been most generously presented by Mr. Nash to the Cambridge University Library.

So much for the way in which the Papyrus has made its reappearance in the world. About one thing there can be no doubt. There can be no doubt that it is a genuine relic of antiquity and not a forgery. The scraps of Greek papyrus with which it was associated are certainly genuine. It may be safely said that no forger of antiquities has the palæographical knowledge necessary for such work as this; and if he had had the knowledge, he would not have allowed his work to be thrown in, as a thing of no particular value, among a collection of Greek documents. I have thought it worth while to insist upon the genuineness of the Papyrus, because unfortunately it has been found impossible to make a satisfactory photograph of it. What appears here is a photograph of the *papyrus*, but not of the *handwriting*. The papyrus is a very dark yellow, and by the time this has made a sufficient impression on the photographic plate, light enough has been reflected from the black surfaces of the letters themselves to affect the plate also: consequently, while every fibre in the material was visible in the photograph, the letters were not visible at all or were exceedingly faint. What is seen in the reproduction is a very careful drawing of the letters upon the photograph, made by myself from the Papyrus. In doing this I was greatly helped by the faint marks on the photograph, which could be identified when compared with the original as the traces of the several letters. Fortunately there is no serious case of doubtful reading. In a slanting light the letters are clear on the Papyrus itself, and there is only one word in the decipherment of which Mr. Cook and I are not completely agreed. Modern fluid ink and modern pens, coupled with the circumstance

that it was almost impossible to erase a badly-formed letter, made the copy somewhat rougher than the original, but I can honestly claim that the facsimile gives a not misleading view of the appearance of the handwriting.

In its present state the Nash Papyrus consists of four fragments, all of which fit together. The largest is nearly two inches across and about four inches long. It appears to have been doubled up into a packet. A portion of the upper margin (not shown in the photograph) is still preserved, and one of the smaller fragments contains a portion of the right-hand margin. The handwriting is arranged in a column with an average of a little over thirty letters in a line. The greater part of twenty-four lines are preserved, and there are traces of a twenty-fifth, but it is of course impossible to say how much further this column extended. The fragment containing a portion of the right-hand margin appears to terminate with the natural edge of the Papyrus, so that what is preserved is the beginning of a document. The smallness of this margin suggests that there was never more than the single column of writing. The material is now very brittle, and it would be hazardous to detach it from the card upon which the fragments have been gummed, but Mr. Cook and I have managed to ascertain that there is no writing on the other side. Before speculating on the nature of the document, it will be convenient to give the actual text, and to examine its relation to other authorities. Then will follow a few words on the date of the Papyrus, and the value of the text.

HEBREW TEXT.

- 1 [. . . אנכי יי'] הוֹדוּ אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר [הוֹצֵא] תֵּיךְ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם
- 2 [לֹא יִהְיֶה לְךָ] אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים [עַל פִּי] נִי לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה [לְךָ פֶסֶל]
- 3 [וְכָל תְּמוּנָה] אֲשֶׁר בְּשָׁמַיִם מִמֶּעַל וְאֲשֶׁר בָּאָרֶץ [מִתַּחַת]
- 4 [וְאֲשֶׁר בְּמִיָּם] מִתַּחַת לָאָרֶץ לֹא תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לָהֶם [וְלֹא]
- 5 [תַּעֲבֹדֵם כִּי] אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֵל קָדוֹם [עֹשֶׂה]

- 6 [אבות על בני]ם על שלשים ועל רבעים לשנאי [ועשה]
7 [חסד לאלפים] לאהבי ולשמרי מצותי לוא ת[שא את]
8 [שם יהוה א]להיך לשוא כי לוא יקה יהוה [את אשר]
9 [ישא את ש]מה לשוא זכור את יום השבת [לקדשו]
10 [ששת ימי]ם תעבוד ועשית כל מלאכתך וביום [השביעי]
11 [שבת ליהוה] אלהיך לוא תעשה בה כל מלאכה [אתה]
12 [ובנך ובתך] עבדך ואמתך שורך וחמורך וכל ב[חמורך]
13 [ונרך אשר] בשעריך כי ששת ימים עשה י[הוה]
14 [את השמי]ם ואת הארץ את הים ואת כל א[שר בהם]
15 וינח [ביום] השביעי עלכן ברך יהוה את [יום]
16 השביעי ויקדשו כבוד את אבדך ואת אס[ך למען]
17 ייטב לך ולמען יאריכון ימך על האדמה [אשר]
18 יהוה אלהיך נתן לך לוא תאנף לוא תרצח לו[א]
19 [תנ]ב לוא ת[ע]נה ברעך עד שוא לוא תחמוד [את]
20 [אשת רעך ל]וא תת[א]וה את ב[י]ת רעך שו[ד]ו ועבדו
21 [ואמתו וש]וירו וחמרו וכל אשר לרעך [Blank]
22 [ואלה החק]ים והמשפטים אשר צוה משה את[בני]
23 [ישראל] במדבר בצאתם מארץ מצרים שפ[ע]
24 [ישרא]ל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד הוא וא[בת]
25 [את יהוה א]ל[היך בכ]ל ל[בבך]

TRANSLATION.

- 1 [. . . I am Ja]hwe thy God that [brought] thee out of
the land of E[gypt:]
2 [thou shalt not hav]e other gods be[fore] me. Thou
shalt not make [for thyself an image]
3 [or any form] that is in the heavens above, or that is in
the earth [beneath,]
4 [or that is in the water]s beneath the earth. Thou shalt
not bow down to them [nor]
5 [serve them, for] I am Jahwe thy God, a jealous God
visi[ting the iniquity]
6 [of fathers upon son]s to the third and to the fourth
generation unto them that hate me, [and doing]

- 7 [kindness unto thousands] unto them that love me and
keep my commandments. Thou shalt [not]
- 8 [take up the name of Jahwe] thy God in vain, for Jahwe
will not hold guiltless [him that]
- 9 [taketh up his na]me in vain. Remember the day of the
Sabbath [to hallow it:]
- 10 [six day]s thou shalt work and do all thy business, and
on the [seventh day,]
- 11 a Sabbath for Jahwe] thy God, thou shalt not do therein
any business, [thou]
- 12 [and thy son and thy daughter,] thy slave and thy
handmaid, thy ox and thy ass and all thy [cattle,]
- 13 [and thy stranger that is] in thy gates. For six days
did Ja[hwe make]
- 14 [the heaven]s and the earth, the sea and all th[at is
therein,]
- 15 and he rested [on the] seventh day; therefore Jahwe
blessed [the]
- 16 seventh day and hallowed it. Honour thy father and
thy moth[er, that]
- 17 it may be well with thee and that thy days may be long
upon the ground [that]
- 18 Jahwe thy God giveth thee. Thou shalt not do adultery
Thou shalt not do murder. Thou shalt [not]
- 19 [st]eal. Thou shalt not [bear] against thy neighbour
vain witness. Thou shalt not covet [the]
- 20 [wife of thy neighbour. Thou shalt] not desire the house
of thy neighbour, his fie[ld, or his slave,]
- 21 [or his handmaid, or his o]x, or his ass, or anything that
is thy neighbour's. [Blank]
- 22 [(?) And these are the statute]s and the judgements that
Moses commanded the [sons of]
- 23 [Israel] in the wilderness, when they went forth from
the land of Egypt. Hea[r]
- 24 [O Isra]el: Jahwe our God, Jahwe is one; and thou
shalt l[ove]
- 25 [Jahwe thy G]o[d with al]l t[hy heart . . .].

In making the restorations at the beginnings and ends of the lines it must be borne in mind that ה, מ, ס, צ, ש, ת (and sometimes כ) are *wide* letters, and that ר, י, ז, נ, פ, ק, ג (and sometimes כ and נ) are *narrow* letters. Lines 15-19 indicate that about seven letters are lost on the right hand of lines 1-14, 20-22; consequently, no more than four letters as a rule are lost on the left-hand side. I think therefore that Mr. Cook has supplied too many letters at the ends of lines 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 11, and too few at the beginnings of the following lines. That the division here adopted is right may also be seen from lines 4 and 5, for to add ולוא תעברם at the end of line 4 leaves only כי to be prefixed to line 5. At the end of line 20 I have added ועברו after שרהו, leaving only ואמרתו to be prefixed to ושורו at the beginning of line 21. It is more likely that the end of a line should be crowded than the beginning, and in the handwriting of the Papyrus all the letters in ועברו are rather narrow.

The only point where there is some doubt as to the actual reading of the Papyrus occurs in line 20, where I read תתאוה "desire" (as in Deut. v. 18^b), but Mr. Cook is still inclined to read תחמור "covet" (as in the preceding line and in Ex. xx. 17^b). The surface of the Papyrus is here somewhat damaged and the middle letter is defaced—so much so, that it looks more like צ than ס or כ. But the curve at the foot of the left-hand stroke of the second letter is characteristic of ת and not of ח, while it is very difficult to suppose that the last letter can be anything but ה. If תתאוה be right, the ס exhibits an extreme form of that curious horizontal sweep at the end of the *right* foot, which is characteristic of the handwriting of this Papyrus, e.g. in the אחר of the *Shema*'.

The Ten Commandments are familiar to every one, and I do not propose to go through the text line for line. Mr. Cook, in the course of his paper in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, has already done this, and the reader will find there full and clear details about the readings of the Versions and other authorities. I propose here only to touch upon such points as may help us to discover the nature of the document and its date.

The first question which naturally presents itself is the identification of the Biblical passages. Does the Papyrus give us a text of Exodus or of Deuteronomy? In agreement

with Exodus against Deuteronomy it begins the Fourth Commandment with "Remember" instead of "Keep," and does not add "as Jahwe thy God commanded thee" after "to hallow it." It adds at the end of this Commandment the verse "For in six days Jahwe made the heavens and the earth," &c., as in Exod. xx. 11, and does not give the verse Deut. v. 15 or the clause "that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou" in the preceding verse. In the Fifth Commandment it agrees with Exodus in not having the clause "as Jahwe thy God commanded thee." On the other hand, the Papyrus agrees with Deuteronomy against Exodus in the Fourth Commandment by prefixing "thy ox and thy ass" to "thy cattle," in the Fifth Commandment by inserting the clause "that it may be well with thee," in the Ninth Commandment by reading "*vain* (שא) witness" and not "*false* (שקר) witness," and in the Tenth Commandment by putting the wife before the house, and by the insertion of "field" before "slave," and (if my reading be correct) by having "desire" in the second place instead of "covet." To these we must add the appearance of the *Shema*, which of course belongs to Deuteronomy alone. Most of these agreements with Deuteronomy against Exodus are also found in the Greek text of Exodus, but not all: in fact, we may say with confidence that in the Ninth Commandment the Greek supports שר both for Exodus and for Deuteronomy. Moreover שדו "his field" in the Tenth Commandment is without the conjunction as in Deuteronomy, while the Greek has *ὅρε τὸν ἀγρὸν αὐτοῦ*.

It is, I venture to think, impossible to resist the impression that the Papyrus gives a text containing elements both from Exodus and from Deuteronomy, just such a text as might be formed in a liturgical work based indeed upon the Pentateuch, yet not a direct transcript either of Exodus or of Deuteronomy. We know from both Talmuds that the daily reading of the Decalogue before the *Shema* was once customary, and that the practice was discontinued

because of Christian cavils¹. It is therefore reasonable to conjecture that this Papyrus contains the daily worship of a pious Egyptian Jew who lived before the custom came to an end.

But further, the Hebrew text upon which the fragment is based was far from being identical with the Massoretic text. Even if we refer each phrase to its origin in Exodus or Deuteronomy, whichever be the most convenient, there still remain several readings which do not agree with the Massoretic text, and do agree with the Septuagint. In the Fourth Commandment we have the insertion of ב before [השביעי] יום in l. 10, and the addition of בה after תעשה in the following line. At the end of the same Commandment we find "seventh day" instead of "Sabbath day," again with the Septuagint. In the Fifth Commandment, the reading, "that it may be well with thee, and that thy days may be long on the ground," agrees in order with the Greek. The order, Adultery, Murder, Steal, is that of some texts of the Septuagint (including Philo), and it is found in the New Testament (Mark, Luke, Romans, James, *not* Matthew). To crown all, we have the preface to the *Shema'*, which is found in the Septuagint of Deut. vi. 4, but not in the Hebrew; and in the *Shema'* itself we find—

שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֶחָד הוּא

the הוּא at the end being added in agreement with the Greek, both of the Septuagint and of Mark xii. 29, which has Ἄκουε, Ἰσραὴλ, Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν Κύριος εἷς ἐστίν.

In this Papyrus, therefore, we have a Hebrew document based upon a text which is not the Massoretic text, but has notable points of agreement with that which underlies the Septuagint. It is not a question only of difference from the Massoretic standard; mere differences might have arisen through carelessness. The all-important point is the agreement with the Septuagint. This shows us that

¹ Talm. J. *Berakhoth*, i. 8 (4); Talm. B. *Berakhoth*, 12 a.

the variants have a history behind them, and that they belong to the pre-Massoretic age of the text. We can trace the consonantal text of our printed Hebrew Bibles back to the time of Aquila, to the time of the revolt of Bar-Cochba. From that time onwards there has been but little serious change in the Hebrew text of the Canonical Scriptures as accepted by the Synagogue. From that time onwards the composition of a document such as our Papyrus is inconceivable¹. In other words, it is a relic of Jewish religious literature earlier than the age of Rabbi 'Aqiba, who died in the year 135 A.D., and who was the founder of the accurate study of the Hebrew text.

It is of course probable that our Papyrus is the copy of an earlier document. The original composition might be older than Rabbi 'Aqiba, but our fragment might be very much later. At the same time there are palaeographical considerations which suggest that the Nash Papyrus is itself of very great antiquity. It is entirely unaffected by the conventional rules that regulated the writing of Scripture in later times; the ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ in the *Shema*' is not enlarged, there are no "crowns" to the letters, nor is there any division into verses. It is also a mark of very early date that several of the letters are run together by a ligature, e.g. in l. 15. We have to compare the handwriting not with rolls and codices of the early mediaeval period, or with the other surviving fragments of Hebrew written on papyrus, but with Palmyrene and Nabataean inscriptions. The nearest parallel of all is to be found in a Nabataean inscription of A.D. 55, and I

¹ I cannot resist quoting the words of Dr. Landauer about Euting's discovery of a text of the *Shema*' engraved over the lintel of the ruined Synagogue at Palmyra. Dr. Landauer says: "Variationen im Text eines so uralten Gebets wie das Sch'ma wird kein Verständiger bei einer Überlieferung aus einer Zeit wie die der Mischna etwa erwarten. Die Umschreibung von Jahwe durch ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ überrascht uns nicht, wohl aber dass dem Künstler ein Lapsus passirt ist, indem er ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ mit mater lectionis schreibt und, wenn ich recht lese, ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ mit ׀ ׀" (*Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy for 1884, p. 934).

am inclined to assign this Papyrus to about the same date. Those who place it later will have to account for the archaic ה (א), the large broken-backed medial כ, the occasionally open final כ, the פ with a short foot (like Palmyrene and Syriac), and the looped ה. The handwriting is cursive, but it is as distinct from the so-called "Rashi" character as the cursive Greek of pre-Byzantine times is distinct from the minuscule hands of the Middle Ages. And I have already drawn attention to the fact that our Papyrus made its reappearance before the world in company with Greek fragments of the Odyssey, which are certainly as old as the second century A.D., and may be very much earlier.

The five letters כ, פ, ך, ף and ץ all appear on the Papyrus in distinct medial and final forms, but the development of nearly all these forms can be traced almost back to the Christian era. The distinction of medial and final *Kaph*, for instance, is as old as the first beginnings of Syriac literature. More curious are the considerations derived from the spelling of the Papyrus. The most characteristic feature of this spelling is its independence of the Biblical standard. On the one hand we have the archaic כה and שח for כ and ש, and in agreement with the Massoretic text the vowel *o* is not written *plene* in אלהים, אנכי, אלהים, or the present participle. The distinction between the vowels in שור and חמר is maintained, just as in the Massoretic text of the Commandments. On the other hand we have לא every time for לא, we have תעבור and חמור (but also חנב), and יאריכן is written *plene*. חור agrees with the present Massoretic spelling.

These spellings cannot be brought forward in favour of a later date than what I have urged in the preceding paragraphs. The *scriptio plena* had become general by the year 66 A.D., for from that time we find הכחן on Jewish coins. And I cannot help remarking by the way that I believe the saying in Matt. v. 18 about the *jot* and the *tittle* (*lâra êv ðî mla kepala*) to refer not to the size of certain

letters but to their use as vowels. The word *waw* meant "a hook," and this I fancy may have been rendered *κεφαλα*, as a Greek equivalent for the original Semitic term. Thus the fashion of representing the long vowels *ē* and *ū* by the consonants *ʿ* and *ʾ* was not only in use about the year 30 A.D., but was already beginning to invade the copies of the Law. Our Papyrus represents the everyday usage. The Massoretic text of the Bible, based as we believe it to be upon the spelling of a MS. of about 135 A.D., represents a mixture. It often preserves the archaic spelling of an earlier age, as is natural in a copy of any ancient writing: on the other hand, many spellings represent the usage of the second century A.D.

The differences between our Papyrus and the Massoretic text show that the scrupulous care to preserve the words of the Law accurately, which prevailed among the later Jews, was not universally taken in the first century A.D. and the preceding ages. The agreement between the Papyrus and the Septuagint also proves that some things in the Greek which we may have been inclined to regard as paraphrase or amplification are in fact the faithful reproduction of the Hebrew text that lay before the translator. But there remains a more serious question, the question as to which is really the better text. Does the text approved by Aquila and the Massorettes, or the text of the Nash Papyrus and the Septuagint, more nearly represent the text of Exodus and Deuteronomy as (shall we say) Ezra left it? I am afraid, after all, that in this instance I must vote for the Massoretic text. So far as the Decalogue and the *Shema* go, the Massoretic text appears to me the more archaic and therefore the more genuine. In these passages the Massoretic text reads to me like the scholarly reproduction of an old MS. which happens here to contain no serious errors, while the Nash Papyrus is not the scholarly reproduction of a MS., but a monument of popular religion, giving a text of the Commandments with the grammatical difficulties smoothed down.

I trust I may escape being misrepresented as holding a brief for the Massoretic text. On the contrary, I believe that the printed Hebrew Bible contains serious errors, both palaeographical and editorial. Many of these errors can, I am confident, be removed by an intelligent use of the Septuagint, and I greatly rejoice to learn from the Nash Papyrus that the ancient Greek translation was even more faithful to the Hebrew which underlies it than some of us dared hope. But it does not follow that all the labour of the Sopherim was thrown away, or that every early variant is a relic of a purer text. Especially is this the case with the Pentateuch. The Pentateuch became canonical from very early times, and the consonantal text was practically fixed in the Maccabaean age. And if any part of the text were fixed, surely this would be the Ten Commandments. When therefore we find that the Ten Commandments actually differ in Exodus and in Deuteronomy, we have some ground for supposing that they have escaped intentional harmonization. And if they have escaped intentional harmonization they have escaped the only serious danger to which they would have been exposed, for it is hardly likely that a mere palaeographical error in such a well-known context would have been left uncorrected.

The clearest instance to my mind is in the text of the Fourth Commandment. Here I believe the Massoretic text to be right, and the Nash Papyrus to give an easier, less original, reading: at the same time it is a better commentary on the true text than either the Authorized Version of 1611 or the Revised Version of 1881, both of which actually follow the Samaritan text. The Massoretic text has שש ימים תעבד תשיח כל מלאכתך ויום השביעי שבת ליהוה i.e. *Six days thou shalt work and do all thy business; and the seventh day, Juhweh thy God's Sabbath, thou shalt do no business.*

In the first clause "six days" are in what may be called the accusative of duration of time: the symmetry of the sentence shows us that יום השביעי is in the same construc-

tion, and שבת לִי is in apposition to it. If we wanted to bring out the exact force of these accusatives, we might translate "During six days thou shalt work . . . , but during the seventh day . . . thou shalt do no business." But this construction, though perfectly clear, can easily be misunderstood. It is so easy to take אלהיך . . . יום as a separate sentence and say "But the seventh day is the Sabbath," or to regard it as a kind of *nominativus pendens* without any grammatical construction at all. This leaves לא תעשה, so to speak, in the air: "thou shalt do no business" by itself is rather too general a commandment, and consequently we find בּו (written כה, as in Jeremiah xvii. 24) added by the Nash Papyrus and by the Samaritan, and implied by the Septuagint and the Vulgate. The Papyrus further prefixes בּו יום השביעי, thereby making it quite clear that שבת is in apposition and not a predicate. The English Bible has "but the seventh day is the sabbath of the LORD thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work"—a translation that makes havoc of the syntax, and the matter is made worse by the Revised Version, which puts the italic *is* into ordinary type.

The result of this grammatical excursus can be stated in a sentence. On the assumption that the Massoretic text preserves the true wording of the Fourth Commandment both in Exodus and Deuteronomy, the reading of the Nash Papyrus, of the Samaritan, and the rendering of the Septuagint, can all be easily explained; but on the assumption that either the Nash Papyrus or the Samaritan gives the original, it is very difficult to account for the omissions of the Massoretic text.

At the end of the Fourth Commandment (Exod. xx. 11^b) I incline to think that we have another instance of the superiority of the Massoretic text, this time in company with the Samaritan. "Blessed the sabbath day" (MT.) is less obvious than "blessed the seventh day" (Papyrus and LXX), which might easily have come from the context or from Gen. ii. 3. Here again it is interesting to note

that the divergence of the Septuagint from the Massoretic text was not caused by paraphrastic tendencies on the part of the translators, but by the faithful following of the Hebrew text that was used.

It is not necessary here to discuss the longer form of the Fifth Commandment given in the Papyrus, because it practically amounts to an interpolation from the parallel in Deuteronomy which the Massoretic text of Exodus has escaped. It is possible, however, that the received text of Deuteronomy should be corrected here to agree with the Papyrus, i. e. "that it may be well with thee" should precede instead of follow "that thy days may be long."

The variation in order between the Sixth and Seventh Commandments is probably connected with the similar change of order in the Tenth. Just as in the Tenth Commandment the prohibition not to covet the neighbour's *wife* is placed first in the Papyrus, in the Greek, and even in the Hebrew text of Deuteronomy, so we find that in the Papyrus and in many Greek texts (including Philo), the prohibition of Adultery is put before that of Murder. But is not the order of the Massoretic text in Exodus more primitive? Is it not likely that the original form of the Tenth Commandment was "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's House," the House including the Family as well as the Property? The reason that in Exod. xx. 17, the House comes first is not because 'Aḳiba or some "Scribe" thought the dwelling more valuable than the wife, but because the first clause of the Commandment was once all that there was of it. The rest is explanatory addition. But the same tendency which has brought up the prohibition to covet one's neighbour's wife to the head of the list has most likely brought up the prohibition of Adultery in front of Murder. Here, again, the Nash Papyrus represents the popular tendencies of a not yet Rabbinized Judaism (if I may be forgiven the phrase), while the Massoretic text gives us the scholarly archaism of the Scribes.

We come at last to the *Shema'* (Deut. vi. 4 f.), undoubtedly the most remarkable part of the new discovery. What are we to say of the new Preface, and what are we to say of the addition of יהוה after אחד? What reasons are we to give for the omission of this Preface and for the omission of יהוה on the assumption that they are genuine portions of Deuteronomy? The question seems to me to be altogether parallel to the question raised by the variations in the Commandments and to demand the same answer.

Let us begin with the obvious consideration that the Nash Papyrus once more brings out the essential faithfulness of the Greek version of the Pentateuch to the Hebrew that underlies it. The new Preface is found in the Greek prefixed to the *Shema'*, and in κύριος εἰς ἑστὶν the last word corresponds to יהוה, just as in Gen. xli. 25 τὸ ἐνέπνευσεν Φαραὼ εἰς ἑστὶν corresponds to חלום פרעה אחד יהוה. There is nothing to suggest that the text of the Papyrus has been assimilated to the Greek, and so we may well believe that the Septuagint attests a text of the *Shema'* which agrees with that of the Papyrus. But here again it is difficult to believe that the Palestinian recension of the passage represented by the Massoretic text (and the Samaritan) is not the more original. Why should the יהוה after אחד have been dropped, if it were originally there? It is such an obvious thing to add: it makes the construction so much clearer. True, it takes away some of the force of the great sentence; it dissociates the assertion of Jahwe's uniqueness from the command to love him with no corner reserved for other objects of devotion; it gives, in fact, a philosophical turn to a positive command. Such a turn is foreign to the style of Deuteronomy, but it is exactly what would attract the Jews of the Dispersion. In this instance also I must prefer the archaistic scholarship of the Scribes to the philosophy of Alexandria.

To the Preface much the same argument applies. Words are really not wanted between Deut. vi. 3 and "Hear, O Israel"; in fact, the Preface is a kind of *doublette* to

Deut. vi. 1-3. It reads like a marginal chapter-heading that has become incorporated with the text. It is remarkable how well it fits in with the scheme of the Papyrus. The words *And these are the statutes and the judgments that Moses commanded the sons of Israel when they went forth from the land of Egypt* form an excellent and sufficient transition from the Decalogue which was proclaimed by Jahwe himself to the rest of the Law which was given through Moses only. Mr. Cook has made the bold suggestion that our Papyrus is part of a text of Deuteronomy, in which this Preface actually took the place of the fifteen verses, Deut. v. 22-vi. 3. The Septuagint would in that case represent a conflate text, as it contains both the Preface and the fifteen verses. But Deut. v. 22-vi. 3 is surely a genuine portion of the Book of Deuteronomy: it has even run the gauntlet of the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (col. 1081). I think, therefore, that the Preface to the *Shema* is an interpolation into the genuine text, which the Massoretic text has happily escaped. It is in every respect similar to Isa. xxx. 6* ("The Burden of the Beasts of the South"), which doubtless was also a marginal chapter-heading, except that in the Isaiah passage the interpolation is found in the Massoretic text as well as in the Greek.

To sum up what inevitably has assumed the form of a discussion of technical points. I believe the Nash Papyrus to be a document of the first century A.D. at latest. The document itself I do not believe to have extended beyond the single column which is in great part preserved, and I think it not at all unlikely that it was folded up and buried with its former owner as a kind of charm. The writing which it contains consists of what were considered to be the chief passages of the Law, the text being taken from the various books, and where there were parallel texts, as in the Decalogue, the Papyrus presents a fusion of the two. The Hebrew text of the Pentateuch from which these extracts were made differed from the Massoretic text, and

had many points of contact with that of which the Septuagint is a translation. The date of the compilation cannot be determined, but the Septuagint itself is evidence that such texts were current in the Ptolemaic period. At the same time, as far as our fragments extend, the Massoretic text approves itself as purer, as a more primitive recension of the Pentateuch, than the text of the Nash Papyrus and the Septuagint. Especially is this true with regard to the text of the *Shema*. There is a story in the Talmud that when Rabbi 'Akiba was martyred he was reciting the *Shema*, and he died as he was lingering over the word אֱחָד. "Happy art thou, Rabbi 'Akiba," said the Heavenly Voice, "that thy spirit went forth at אֱחָד." I think we may venture to echo this Benediction: there is no need at all for us to add an unnecessary pronoun to שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוָה אֱחָד יְהוָה אֱחָד.

F. C. BURKITT.

"IN THE SWEAT SHOP."

From the Yiddish of Morris Rosenfeldt.

OH, the roar of the shop
Where the wheels never stop!
The wild rushing machine,
Oh, it maddens me keen,
Until oft I forget,
In the tumult and sweat,
That I have any life
That's apart from the strife;
For I grow so distraught
That my ego is naught,
I become a machine.

For I work and I work
There's no gain, should I shirk
And I toil and I toil,
And I toil and I toil;
But for whom? And for what?
It ne'er enters my thought.
Can I think, can I ask?
I bend over my task,
For, I'm but a machine.

There's no time to ask why?
Nor to feel, nor to sigh,
For the work ne'er relents,
And it deadens all sense
As it ruthlessly maims
Every soul, when it aims

To attain to its rest
In what's noblest and best;
To uplift and inspire
For a life that is higher,
But alas! the machine.

Fleet the moments give way,
Speeding hours make a day;
Swift as sails in their flight
Doth the day chase the night,
And as if to outrace
Or to march their mad pace
Do I drive without pause,
To no end, for no cause,
Do I drive the machine.

There's a clock in the shop;
It runs on without stop;
Always points; ticks away;
Strikes each hour of the day.
I've been told there is found
Sense and meaning profound
In its striking the chime
And its marking the time
For the running machine.

I recall but the theme,
Like vague thoughts of a dream:
That the clock like the heart,
By its beat, well may start
Throbbing life in the man,
And arouse—yes it can—
Something else; as to what
That may be, I've forgot;
Do not know, do not ask;
I bend over my task,
For I'm but a machine.

There are times when the clock
 Seems to scorn and to mock,
 And I well understand
 What is meant by each hand ;—
 What the dull, ticking sound
 Says, to drive and to hound
 And to goad me so sore,
 As it cries evermore :
 "Get to work ! Get to work !
 Never pause, never shirk,
 For thou art a machine !"

And the tones that I hear,
 As they ring in my ear,
 Keep repeating the threats
 Of the boss, as he frets ;
 And I quail at his frown,
 Which seems to look down
 From the face of the clock,
 With its scorn and its mock,
 As it goads me so sore
 While it cries evermore :
 "Thou must sew ; thou machine !"

Lo, the man in my heart
 Is aroused to his part,
 And the slave in my breast
 Sinks at last into rest ;
 For the hour, it has come,
 When a deed must be done.
 "Be an end to this strife !
 Yea, an end to such life !
 I will stop the machine !"

Hark ! the whistle, the boss
 All my mind's at a loss

And my reason's o'erthrown.
Am I left all alone?
In the tumult and sweat
I seem to forget,
For I am so distraught
That my ego is naught,
Do not know, do not ask;
I bend over my task,
For I'm but a machine.

HENRY BERKOWITZ.

AVTO GENERAL

DE LA FEE.

LAVREADAS LAS TRIVNFADORAS SIENES

DE LA RELIGION CHATOLICA.

SUBVIGADA LA CERVIZ DE LA FIERA

APOSTASIA.

LENITIVA PIEDAD DE LA SIEMPRE

VERDE OLIVA.

ESTRAGO VENGATIVO DE LA SIEMPRE INVICTA
ESPADA.

CELO APOSTOLICODELSANCTO
TRIBUNAL DE LA INQUISICION.

Celebrado en Cordoba Lunes veinte y nueve de Junio dia de los Apóstoles
y Principes de la Yglesia S. Pedro, y S. Pablo.

*Escrito por el muy Reverendo Padre Fray Pedro de Herrera Leñor de Prieta de el Real Convento, y
Colegio de S. Pablo de Cordoba, Orden de Predicadores.*



Con Licencia en Cordoba, por Andres Carrillo de Panizza, Año de 1664.

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF A RARE 'RELACION'
OF AN AUTO DE FÉ.

AUTO DE FÉ AND JEW.

X.

THE REYES CATÓLICOS AND THE INQUISITION.

THE Inquisition, it has been remarked ¹, "had to deal in Spain with rich and crafty Jews and highly trained Moors. Forced to profess a Christianity which they hated, they loathed the worship of virgin or saint . . . mere idolatries . . . Between them and the Old Catholic Spaniards smouldered a perpetual grudge. . . . Jews, Moors, and Moriscoes made up 300,000 of the wealthiest inhabitants, and in seventy years the population fell from ten to six millions."

Having once started the Inquisition, Ferdinand and Isabella did not care to relax their zeal. The Chauvinistic sentiment, Spain for the Spaniards, was irresistible after the Catholic Monarchs had conquered the last of the Moors. New Christians were viewed with suspicion and envy. Were they to rob the genuine "*viejos christianos pur sang*" of the fruits of their policy and prowess? Jews and Moors alike were dangers to the compactness of the union, for Granada had been overwhelmed rather than destroyed, and might rise again. Church and State were in a spending mood, and the booty would have tempted even less extravagant tastes.

Machiavelli was right in denouncing this policy as deplorable. From the very first it failed of effect. Spain for the Spaniards meant a depopulated Spain, an impoverished Spain, a feeble and inglorious Spain. New

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica* sub voce "Inquisition."

Christians had intermarried with the oldest and greatest of the grandees. They occupied the highest offices of State and even of the Church. In two or three generations they must have been absorbed. But the Inquisition threw them back into the arms of their ancient faith, the spice of danger lent poetry and holiness to the rites and ceremonies they had for a time abandoned—

“The axe and sword new vigour give,
And by their ruins they revive.”

The bonds of Catholicism could not trammel their minds. The spirit of the Reformation was in the air.

Jews and Moors threatened the Christian union. For fear of rebellion they were to be expelled, and first the Jews were banished. But the rebellion came. In 1524, and again from 1567 to 1570, the Moors were up in arms; the insurrections were quelled, and between 1598 and 1610 a million Moors were exiled from Spain.

Both King and Sacred Office secured much spoil through confiscations. These confiscations made the Jews poorer but they did not enrich the country. The Turks gained what the Spaniards lost. The trade of the Indies drifted into the hands of the Turks, and Bajazet was justified in following the advice of his Jewish physician¹ and inviting the Jews to his dominions, and jeering at Ferdinand for letting them go. America, newly discovered, and the argosies of the Spanish Main fed the Peninsula with bullion for a while, but economic ruin was bound to be the ultimate result of its system of religious persecution. Judaism, Anglicanism, Mahometanism, Calvinism, Ateismo are the successive “Leitmotive” of too successful voyages of discovery in the ocean of heresy. As our tables show, each crops up at intervals as the fashionable crime, but they were not self-exclusive. The Inquisitor saw nothing

¹ This was R. Joseph ha-Cohen, for whom a MS. in the author's possession was written in 1485 at Nicosia in Cyprus, vide *J. Q. R.*, vol. XI, p. 529.

absurd in charging Queen Elizabeth's friend, Antonio Perez, with being Anglican and Jew; or Pedro de la Concepcion (1662) with being Jew and Atheist; or in punishing numbers of Jews, in 1728, for being Mohammedans!

Ferdinand the Catholic remained a consistent persecutor to the end. He earned his canonization and did not scruple to reprove even the Pope for want of religious zeal. "Tell the Pope," he writes on March 7, 1514, to Fray Alonzo Lozano, his ambassador at Rome, "It is a thing much to be regretted that the Pope has refused to give to Inquisitors canonical preferments at a time when the Inquisition is more needed than ever¹."

XI.

CHARLES THE FIFTH.

Ferdinand and Isabella's grandson and successor was less religiously inclined—at first. In 1516, Charles the Fifth became King of Spain, and for a time the sport of Jew-baiting seemed to have fallen into disfavour and almost desuetude. The number of autos-da-fé decreased, and in Portugal the condition of the Israelites became almost enviable. Spanish sentiment obeyed the hint which fell from the throne, and the Bishop of Badajoz had to write to Cardinal Ximenes, Inquisitor-General, "Some of the Spaniards who are in Flanders speak badly of the Inquisition, telling horrible things of it and pretending that it ruins the country²." Charles the Fifth was elected Emperor in 1519, and Adrian VI Pope in 1524. There were divided counsels at the Vatican, and Spain is urged to be more zealous. "The former Emperors," wrote the College of Cardinals to Charles, with a sarcasm which to modern ears sounds strangely Gilbertian, "did not earn their great reputation by expelling the French, conquering

¹ *Calendar of State Papers* (Spanish), 1509-25.

² *Ibid.*, p. 281. The letter is dated March 8, 1516.

the English, or subjecting Italy, but by making war on the Jews, putting heretics to death, and reducing almost the whole of Africa to obedience of the Christian religion¹. The Pope did not endorse this violence of attitude on the part of the Holy College. The personal influence of a Jew seems to have softened his heart, and perhaps also the wisdom of conciliating the Jews as a body appealed to his intellect. Nor was Charles V by any means inclined to play into the hands of the Inquisition. The progress of Lutheranism in Germany had not been altogether unwelcome to him. The Pope was his bitter enemy, and in his own dominions Church and State were not on the best of terms. In 1540, Covos writes to Charles from Granada and feeds his jealousy by telling him that "the Inquisition is encroaching daily on the civil power as regards death sentences²"; and, almost in the same breath, the Emperor hears of an interview with Pizarro and the martyrdom of a man at Valencia who "died there professing Judaism³."

Our lists show that the autos are still few in number. Between 1535 and 1555 we can find barely one recorded in two years. We read of a Synagogue where Jews seem to have been able to worship almost openly and the officiating Rabbi of which escaped punishment until 1562, when he figured at the Auto-da-Fé in Murcia. Pope Marcel III cannot restrain his dissatisfaction with this lukewarmness: it is of a piece with the laxity which permitted Charles V to recognize the religion of Luther at the Diet of Augsburg. And the Venetian Envoy at Rome writes to the Doge, in 1556, a very vivid account of the forcible language used by His Holiness at an official interview where the talk was of the Maranno refugees, who found what he thought were too ready welcomers at Venice and Leghorn. "The Pope," writes Navagero⁴, "when I, Ambassador, asked him how he was, replied: 'Troubled on account of these enemies of

¹ *Cal. State Papers* (Spanish), II, 609. Vide also as to Jews in England, *ibid.*, I, 51 and 164.

² *Ibid.*, 241.

³ *Ibid.*, 295.

⁴ *Ibid.* (Venetian), 1556.

God, renegade-morisces (moresci), spawn of Jews (sеме di Giudei), for we have yet to learn they are Christians, but we hope in Christ that they will repent them of what they have done. We will deprive them of their kingdoms and empires, we will proclaim them excommunicated and accursed, them and those who shall have participation with them. We will make a crusade against them, because both father and son are heretics, and we will extirpate that accursed race. . . . This scum of the earth has, alas, commanded us, owing to our cowardice, ever since those wretched souls Lodovico Moro (Ludwic Sforza) and Alfonso (II of Aragon, King of Naples) placed the neck of Italy under the yoke of the barbarians, our capital enemies. You also have communication with these promise breakers who cajole you. Beware of what you are doing.' "

XII.

EMBASSY FROM JEWS IN INDIA.

In the sixteenth century the Jews were by no means of the small importance which is usually imagined. Jewish historians have been too prone to write annals from exclusively Jewish sources and standpoint. To Jews the expulsion from Spain seemed a calamity as terrible as the destruction of the Temple, but it is a failing with Jews to magnify disasters no less than exaggerate small successes. Like all highly strung people, Jews are at times too pessimistic and at others too optimistic. To an Abarbanel, the Decree of 1492 meant political and financial ruin; but the majority of his coreligionists either remained in Spain throughout, or returned to it after a year or two spent in Portugal or across the Straits of Gibraltar, and in Spain they practised their Judaism in secret. They were like the Russian Jews to-day who live outside the pale of Jewish settlement; they were known, they were tolerated, and they were able to square the

police, subject always to the periodic risk of being squeezed for gain. The Jewish idealist of the time hated the hollowness and moral squalor of such a life, and hence the depth of his depression. The commercial minds were less squeamish.

Now the balance of power in Europe was unstable: the dissensions in the Church and the triumphant progress of Turkey were two great factors which made for the downfall of traditional Christianity, and the Jews were not slow to seize the opportunity of attempting to regain their lost ground. Their first move came from an entirely unexpected quarter, and in a manner no less strange. The Calendar of State Papers¹ again furnishes us with a clue. We read in a letter of March 14, 1524, addressed from Rome by the Venetian legate, Marco Foscari, to the "Signory," that "An ambassador has come to the Pope from the Jews in India, offering him 300,000² combatants against the Turk, and asking for artillery."

The ambassador was the famous David Reubeni, who started on his mission in 1522, and his principals seem to have been the white Jews of Cranganore³. These had for nine centuries enjoyed independence in the principality of Anjuvannam⁴, under a grant from Bhaskara Ravi Varma, King of Malabar. In 1524, the year before Vasco da Gama's death, the Mohammedans with a fleet of 100 "grabs" attacked Cranganore and drove out the Jews,

¹ *Cal. State Papers* (Venetian), 1520-6, p. 810.

² The number is significant. Reubeni offered the Pope 300,000 subjects, not soldiers. In his סדר he says that his brother rules over thirty myriads (שלשים רבוא). Doubtless he exaggerated their number, but ten years later we read of a Jewish fleet in the Mediterranean:—"Prince Andrea with twenty-five galleys sails for Naples in search of the Jew (Cacha Diablo), who had twenty." *Cal. State Papers* (Spanish), 242.

³ The writer suggested this explanation of the Reubeni puzzle in a short paper read before the Orientalist Congress at Hamburg in Sept. 1902.

⁴ Dr. G. Oppert visited Cranganore and has published the grants inscribed on the original plates which are still preserved at Cochin. He identifies the name Anjuvannam as signifying the Fifth or Foreign Caste.

who found refuge in Cochin. Reubeni's mission it was to persuade the Pope, as Head of the East and Overlord of the Portuguese, that it was his interest to be friendly to the Jews and thus secure their help in wresting the trade of India from the Turks. The mission was apparently unsuccessful, though the Portuguese appear to have left the Cochin Jews free to practise their religion with impunity, and without interference from the Inquisition established at Goa in 1536. The Synagogue at Cochin, in Jews' Town, was erected in 1568, but destroyed by the Portuguese in 1662, because the Jews were supposed to intrigue with the Dutch enemy, who captured the city in 1664 and rebuilt the Synagogue¹. After 130 years the Dutch gave way to the English, but under both Protestant powers the Jews have enjoyed complete religious liberty; Holland and England, in Asia as in Europe, gained what Spain and Portugal lost.

To return to David Reubeni, the usual form his story takes is that a man, called by that name, gave himself out to be a messenger from Prester John, suddenly appeared in Rome early in the sixteenth century, secured an extraordinary influence upon Pope, Emperor, and King of Portugal in turn and as Pseudo-Messiah, either himself or through a disciple, started one of the periodic Zionist agitations which convulse Jewry.

The disciple was a Portuguese Maranno and Royal Secretary, Diogo Pires, who, after his conversion to Judaism, called himself Solomon Molcho. It seemed too unlikely that, after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal, anything of the sort could have happened, and so most historians—Basnage for example—regarded the whole story as a myth which had grown up out of the Messianic aspirations of an imaginative and credulous people.

Graetz² threw new light on the subject. He was unable

¹ Vide Rae's *Syrian Church in India*, cap. X.

² Graetz, IX, 545 and note 4.

to deny the existence of a man calling himself David Reubeni, for there was in the Bodleian Library a Manuscript, the Edition¹ of which occupies more than a hundred closely printed quarto pages, purporting to be the diary of his Travels from 1522-5.

The original MS. by-the-by has been missing since 1867 and the Edition was made from a copy. Graetz also knew of the references to him by Jewish contemporaries: Farisol in his *Itinera Mundi* (ארחות עולם) and R. Joseph b. Joshua Hasefardi in his *Chronicles* (עטק הכנה). He also discovered external authorities for the episode in 1528 and 1531.

Graetz was not wanting in imagination but his temperament was sceptical. David Reubeni could not be suppressed, he was an actuality and had to be accounted for, and so Graetz, largely on the internal evidence of the Hebrew style of the Diary, but also on the a priori improbability of his story, condemns him as an impostor made in Germany.

Neubauer, in 1895, goes a step further when he affirms with "certainty, that the Hebrew style of David's Diary is that of a German Jew. David might have been such, though a native of Egypt who knew Arabic as his mother tongue!" Rieger and Vogelstein in their *History of the Jews of Rome* call him an Arabian Impostor, largely on the ground that his ignorance of Abyssinia was exposed when he was confronted with a *soi-disant* envoy from the real King of Abyssinia. Anyhow, even Graetz admits that, to Reubeni's favour at court and in the Vatican, was due the then comparative immunity from persecution of the Jews of Portugal, and the delay in the establishment of the Portuguese Inquisition.

¹ Neubauer's *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, II, 133 and seq. The MS. is written in 1527, and at the beginning the author tells how his brother was king in סודר חנוך, whence he came to Europe via נדיר and by ship via Souakim to Abyssinia and Egypt. By these names he may well mean Cranganore and Djeddah. I believe Professor Schechter found a large fragment of another MS. of Reubeni's Diary in the Cairo Geniza.

XIII.

DAVID REUBENI IN PORTUGAL.

At this time though even in Spain Jew baiting was relaxed, the Portuguese Jews were allowed a degree of liberty which to foreigners seemed extraordinary. On October 10, 1528, Martin de Salina, Austrian envoy in Spain, writes to the King of Bohemia and Hungary:—"A Jew has been allowed to preach in Portugal in favour of the religion of Moses, and against our Christian faith. He has also written letters to this kingdom of Spain, in consequence of which many of his comrades desert their houses and fly to that country. The Emperor has written twice to the King on this subject, and the Inquisition is now proceeding against the guilty parties. Cannot tell how the affair will end, but fears that God will in the end chastise the king who tolerates such evils in his estates¹." This may well refer to David Reubeni, who after being treated with distinction at the Portuguese court for nearly a twelvemonth, was suddenly banished from Portugal. His boat was shipwrecked on the Spanish coast and he himself imprisoned by the Inquisition. Charles the Fifth released him, and he proceeded to the Pope at Avignon. Possibly he may have taken the part of an honest broker in the negotiations between those two personages. The favour he enjoyed seems otherwise inexplicable. The Portuguese clerical party, however, was no longer to be repressed, and the agitators for the Inquisition proved too strong for King Joaõ or even for the Pope. Graetz quotes a letter from the Inquisitor of Badajoz to the King, dated March 30, 1528, which has hitherto been regarded as the earliest external authority for the whole strange Reubeni episode. He also quotes a letter of June 11, 1531, addressed to King Joaõ by Bras

¹ *Cal. State Papers (Spanish)*, 1527-9, II, 818.

Neto from Rome, in which the envoy states in terms that the Pope's aversion to grant the Bull sanctioning the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal, was due to his partiality for the Jewish Prince from Asia. As a matter of fact it was not till 1536 that the Inquisition was introduced into Portugal, and in 1537 we read in the Spanish State Papers that the Inquisition of Portugal is "intending to persecute the Spanish Moriscos¹," and that "the Pope will help²" to this end. Pressure was being brought to bear upon the King by the Emperor, whose envoy, Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza, writes to his Catholic Majesty, about this time, that he "spoke to the King (of Portugal) about the Inquisition, and although the answer was not so clear and resolute as could be expected, yet he declared that not one of the newly converted Moors remained in the whole of Portugal, and begged him to write home that if any of the fugitives had taken shelter in the ports of Portugal he should at once be imprisoned and punished³." Even so, it is Moriscos not Marannos, Moors and not Jews, who are the first objects of the Portuguese attack.

Professed Jews had, of course, remained in Portugal notwithstanding the expulsion of 1497, and were known as such and allowed to trade even with Spain. In the *Relaciones* of the autos their Judaism is often assumed, and they practically received a licence to reside in Lisbon, by the King's edict dated February 7, 1537, which ordered that "All Jews should wear a badge by which they might be distinguished from Christians⁴." As late as February, 1539, Eustace Chapuys writes from London to the Queen of Hungary, that there was as yet no Inquisition in Portugal⁵; our own list of Portuguese autos begins with the following year. In 1543, "certain Portuguese Jews,

¹ *Cal. State Papers* (Spanish), 1537, 319.

² *Ibid.*, 316.

³ *Ibid.*, 319; S. E. Pat. B. M. Add. 28,589.

⁴ Vide Lindo's *Jews of Spain and Portugal*, 375.

⁵ *State Papers* (Spanish), 1539, 110.

prisoners in London, are released on the recommendation of the King and Queen of Portugal¹. This seems surprising enough, but except for a doubtful auto in 1531, recorded by Zunz, and two by Gottheil in 1540, we have no record of an auto in Lisbon until 1563. After that date they become numerous until 1578, when King Sebastian was slain. For two years the times were too troubled for indulgence in the luxury of an auto, but with Philip's seizure of Portugal and its consequent eighty-five years' union with Spain, autos became numerous and regular. In 1589, Don Antonio, one of the pretenders to the throne, lodged in the Apostolic College or Theatines (Lisbon), and the Venetian legate writes that "he received many visits from Portuguese Jews and other low folk²."

XIV.

THE SECOND EXPULSION.

The Portuguese Jews were soon to feel the weight of the Spanish yoke. The union of the two kingdoms under Philip the Second did not make for tolerance or indifference. Philip the Second was the most Catholic of monarchs, and his zeal for the Church, encouraged rather than

¹ *State Papers* (Spanish), 1542-3, 270 (*Wien Imp. Arch.*, Corresp., Engl.). *J. Q. R.*, XIV, 700.

² *Ibid.* (Venetian), 1586-9. In the same volume we read of a "Jew of a black bonnet—the scoundrel Saul Cohen." In 1599 Queen Elizabeth corresponds with Esperanza Malchi, the Sultana's secretary, and in 1591, thanks to her ambassador's intervention, the Sultan appointed a Jew, Waiwode of Wallachia (vide Ellis, *Letters Illustrative of English History*, 1825, III, 52, and *Jewish World* of Jan. 2, 1885, both cited by Lucien Wolf). The *State Papers* (Venetian, 1581-91) have numerous references to David Passi (i. e. of Fez), a Spanish refugee and a diplomatist, of whom the Sultan said, "slaves like the Vizir he had in abundance, but never a one like David," and of whose temporary disgrace the Venetian legate wrote: "All Christendom has cause to be thankful for the . . . exile and probable death of the Jew."

tempered by the love of power, induced him alike to marry the unloveliest of England's queens and fight the ablest. In his time Judah was not saved, and Israel did not dwell securely.

We have particulars of many autos celebrated in his dominions, and there were doubtless many more, and it was he who established the Inquisition in America. His successor, Philip III, was hardly less fanatical. The Holy Office was not allowed to remain idle, and the number of persons imprisoned for suspected Judaism was to be counted by the thousand. The "Nation," as the Portuguese Jew Christians were called, braved the terrors of the Inquisition, and poured into Spain, thinking perhaps that the game was worth the candle, and that they would be more leniently treated now that they were fellow subjects, and not mere alien immigrants.

But even the precarious existence accorded to these Jew Christians was destined to come to an end. The immediate cause was a case of sacrilege in a Lisbon church, attributed by the ignorant mob to the Jews. The popular cry was taken up by the Church, and a powerful agitation was started, in 1620, with the object of procuring the exile of all Jews from the Peninsula. The term Jews included not only professed Jews, but all persons who or whose parents had been punished by the Inquisition for offences of Judaism or condemned "por vehementi" on suspicion of Judaism. Some of the Jews petitioned Philip III, who died in 1621, and then his son Philip IV for pardon, alleging their innocence of sacrilege, and offering a bribe of 150,000 ducats as an inducement to permit them to reside in Spain and Portugal. Philip the Fourth did not reject their petition with contumely, but appointed a Committee of Grandees consisting of the Duke de Villa hermosa, the Marques de Castel Rio, the Conde de Castillo, the Bishop Designate of Malaga, Don Francisco de Bragança, and five others, to investigate the matter. Antisemitic arguments, mostly theological,

and of the antiquated type of the early Christian Fathers, prevailed in favour of their banishment, and ultimately, in 1631, the king decided that all Judaizers¹ were to be exiled from his realms. This, the second, banishment from Spain and Portugal was hardly less important and far-reaching than its better known predecessor of 1492. For it was this that led to the foundation of the Jewish communities of London, Altona, and Bordeaux, and brought to Amsterdam a Spinoza and a Manasseh ben Israel. The original documents relating to these events, the Jews' Petitions, the Minutes of the Royal Commission, and even the draft of the letter of thanks addressed by the Council of the Inquisition to the king for his zeal for the Church, and a copy of the king's reply, were recently picked out by the writer on the fourth floor of a tenement house in a Madrid back slum from a hidden hoard containing the archives of the Council, and they will be published hereafter.

The second banishment was not more effective than the earlier attempts to extirpate the Jewish heresy. The annals of the Inquisition show an increase in the number of victims punished for "delitos de judaismo," and its punishments are if anything still more severe. It was only in the latter half of the eighteenth century that the spirit of the revolution succeeded in scotching the venom of the religious persecutor.

¹ The various names by which these Jews or Jew Christians are described (sometimes by King Philip IV himself) in the original documents are as follows:—"los Judios que en Portugal an deliquido en materia de fee" (86), "hombres de la nacion" (8), "los de la nacion Hebraea" (69), "la gente de la nacion de Portugal (63), "los de la nacion de Portugal" (103), and "los hombres de negocios de Portugal" (77).

XV.

PORTUGUESE AUTOS.

The following is a list of the exact dates of many of the Portuguese Autos-da-fé referred to in § IX¹:—

<i>Lisbon.</i>	<i>Evora.</i>	<i>Coimbra.</i>	<i>Goa, &c.</i>
Sept. 20, 1540	Sept. 20, 1542		
Oct. 23, 1541	Sept. 12, 1563	Oct. 5, 1567	
May 26, 1563	Aug. 22, 1564	Aug. 1, 1568	
Mar. 9, 1567	July 24, 1569	Aug. 20, 1570	
Jan. 3, 1574	Nov. 12, 1570	Oct. 28, 1571	
May 13, 1576	Dec. 14, 1572	June 7, 1573	
April 1, 1582	Sept. 21, 1574	Sept. 12, 1574	
May 6, 1584	Nov. 14, 1574	Oct. 21, 1576	
Dec. 1, 1586	Aug. 2, 1575	Sept. 21, 1578	
Nov. 7, 1588	Dec. 10, 1581	Jan. 23, 1583	
June 17, 1590	Dec. 16, 1584	Nov. 25, 1584	
Oct. 27, 1591	Mar. 2, 1586	Nov. 9, 1586	
Feb. 13, 1594	Aug. 2, 1587	July 3, 1588	
Feb. 23, 1597	July 10, 1588	Nov. 26, 1589	
Oct. 3, 1600	Oct. 29, 1589	May 19, 1591	
Aug. 3, 1603	Mar. 31, 1591	June 27, 1593	
Aug. 3, 1604	May 31, 1592	Oct. 8, 1595	
May 22, 1605	June 14, 1594	April 12, 1598	
Nov. 19, 1606	Aug. 27, 1600	Mar. 14, 1599	
April 5, 1609	June 9, 1602	April 7, 1599	
July 31, 1611	Aug. 3, 1608	Dec. 19, 1599	
Feb. 16, 1614	Mar. 28, 1610	May 6, 1601	
Feb. 12, 1617	June 21, 1615	Sept. 15, 1602	
April 5, 1620	July 12, 1615	May 3, 1607	
Nov. 28, 1621	June 8, 1616	June 22, 1608	
May 5, 1624	Feb. 19, 1618	Mar. 28, 1610	
Mar. 14, 1627	May 19, 1619	Mar. 18, 1612	
Sept. 2, 1629	Mar. 29, 1620	Aug. 28, 1616	Feb. 7, 1617
Mar. 24, 1631	Nov. 28, 1621	Nov. 25, 1618	
Mar. 22, 1632	May 14, 1623	Mar. 21, 1619	
May 26, 1635	June 14, 1624	Mar. 29, 1620	
Aug. 3, 1636	Nov. 28, 1624	Nov. 28, 1621	
Jan. 16, 1637	Oct. 19, 1625	June 18, 1623	
Oct. 11, 1637	Nov. 29, 1626	Nov. 26, 1623	
Sept. 3, 1638	Feb. 19, 1627	May 4, 1625	
Mar. 11, 1640	June 18, 1628	May 23, 1625	
April 2, 1642	April 8, 1629	May 6, 1629	
April 6, 1642	June 30, 1630	May 7, 1634	Aug. 28, 1635
July 10, 1644	Mar. 28, 1632	June 8, 1636	Aug. 16, 1636
June 25, 1645	Oct. 23, 1633	Sept. 20, 1636	

¹ These additional details are given at the suggestion of Mr. Joseph Jacobs.

<i>Lisbon.</i>	<i>Evora.</i>	<i>Coimbra.</i>	<i>Goa, &c.</i>
Nov. 18, 1646	Mar. 25, 1635	Sept. 9, 1640	
Dec. 15, 1647	June 27, 1636	Nov. 15, 1643	
Mar. 26, 1650	June 14, 1637	Feb. 24, 1647	Sept. 4, 1644
Dec. 1, 1652	May 2, 1638	June 10, 1650	
Oct. 11, 1654	April 10, 1639	June 31, 1650	
Oct. 29, 1656	Nov. 4, 1640	April 14, 1652	
Dec. 15, 1658	Aug. 21, 1644	Oct. 19, 1653	
Oct. 17, 1660	Feb. 28, 1649	April 8, 1655	Dec. 15, 1658
Oct. 18, 1660	Mar. 26, 1651	May 23, 1660	(Porto)
Sept. 17, 1661	June 8, 1653	June 9, 1662	
Aug. 17, 1664	May 6, 1657	Sept. 4, 1664	
April 4, 1666	April 18, 1660	Oct. 26, 1664	
Mar. 11, 1668	Nov. 12, 1662	Feb. 13, 1667	
June 21, 1671	May 16, 1664	Dec. 27, 1667	
Dec. 10, 1673	May 31, 1665	May 26, 1669	
May 10, 1682	June 20, 1666	June 14, 1671	Mar. 27, 1672
Aug. 8, 1683	Oct. 16, 1667	Mar. 12, 1673	
Oct. 19, 1702	Sept. 21, 1670	Nov. 18, 1674	
Sept. 6, 1705	April 3, 1672	Jan. 18, 1682	
Sept. 12, 1706	Nov. 26, 1673	July 1, 1691	
June 30, 1707	Feb. 15, 1681	Oct. 17, 1694	June 15, 1694
Nov. 6, 1707	Mar. 28, 1683	Nov. 25, 1696	Oct. 17, 1694
June 30, 1709	Mar. 22, 1705	June 14, 1699	Oct. 16, 1695
June 26, 1711	July 20, 1710	Dec. 18, 1701	Mar. 18, 1700
June 9, 1713		Mar. 2, 1704	Feb. 20, 1701
Sept. 19, 1713		July 25, 1706	Sept. 4, 1701
Oct. 14, 1714	Jan. 26, 1716	Nov. 18, 1708	June 17, 1708
Oct. 24, 1717		June 21, 1711	
June 16, 1720		Aug. 6, 1713	
Oct. 10, 1723	Mar. 26, 1724	Jan. 26, 1716	
May 6, 1725	Dec. 16, 1725	May 17, 1716	
Oct. 13, 1726		July 7, 1720	June 19, 1718
July 25, 1728		Mar. 14, 1723	Nov. 14, 1723
Oct. 16, 1729		June 10, 1725	Nov. 17, 1726
July 6, 1732		June 30, 1726	
Sept. 25, 1735		May 25, 1727	
Sept. 1, 1737		May 9, 1728	
Sept. 1, 1739		May 29, 1729	Nov. 26, 1730
Oct. 18, 1739		Oct. 8, 1730	
June 18, 1741		Nov. 9, 1732	
Nov. 4, 1742		Dec. 5, 1734	
June 21, 1744		Dec. 10, 1734	
Sept. 26, 1745		June 30, 1737	
Oct. 16, 1745		Nov. 8, 1739	
Oct. 16, 1746		Oct. 20, 1762	
Sept. 24, 1747			
Oct. 20, 1748	June 20, 1756		
Sept. 20, 1761			
Dec. 18, 1767	May 31, 1767		

XVI.

SOME TOLEDO AUTOS.

(MOSTLY COMPILED FROM THE MADRID ARCHIVES.)

<i>Date.</i>	<i>No. of Victims.</i>	<i>No. of Jews.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
June 17, 1565 ¹	41,	...	22 Lutherans, of whom 11 were burnt alive. A "renegado" punished may have been a Jew.
June 18, 1570 ²	7	7	
Feb. 9, 1648	2		
Dec. 28, 1649	4	3	
Jan. 1, 1651	76	...	Mostly Jews, 2 burnt, 1 Jew and Juan Lays of Paria.
Nov. 30, 1651	23	...	Many Jews.
April 28, 1652	4	4	
Aug. 24, 1652	4	4	
Nov. 3, 1652	4	2	
Dec. 28, 1652	8	...	Jews.
May 11, 1653	4	...	Jews.
May 18, 1653	5	...	Jews.
Aug. 10, 1653	7	...	Jews.
Aug. 31, 1653	3	3	
Mar. 15, 1654	7	7	Jews.
Nov. 8, 1654	9		
Dec. 27, 1654	7	...	Jews.
Oct. 31, 1655	7	7	Jews.
Jan. 30, 1656	1	1	
Sept. 10, 1656	8	8	Jews.
Sept. 17, 1656	2	2	
Oct. 8, 1656	2	2	
Oct. 15, 1656	2	2	
Feb. 11, 1657	3	3	
Mar. 11, 1657	3	3	
May 6, 1657	3	3	
July 1, 1657	9	8	1 bigamy.
Sept. 16, 1657	6	6	
Dec. 9, 1657	17	17	
Aug. 24, 1658	8	7	1 bigamy.
May 9, 1659	7	...	Jews.
Sept. 7, 1659	12	...	Jews.
Jan. 11, 1660	5	...	Jews.
Mar. 19, 1660	6	...	Jews.

¹ MS. Relacion Adler.² Ibid.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>No. of Victims.</i>	<i>No. of Jews.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
June 13, 1660	2	2	Jews.
Sept. 26, 1660	10	...	Jews.
April 4, 1661	8	...	Jews and Lutherana.
Aug. 8, 1661	16	...	Jews.
Dec. 4, 1661	6	6	
April 11, 1662	15	...	Jews.
Feb. 24, 1663	11	...	Jews.
Oct. 7, 1663	10	...	Jews.
Feb. 22, 1665	23	...	Jews.
June 15, 1666	14	...	Jews.
May 1, 1667	3	3	1 burnt in effigy.
Oct. 30, 1667	18	...	Jews.
April 7, 1669	7	...	Jews.
Nov. 17, 1669	16	...	Jews.
May 18, 1670	5	...	Jews.
Oct. 19, 1670	7	...	Jews.
Sept. 6, 1671	11	...	Jews.
Sept. 11, 1672	6	...	Jews.
Feb. 11, 1674	14	...	Mostly Jews.
Oct. 14, 1674	2	1	
Feb. 3, 1675	2	...	A Moor and a bigamist.
June 16, 1675	3		
Sept. 20, 1676	3		
Feb. 14, 1679	4	4	
Dec. 17, 1679	5	5	
Oct. 6, 1680	5	5	
Dec. 21, 1680	30	...	Many Jews.
Sept. 29, 1681	9	...	Jews.
April 25, 1683	8	...	Jews.
May 22, 1684	3	2	1 bigamist.
April 1, 1685	2	1	
Aug. 18, 1686	3	3	
Oct. 15, 1686	1	1	
Mar. 9, 1687	1		
April 13, 1687	1	1	
July 15, 1687	1		
April 22, 1689	1		
April 6, 1690	3		
Nov. 9, 1692	2	1	
Feb. 7, 1694	10	...	Jews.
June 6, 1694	3	3	
June 13, 1694	1		
May 8, 1695	3	3	2 Jews burnt in effigy.
Sept. 22, 1695	2	1	
Oct. 23, 1695	2	2	
July 29, 1696	1	1	
Sept. 16, 1696	2	2	
Mar. 17, 1697	4	...	Jews.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>No. of Victims.</i>	<i>No. of Jews.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
July 7, 1698	1		
Sept. 7, 1699	5		
Jan. 31, 1700	2		
Sept. 26, 1700	7	...	Jews.
Mar. 6, 1701	7	...	Jews.
Oct. 30, 1701	10	...	Jews.
May 21, 1702	3	3	
Oct. 18, 1702	2		
Oct. 22, 1702	1		
Nov. 12, 1702	2	2	
Mar. 18, 1703	2	2	
Dec. 16, 1703	1		
Sept. 8, 1704	3	2	1 Jew burnt.
no date	1	...	Apparently the following day.
no date	1	...	Apparently the day after, "a sollicitante" punished in secret.
no date	1		
Nov. 22, 1705	1	1	
no date	1	...	? the next day, a priest punished in secret.
June 19, 1707	1		
Sept. 8, 1707	1		
Nov. 24, 1707	1	...	Sollicitante.
July 15, 1708	2		
July 23, 1708	1		
April 9, 1709	1		
Mar. 10, 1709	1		
Oct. 19, 1709	1		
Aug. 26, 1710	1		
Sept. 1, 1711	1		
Sept. 27, 1711	6	1	
Nov. 15, 1711	1		
June 13, 1713	1		
June 23, 1713	1		
Oct. 1, 1714	2		
Oct. 22, 1714	1		
Feb. 15, 1716	1		
Aug. 29, 1717	4		
July 24, 1718	3		
Feb. 2, 1721	1		
Mar. 19, 1721	16	...	Jews.
Mar. 15, 1722	32	...	Many Jews, a Jewess, Maria de Ribera, burnt.
Oct. 25, 1722	13	12	
Feb. 24, 1723	7	7	2 Jews burnt and 2 in effigy.
Oct. 28, 1723	6	6	Diego Lopez de Castro Paz "Judai-zante impenitente" burnt.
Jan. 15, 1725	1	...	Bigamist.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>No. of Victims.</i>	<i>No. of Jews.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
July 1, 1725	8	5	1 Jew burnt.
June 11, 1726	3	2	
June 28, 1729	1		
July 12, 1730	1		
Sept. 26, 1730	1		
Dec. 22, 1730	1		
June 3, 1731	1		
July 28, 1731	1		
Sept. 7, 1733 (sic)	1		
Jan. 18, 1732	1		
July 24, 1732	1		
Aug. 14, 1732	1		
Aug. 18, 1732	1		
Aug. 22, 1734	2		
Dec. 4, 1734	1		
April 26, 1735	1		Many Jews, Luzia Gonzales burnt.
Mar. 20, 1738	12		
Dec. 21, 1738	2	1	
Nov. 5, 1742	1		
May 25, 1743	1		
July 7, 1744	1		
Sept. 18, 1722 (sic)	1		
Sept. 16, 1745	1		
Sept. 19, 1745	1		
Feb. 10, 1746	1		
July 8, 1746	1		
June 11, 1748	1		
April 16, 1749 no date	1		
June 6, 1750	1		
July 1, 1750	1		Most of these were in the sala of the tribunal "a puerta serrata," and dealt with priests and their crimes, abuse of the confessional, &c.
Jan. 13, 1751	1		
July 9, 1751	1		
July 30, 1752	1		
Aug. 7, 1752	1		
Mar. 9, 1755	1		
April 26, 1755	1		
Jan. 11, 1756	2	1	
Feb. 23, 1757	1		
April 9, 1757	1		
Mar. 24, 1757	1		

<i>Date.</i>	<i>No. of Victims.</i>	<i>No. of Jews.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Sept. 25, 1758	I		
Oct. 14, 1758	I		
Oct. 21, 1758	I		
June 20, 1759	I		
Oct. 13, 1759	I		
Nov. 10, 1763	I		
Feb. 4, 1764	I		
July 8, 1765	I		
Sept. 5, 1765	I		
Oct. 13, 1759 (sic)	I		
Sept. 25, 1767	I		
Sept. 21, 1768	I		
May 31, 1769	I		
April 16, 1771	I		
Mar. 6, 1775	I		
Oct. 3, 1775	I		
July 8, 1776	I		
April 7, 1777	I		
April 8, 1777	I		
Jan. 28, 1778	I		
Mar. 7, 1778	I		
Nov. 22, 1779	I		
July 7, 1787 (sic)	I	...	Interposed in the Original.
Feb. 16, 1780	I		
Jan. 27, 1787	I		
Feb. 28, 1791	I		
Sept. 9, 1791	I		
Aug. 4, 1792	I		
Aug. 11, 1794	I		

XVII.

STATISTICS OF AUTOS AND THEIR VICTIMS.

The publication of a former article on this subject seems to have stimulated research, and has resulted in considerable additions to the lists of autos which may serve as annals in the history of martyrdom. Chapters VIII and XVI supply further Spanish autos and IX and XV a

tolerably complete list of those celebrated in Portugal. Chap. IX is due to the kindness of S^r D^a Alberto Carlos da Silva, Librarian of the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa and corresponding Member of the American Jewish Historical Society. Over twelve hundred autos have accordingly been collected, and it becomes possible to make a statistical examination of the subject with some hope of accuracy. The Portuguese figures may be taken as approximately correct; the Spanish are much below the mark except so far as concerns the Inquisitions of Seville and Cordova. Of the 700 autos recorded as celebrated in Spain four-sevenths occurred in these cities and Toledo, whereas the Grand Inquisitor, Cardinal Ximenes, divided Spain into ten tribunals, and five others were afterwards added; the last—Granada—in 1524. Probably, therefore, there were four times as many autos in Spain as those of which details are forthcoming. The figures prior to 1540 have some of the vagueness of exaggeration: but, having regard to the 675 Spanish and 439 Portuguese autos detailed in our lists as having taken place between that date and 1790, it will not be an overestimate to reckon the actual autos during that period as being, for Spain 2,500, and Portugal, 500. Now Llorente, and many other authorities after him, estimate the total number of victims of the Inquisition in Spain as 341,000¹, viz. 32,000 killed outright, 17,659 executed in effigy, and 291,000 as otherwise punished. His figures for the period prior to 1540, i. e. the régime of the first five Inquisitors General, comprise 20,226 killed outright and 10,913 in effigy; while for the régimes of the 35th and 36th Inquisitors, 1720–3 and 1723–30, he reckons two killed outright in each tribunal every year, one burnt in effigy, and twelve “penitenciados.” A glance at the statistics given in the Table appended to the first article will show that this is

¹ The Holy Office in 1524 set up at Seville an inscription recording that in Seville alone between the years 1492 and 1524 20,000 heretics abjured, and “1,000 persons who persisted in their heresy have been delivered to the flames.”

no exaggeration, so far at least as those years are concerned. The number of victims at ninety-three autos was 2,681, an average of over twenty-eight per auto. But it may be questioned whether he should assume one auto a year in each tribunal. An auto operated as a jail delivery, but there was no Habeas Corpus Act to regulate the procedure of the officials of the Holy Tribunal. When it suited their convenience they would celebrate seven autos at a single place in a single year, e. g. at Coimbra, in 1732. But, at Goa, M. Dellon complains that they waited from December, 1673, till January 12, 1676, without celebrating a single auto, and he says that the auto usually took place there only once in two or three years. Evidently the number must have varied with the number of prisoners, and it was doubtless influenced by the fluctuations of public interest in heretic-baiting.

XVIII.

COMPARATIVE ANNALS.

The following comparative Table groups the number of Spanish and Portuguese autos in periods of five years, and although manifestly incomplete for the reasons stated, it will be some guide to the alternating waves of persecution and tolerance in those countries. Between 1720 and 1725 a zealous publisher has preserved the "Relacions¹" of an exceptionally large number of Spanish autos, and the increased number of recorded cases is not due to greater intolerance, for Philip, first of the House of Bourbon, ruled from 1700-59, and maintained throughout his long reign an uninterrupted dead level of inefficiency.

¹ Vide "IV, Printed Authorities" sub voce "Auto de Fé." The title-page to one of the rarer, and possibly unique, Relacions is reproduced in facsimile to face p. 413 above.

<i>Years.</i>	<i>No. of Autos in Spain.</i>	<i>No. of Autos in Portugal.</i>	<i>Events.</i>
1480-4	27		In 1480 the Inquisition is established in Castile.
1485-9	48		
1490-4	26	...	In 1492 the Jews are expelled from Spain.
1495-9	11	...	In 1497 they are expelled from Portugal.
1500-4	4		
1505-9	9	...	Massacre at Lisbon of 4,000 new Christians.
1510-4	5	...	In 1512 Ferdinand conquers Navarre.
1515-9	In 1516 Charles V becomes king.
1520-4	1	...	In 1524 Mohammedans destroy Cranganore and banish the Jews.
1525-9	5	...	David Reubeni visits the Pope.
1530-4	5		
1535-9	5	...	In 1536 the Inquisition is established in Portugal.
1540-4	1	8	
1545-9	2	2	
1550-4	3	4	In 1550 Philip marries Mary of England.
1555-9	12	1	Philip II reigns.
1560-4	14	5	Persecution of Lutherans begins in Spain.
1565-9	10	7	1567-70 Moors rebel.
1570-4	7	10	
1575-9	10	5	
1580-4	5	7	In 1580 Portugal is united to Spain.
1585-9	3	11	In 1588 Spanish Armada defeated.
1590-4	10	7	
1595-9	6	11	Between 1598 and 1610 nearly a million Moors are banished from Spain. In 1598 Philip III succeeds and reigns till 1621.
1600-4	3	8	
1605-9	1	10	
1610-4	7	9	In 1612 Franco-Spanish marriages induce Spain to propose treaty for the extradition of heretics.
1615-9	2	12	
1620-4	6	16	In 1624 Jewish community founded in Brazil, by Jews of Holland.
1625-9	9	13	
1630-4	7	12	
1635-9	2	15	
1640-4	8	15	In 1640 Portugal rebelled and John Duke of Braganza became its king.
1645-9	7	12	In 1648 Spain recognized the independence of the Netherlands.
1650-4	19	19	
1655-9	23	14	
1660-4	21	15	In 1661 Portuguese raise the siege of Cochin and persecute the Jews for helping the Dutch, but in 1661 Dutch capture it and new synagogue is built.

Years.	No. of Autos in Spain.	No. of Autos in Portugal.	Events.
1665-9	15	11	In 1665 the Portuguese defeat the Spanish at Villa Viciosa.
1670-4	8	13	In 1675 English subjects were removed from Surinam to Jamaica, but the Dutch detained "the Hebrew nation" because "they were too numerous and important," and their departure would be an immediate destruction to the place ¹ .
1675-9	13	4	
1680-4	12	19	In 1700 Philip V of the House of Bourbon became King of Spain.
1685-9	14	16	
1690-4	23	13	
1695-9	18	17	
1700-4	24	15	
1705-9	15	16	
1710-4	8	9	
1715-9	12	16	
1720-4	70	16	
1725-9	36	14	
1730-4	9	22	In 1758 the Jesuits were expelled from Portugal by Joseph I. In 1759 Charles III succeeds and a revival of trade occurs in Spain.
1735-9	11	8	
1740-4	9	5	
1745-9	11	9	
1750-4	8	5	
1755-9	14	10	
1760-4	2	7	
1765-9	6	4	
1770-4	1		
1775-9	8		
1780-4	5		In 1788 Charles IV became King of Spain.
1785-9	1	...	
1790-4	4		
1795-9	3		In 1808 Ferdinand VII became King of Spain.
1800-4			
1805-9	1	...	
1810-4			
1815-9	2		
1820-6	1		
	708	497	

¹ *Cal. State Papers* (Colonial), America and W. Indies, 1675-6, p. 258 *et passim*. As to Jamaica vide *ibid.*, 1689-92.

Llorente, and most of the encyclopædists and historians who have followed him, assume that the average number of victims gradually diminished after the beginning of the seventeenth century, and that in the eighteenth torture was abandoned, and the deaths dropped to two or three or even less in the year. The above statistics suffice to refute this as being an amiable hypothesis not founded on fact.

XIX.

TWO JEWISH DOCUMENTS.

By way of contrast, two Jewish documents of widely different date may be here quoted, as bearing upon our subject. The one is an excerpt from a Jewish history of 1553, being the "Chronicles of R. Joseph b. Joshua b. Meir, the Sphardi," who says of the Marannos:—"And also unto them that changed their glory for an unprofitable one, in the days of the priest Fra Vincenzo Sadi this Isabella was a Satan in those days. And she set searchers and spies over them to see if they walked in the law of their messiah or not. And they burned by hundreds of them for no cause, and all that they had they plundered daily. And thus they began to flee, and to go into Turkey to serve the Lord our God as at this day

"In Portugal also the destructions (baptisms) increased daily. . . . And Jews took their sons and their daughters, and sent them unto the isles of the sea wherein no one dwelled. . . . And many Jews went out from Portugal, and went unto the east country to serve the Lord our God as at the first: and they have dwelled there until this day. And many were left there halting between two opinions; they feared the Lord, yet sware by the image of the uncircumcised and went daily unto their churches. And they have increased and become mighty in riches until this day. And from that day and afterward there was not a man left

in all the kingdoms of Sphard who was called by the name of Israel. But the king of Navarre did not expel them from his country, and many of the Jews of Arragon went thither to dwell. And the king of Arragon allowed them to pass, and they came in ships unto Provence, and dwelled in Avignon¹."

The second quotation is the copy of a London appeal of 1902, pointing to the inauguration of a brighter epoch for Jews in Portugal.

"Four hundred years have elapsed since the last Jews were driven out of Spain and Portugal. From time to time attempts have been made to gain a foothold there, and especially in Portugal. In the course of the nineteenth century a small Jewish community collected in Lisbon, but they were merely tolerated. Divine service was held in two rooms hardly fitted for such a purpose. The desire to build a Synagogue was growing all the while, but every effort to be recognized as a Community by the authorities had proved ineffectual. A plot of ground was purchased for the purpose of a Synagogue, but could not be registered in the name of the congregation. About a year ago, however, the Lisbon Jews, some of whom are descendants of old families who had once been forced to emigrate, were at last able to obtain the necessary sanction, and on May 25, 1902, the foundation stone was laid of the first Jewish Synagogue in that very place whence fanaticism had driven the Jews away.

"As an historical event of no mean importance, and as an instance of poetic justice, this resettlement must appeal in the first instance to all those who are of Spanish or Portuguese origin, and to them primarily the Lisbon Jews address an invitation to contribute towards the consummation of this building. The local community has contributed liberally to the expenses of the new Synagogue, but there is a deficit of about £2,000 with which they are unable to cope. It is hoped that the balance required

¹ Bialoblotzky's Translation, London, 1835, I, 324 and seqq.

will come from sympathizers outside Portugal, for it is confidently anticipated that this appeal will find many and willing supporters, and that many, even of those who are not Sephardim by origin, will be anxious to join in this rare and exceedingly gratifying event, and to build again a house of worship to the God of Israel, who has led the Jews, after many years of tribulation, back to the country where Jewish art and science had flourished for upwards of one thousand years, and where the most glorious page of Jewish history has been written."

ELKAN N. ADLER.

THE WISDOM OF BEN SIRA.

I.

1. To the Clarendon Press, in conjunction with the Cambridge University Press, scholars are indebted for *Facsimiles of the Fragments hitherto recovered of the Book of Ecclesiasticus in Hebrew* (1901); and to Prof. Israel Lévi for an excellent commentary on the fragments, under the name *L'Ecclésiastique ou la Sagesse de Jésus Fils de Sira*, now completed by its second part (1901), namely on the fragments not included in Messrs. Cowley and Neubauer's *The Original Hebrew of a portion of Ecclesiasticus* (1897).

Another valuable treatise on *Der jüngst wiederaufgefundene Hebräische Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus* has been brought out by Prof. Dr. Norbert Peters of Paderborn (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1902). It has only quite recently come into my hands, and is accordingly not quoted below; but I look forward to making use of it in the continuation of this article in a future number of the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

The facsimiles are from four Cairene manuscripts A, B, C, D, or as M. Lévi calls them A, B, D, C. The manuscripts A and B were so designated in *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, edited by S. Schechter and C. Taylor (Camb., 1899), with reference to the order of their contents; the third was called C by Dr. Schechter, as coming next in the order of discovery¹ (*J. Q. R.*, XII, 456); but Lévi placed and places it last as "n'étant qu'un recueil de morceaux choisis." His reason is a good one; but we shall for convenience keep to the order A, B, C, D as being that of the *Introductory Note*

¹ On the discovery of the Paris fragments of C and D by M. Lévi, see the article *J. T. S.* referred to below.

to the *Facsimiles* in which the contents of the fragments are enumerated. Briefly the fragments of A and B contain the greater part of Chapters III–XVI and XXX–LI respectively; those of C have extracts from some of the Chapters IV–XXXVII; and the one folio of D extends from Chap. XXXVI, 29 to Chap. XXXVIII, 1. On C Lévi remarks: “Notre recueil de morceaux choisis est un nouvel indice de l'estime qui entourait l'Ecclesiastique; vraisemblablement il a été composé à l'usage des écoles.”

2. In the following notes on a selection of passages from the fragments commented upon in Lévi's *Deuxième Partie* the abbreviation *J. T. S.* stands for the writer's article on “The Wisdom of Ben Sira” in No. 4 of the *Journal of Theological Studies* (July, 1900), and the abbreviation *J. F.* for the second edition of his *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* (1897). An *Appendix to J. F.* was published in 1900.

The review of the Cambridge *Wisdom of Ben Sira* by Prof. A. A. Bevan, contributed to the first number of the *Journal of Theological Studies* (Oct. 1899), is hereinafter quoted in the notes on Sir. iii. 23, xiii. 11, 12, xiv. 1.

To Mr. J. H. A. Hart, who is preparing an edition of Ecclesiasticus according to MS. 248 (*Pref.* to Camb. B. S.), I am indebted for information about the readings of the Greek in some difficult verses.

In translations reproduced below from the Cambridge *Ben Sira* notes of interrogation in brackets will be found in places. It was explained in the *Preface* that (?) was used in two ways, namely as meaning either that the sense was considered doubtful, or that a conjectural reading, whether doubtful or not doubtful, had been adopted. This has not unnaturally led to misunderstandings. For an instance see *J. T. S.*, page 577 f.

Sir. iii. 17 (xi. 10). Heb. for these verses gives:—

וְתִהְיֶה מִנוּחַ מִתְּנוּחַ	iii. 17	בְּנֵי בַעֲשָׂרָה הִתְהַלֵּךְ בַּעֲנָה
וְאֵין לְהַרְבוֹת לֹא יִנְקָה :	xi. 10	בְּנֵי לֹמֶה תִּרְבֶּה עֲשָׂקָר

In chap. iii. 17 I proposed to read at the end καὶ ὑπερ ἀνθρώπων δοτικὸν ἀγαπηθῆσθαι (*J. T. S.*, p. 572). Comparing Prov. xxii. 8 ἄνδρα ἱλαρὸν καὶ δότῃν εὐλογεῖ ὁ Θεός, and 2 Cor. ix. 7 ἱλαρὸν καὶ δότῃν ἀγαπᾷ ὁ θεός, we may suggest as a possibility that St. Paul got his word *love* in this connexion from Sir. iii. 17. At the beginning of the verse Gr. read בני בעסקך, rightly or wrongly. However that may be, עסק is (I think) a genuine word of Ben Sira (*J. F.*, p. 169).

In chap. xi. 10 the mark over the *ayin* refers to a triad of dots ∙ ∙ ∙ in the margin. Possible missing variants are עסקך and עשרך, either of which might have been used by Ben Sira in a verse founded upon Prov. xxviii. 20:—

איש אמונת רב ברכות ואין להעשיר לא ינקח :

Sir. iii. 18 *Minish thy soul from all the great things of the world.* Syr. *from all that there is of great* בעלמא. Heb., with vowel points added to מעט:—

מעט נפשך מכל גדולת [עולם].

The hemistich being somewhat long omit עולם, comparing Gr. ὅσῃ μέγας εἰ τοσούτω ταπεινὸν σεαυτὸν. Here the comparison, *the more . . . so much the more*, represents Heb. 'מ. One who is conversant with great things should minish himself all the more. The apparent allusion in this verse to Psalm cxxxi. 1 (p. 445) suggests that Ben Sira possibly wrote נפלאות ממך in verse 21, but cf. Sir. xi. 4, xliii. 25 נפלאות, 29 נפלאות.

Sir. iii. 21, 22 *Search not the things that are too wonderful for thee; And seek not that which is hid from thee. What thou art permitted, think thereupon; But thou hast no business with the secret things.* The Hebrew for this is:—

21 פלאות ממך אל חדרוש ומכוסה ממך אל תחקור
22 במה שהורשית התבונן ואין לך עסק בנסתרות :

The Greek (cf. *J. T. S.*, p. 574) is:—

- 21 χαλεπώτερα σου μὴ ζήτει,
καὶ ἰσχυρότερα σου μὴ ἐξέταξε.
22 ἃ προσετάγη σοι, ταῦτα διανοοῦ
οὐ γάρ ἐστίν σοι χρεῖα τῶν κρυπτῶν.

The Syriac (*ap.* Walton) is to the effect:—

- 21 *Difficiliora te ne quaeras ;*
Teque fortiora ne pervestiges.
22 *Quod curae tuae commissum est intellige ;*
Et ne sit tibi ausus in occulta.

Of the rabbinic citations of these verses the three given below are of especial interest :

(1) Talm. Babli Chagigah, 13 a :—

- שכן כתוב בספר בן סירא
במופלא ממך אל תדרוש 21
ובמכוסה ממך אל תחקור
במה שהורשית התבונן אין לך עסק בנסתרות. 22

(2) Talm. Jerus. Chagigah, ii. 1 (77 c) :—

- רבי לעזר בשם בר סירה
פליאה ממך מה תרע 21
עמוקה משאול מה תחקור
במה כו'. 22

(3) Beresh. Rab. viii. 2 :—

- ר' אלעזר בשם בן סירא אמר
בגדול ממך אל תדרוש 21
בחזק ממך אל תחקור
במופלא ממך כל תרע
במה כו'. 22

Here in (1) the whole passage is cited from the *Book of Ben Sira*, and very nearly as we have it in MS. A. In (2) and (3), where the book is not mentioned, verse 22 is given again without material variation ; but verse 21 is much altered in (2), chiefly under the influence of Job xi. 8, and its forms in (1) and (2) are worked up into a doublet in (3). With תשאַל in (3) compare Judges xiii. 18, "Why *askest* thou thus after my name, seeing it is פלאי?" With reference to (1) Edersheim wrote, "There can be little doubt that the recension in the Talmud [Babli], with its four

members in exact parallelism, is the correct one, nor yet that it—rather than the Greek—represents what had originally been written by the older Siracide." This I take to be the obvious and true conclusion from the evidence, now including the Cairene Hebrew.

Brief allusion was made in *J. T. S.*, page 573, to Prof. W. Bacher's identification (*J. Q. R.*, XII, 287) of the quotations in (1) and (3). Some time afterwards I found that his form of (1) had apparently been taken from the Oxford *Original Heb. of Eccclus.*, page xix, where, as Mr. Cowley writes to me (28th April, 1902), the quotation as from B. T. Ḥaghighah "is simply wrong," words from Ber. Rab. having by some accident taken the place of words from the Talmud Babli. Lévi repeats the misquotation, and (like Bacher) founds a textual theory upon it, in the following note on verse 21:—

"G. et S. ont un autre texte qui se ramène à l'hébreu בקשה ממך אל חרור ובחוק ממך אל חשאל, *Ce qui est trop difficile pour toi ne le recherche pas, et ce qui est trop fort pour toi ne le demande pas.* Or, telle est la leçon d'une citation que R. Eléazar, rabbin palestinien du III^e siècle, fait de notre ouvrage בנרול ממך כ' (Talmud de Babylone, *Haguiga*, 13 a = *Bereschit Rabba*, 8). Mais, à la suite de ce verset, qui manque dans notre texte et qui est conservé en G. et en S., il cite ces mots בממלא כ', ce qui est, en gros, notre verset, lequel manque en G. et S. Il existait donc au III^e siècle un exemplaire plus complet que le nôtre et que celui des versions."

Thus again it is said that (1) = (3), and the antiquity of the doublet in (3) is inferred. But the Cairene text, with perhaps באשר for במה ש' and ואין for אין, and possibly מליא sing., as in Psalm cxxxix. 6 (ק') and the quotation (2), for מליאת, is (I think) substantially the original which underlies the versions. On their renderings and the citations the following suggestions may be submitted for consideration.

a. In (1), where the quotation is from *Sefer ben Sira*, the passage as cited does not differ materially from its

form in A. In (2) and (3) it is given with considerable variations, not as from a document, but on the authority of "Rabbi *Eleazar*" speaking in the name of *ben Sira*. Perhaps once there was a direct reference to our author, who at the end of chap. li is called "Simon, son of Jesus, son of *Eleazar ben Sira*."

b. It seems clear, although commentators have overlooked it, that Ben Sira alludes to Deut. xxix. 28 הנסתרות כו' (*J. T. S.*, p. 573), cf. *J. F.*, page 169, note 45. There are two aspects of the secret things. They may be regarded as things beyond the wit of man to find out; or as things which he ought not to pry into, presuming τὰ θεῶν φρονεῖν to be "as Elohims knowing good and evil," cf. Enoch lxiv. 2, "These are the angels who descended to the earth, and revealed *what was hidden* to the children of men and seduced the children of men into committing sin." The versions, having a text like that of A, dwelt upon the difficulty of the things hidden and described them as too *hard* and *strong* for a man. Gr. ἡ προσεταγή σοι is an indifferent rendering of במה שהורשית (?) (באשר ה'), Syr. *what they have authorized thee*, במא ראשלמך.

c. A comparison of the Greek, the Syriac, and the quotations (*J. T. S.*, p. 574) suggests that the Midrash may have been influenced by the versions in respect of the word חזק, strong. With its בנרול מַחֵם compare רב מַחֵם in Sir. iii. 23, or Psalm cxxxix. וְלֹא הִלַּכְתִּי בִּנְדָלוֹת וּבִנְפִלְאוֹת מִמֶּנִּי. In the doublet Sir. viii. 1 Heb. (p. 455) we find קשה מַחֵם as a variant for איש נדול.

Sir. iii. 23 חמר מַחֵם אל חמר, Gr. μὴ περιεργάζου κρά.

For the difficult חמר (Ex. xxiii. 21 *tammer*) Bacher suggests תעמק, go-deep (*J. Q. R.*, XII, 274), a word which "s'accorde mal avec *יִתֵּר*" (Lévi). Rather read תמחר, *Be not busy in what is superfluous*. If *mahir* means ὄφης ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ (Prov. xxii. 29), it may also mean περιεργος in what is not one's business. Syro-hex. תחכם i. e. for σοφίζου, which may be for חמחר read תחכם. See Eccles. ii. 15

... וְלִמָּה חֲכָמָתִי יוֹתֵר . . . (LXX ἐσοφισμῶν, σοφ(ου), whence probably Ben Sira's יוֹתֵר. Prof. Bevan gives a good explanation of Heb. חָסֵד on the hypothesis (which he does not definitely adopt) that it is the original reading.

Sir. iii. 25 רַעַת תַּחֲסֵר חֲכָמָה, ובִּיאֵן רַעַת, cf. Aboth iii אֵין אֵין (J. F., App., pp. 74, 153).

Sir. iii. 31 *Whoso doeth good, it shall meet him in his ways(?)*; *And in the time that he tottereth he shall find a stay.* Heb.:—

פֶּעַל טוֹב יִקְרָאנוּ בִּדְרָכָיו וּבִעַת מוֹמוֹ יִמָּצֵא מִשְׁעָן:

Lévi, "G., retraduit en hébreu, fournit un texte d'une authenticité indiscutable: ὁ ἀγαποδιδούς χάριτας μέμνηται εἰς τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα = נִמְלֵךְ חֲסִידִים יוֹתֵר בְּאַחֲרֵיתוֹ . . . La locution פֶּעַל טוֹב, *bien faisant*, n'est pas hébraïque, et בִּדְרָכָיו ne signifie rien. Or, ces mots sont la traduction servile de S., lequel, comme il lui arrive souvent, a confondu אַחֲרֵיתוֹ, *sa fin*, avec אַרְחֵיתוֹ, *ses voies*."

Working back from the end of the verse we may say, Where should a man totter or stumble but on his *way* or *ways*, in some sense of the word, literal or metaphorical? If the Hebrew stood alone no change would be wanted; for (1) פֶּעַל טוֹב is as good Hebrew as the Biblical פֶּעַל צֶדֶק, פֶּעַל רַע, and the like; and (2) the verse as it stands gives a true and excellent sense. An explorer with a good character finds the natives favourable: his reputation as פֶּעַל טוֹב "meets" and helps him (cf. Sir. xii. 17 אֵין רַע קִרְאָן, xv. 2 וְקִרְמָתוֹ): and so with a man on his way in life. But the versions suggest that this was expressed differently.

(1) Syr. *Beneficus expeditus* (ܒܢܝܬܐܢܐܢܐ) *est in via sua*, for Heb. עֲחִיד בִּדְרָכּוֹ, as Ben Sira may very well have written.

(2) Gr. for עֲחִיד εἰς τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα, cf. Job xv. 28 וְהָעָתִידָהּ לָבוֹא, "quæ ruinae futurae sunt," and the familiar neo-Heb. לְעָתִיד לָבוֹא, used of *the time to come*. What more natural then than for Gr. to think of the righteous here as וְזִכְרוֹ לְטוֹב,

and accordingly to turn בִּרְכוּ or בִּרְכִּי (with ו or י dropped before ובעת) into נִזְכָּר, μέμνηται or יִזְכָּר, MS. 253 and Syro-hex. μνησθήσεται? There would be no objection to Lévi's נִמְלֵךְ, cf. Prov. xxxi. 12 נִמְלָתָהּ טוֹב וְלֹא רָע.

Sir. iv. 20 Gr. συντήρησον καιρὸν καὶ φύλαξαι ἀπὸ πονηροῦ.
Heb. בְּנִי עַתָּה הִמָּן שָׁמֶר וּפְחַד מָרַע.

Without questioning the allusion to Eccles. iii (Camb. B. S., p. 41), I venture to think that הִמָּן is for הִזָּן, a variant for עַתָּה. The hemistich would be better without it.

Sir. iv. 25 *Gainsay not the truth (Heb. God); And submit thyself unto God.* Heb. :—

אֵל תִּסְרַב עִם הָאֵל וְאֵל אֱלֹהִים חִבֵּנֵךְ :

With the versions read האמת (Schechter) for האל, and אֱלֹהִים (J. Q. R., XII, 283) for אֱלֹהִים. Compare the renderings of אֱלֹהִים in Sir. xvi. 23 (p. 474).

The general sense being, Do not resist the truth and yield to thy own folly; the question is how the verse is to be reconstructed on that basis. Syr. *restrain thyself from thy follies* (مقحله), however arrived at, serves as a paraphrase.

The Greek of MS. 248 (cf. Syro-hex., Lat., &c.) is :—

μὴ ἀντίλεγε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ κατὰ μηδὲ ξυ,
καὶ περὶ ψεύσματος τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας σου ἐντράπηθι.

The word כִּנֵּעַ (like כָּרַע) goes with תַּחַת, out of which may have been got the words underlined in Gr., cf. chap. vii. 8 בִּנְיָחָה. Read therefore, with the sense, *Bow not down to thy own folly* :—

אֵל תִּסְרַב עִם (על) הָאֱמֶת וְתַחַת אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֵל תִּכְנַע :

This was suggested by the reading of 248 and the Biblical construction תַּחַת כִּנֵּעַ; and it is confirmed by Sir. vi. 1 (v. 15) 248 μὴ ἀγνώσει μηδὲ ξυ, καὶ ἀντὶ κτέ for Heb. :—

מִעַם הַרְבֵּה אֵל תִּשְׁחַת וְתַחַת אֱהָב אֵל תְּהִי שֹׁנֵא :

See also the end of the note on Sir. vii. 18 וְאֵחָ תִּלְי (p. 453).

Sir. iv. 27 *And be not contrary before rulers.* Heb. ואל תמאן לפני מושלים.

For this we should perhaps read, with sing. instead of pl. for brevity:—

ואל תמאן לפני מושל:

Gr. and Syr. give contradictory renderings, cf. chap. xiii. 11, תבטח, and for uses of אמן see chap. xii. 10, xiii. 11, xv. 15⁽¹⁾, xvi. 3.

Sir. iv. 30. Lévi, assimilating the verse to a saying quoted from Aristophanes, renders it:—

Ne sois pas comme un lion dans ta maison,
Et faible et peureux dans ton travail.

Chaucer, who elsewhere in the *Canterbury Tales* quotes the son of "Syrak" by name, paraphrases Sir. iv. 30 thus in the *Somnours Tale* (ed. Skeat, 1894):—

D 1988 Touchinge this thing, lo, what the wyse seith:
"With-in thyn hous ne be thou no leoun;
To thy subgits do noon oppressioun;
Ne make thyne aqueyntances nat to flee."

The verse is found in the fragments of both A and C. In A it ends with במלאכתך, probably repeated from verse 29. In C it ends בעבודתך, but Gr. suggests בעבודיך. In *J. T. S.*, page 576, I proposed to read it:—

אל תהי כְּאַרְיֵה בְּבֵיתְךָ וּמְתִירָא בְּעִבְדִּיךָ:

The verse in A is on the whole so like Syr. *Ne sis canis in domo tua, & severus* (سارح) *ac terribilis in actionibus tuis* that ומוחר in it (cf. Ps. lxix. 9) should perhaps be assimilated thereto. The letters of מחר spell זורם, a not impossible word for *raging*; but זועם (זעם 7 ד), meaning much the same as זועף, would be better. As a further improvement then erase זועם as superfluous.

Sir. vi. 2 *That it should consume thy strength like an ox* (?).

To the footnote in the Cambridge *Ben Sira*, now that more fragments have been found, add a reference to Sir. xxxvi. 30 (MSS. B & D) כרם נדר יבוער כרם, Gr. οὐ οὐκ ἔστιν φραγμός, διαρπαγῆσεται (al. διαρπαγ-) κτήμα, which favours the conjecture ותבער (or יר-) for ותעבה. On φραγμός, Syr. סניא, see *J. F.*, page 134, note 2; and compare Prov. xxiv. 45, 46 (30, 31) LXX ὥσπερ γεώργιον ἀνὴρ ἄφρων, καὶ ὥσπερ ἀμπελὼν ἀνθρώπος ἐνδεὴς φρενῶν . . . οἱ δὲ φραγμοὶ τῶν λίθων αὐτοῦ κατασκάπτονται.

Sir. vi. 14 אהב אמונה אהב חקק, Syr. ܐܚܒܐ ܚܩܩܐ, Gr. σκέπη κραταία. In Heb., "hémistique bien plat."

Σκέπη being one of the renderings of *ohel*, read with a play on *ohel* (as again in Sir. vii. 35) 'כו חקק ליה, A faithful friend is a firm *shelter*, a well pitched *tent*, cf. Isa. xxxiii. 20 LXX σκηναὶ αἱ οὐ μὴ σεισθῶσι, Σ. Θ. σκηνὴν ἀμετάθετον, Eccles. vi. 10 חקק (?).

Sir. vi. 20 ליה היא ערובה, *Elle est escarpée pour le sot*. Gr. ὡς τραχεῖα ἐστὶ σφόδρα τοῖς ἀπαιδεύτοις (Heb. ליהא, תפ ἄφρων), καὶ οὐκ ἔμμενεί ἐν αὐτῇ ἀκάρδιος.

Philo¹ in *De Ebr.* § 36 (Mangey, i. 380) writes: τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ παντὶ ἄφρωνι τραχεῖα καὶ δύσβατος καὶ ἀργαλεωτάτη νενόμισται ἢ ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ἀγούσα ὁδός, καθὰ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τις ἐμαρτύρησεν εἰπών·

τὴν μέντοι κακότητα καὶ ἱλαδὸν ἔστιν ἐλέσθαι.
τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεὸς προπάροιθεν ἔθηκεν
ἀθάνατος, μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτήν,
καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον.

Thus in the quotation, which is from Hesiod, it is said of the path (οἶμος) to Virtue that it is τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον, at first rough, Philo having before said as above that the way (ὁδός) is παντὶ ἄφρωνι τραχεῖα. Under תפ Gesenius writes "1) *locus acclivis, clivus* . . ." Such being its primary sense, the word in Ben Sira may have been suggested by

¹ In Cohn and Wendland's major and minor editions of Philo *De Ebr.* is in vol. ii, and the passage quoted from Hesiod is at the end of cap. (36).

Hesiod's οἶμος τρηχύς. The fool οὐκ ἐμμενεί, will not remain, *in the way* of or to Virtue or Wisdom. Philo, whether or not thinking of Sir. vi. 20, writes in effect that the way is עקובה לכל איל.

Sir. vi. 22 *For discipline is according to its (?) name; And to the more part she is not plain (or right).* Gr. σοφία γὰρ κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐ πολλοῖς ἐστὶ φανερά. Heb. כִּי הַמִּסְדָּר כִּשְׁמוֹ כֵּן הוּא כו', where read כִּשְׁמוֹ, or כִּשְׁמָהּ. Syr. as if מוֹסְרָה.

On the Greek, before the Hebrew was discovered, Edersheim in the *Speaker's Commentary* well remarked, that "It seems impossible by any critical ingenuity to explain the first clause of this verse, since there is not any Hebrew or Greek word which would admit of a play upon the word *wisdom*." Suggestions of Hitzig and Horowitz were then referred to, and the note ends with the Syriac, "Her name is like her teaching [hidden?], and she is not approved by fools." The following are some of the proposed explanations of the saying:—

(a) The Arabic 'ilm has been thought of as suggesting a Hebrew word from the root עלם for *knowledge* or *wisdom*, which in Job xxviii. 21 is called נֶעְלָמָה, *hidden*. On wisdom as hidden see also *J. F.*, page 173, note 55.

(b) Prof. Bevan in a letter to me (May 5, 1900) writes as follows: "In De Sacy's *Séances de Hariri* re-edited by Reinaud and Derenbourg (1847-1853), vol. II, p. 184, there is a note on the phrase السَّافَهَاءُ كَأَسْمَافِهَا, and *folly is like its name*, which occurs in several Arabic poets. The native commentators explain this to mean that folly is as hateful as its name, that is to say, folly deserves its evil reputation. Reinaud and Derenbourg point out that this phrase supplies a clue to the meaning of Σοφία γὰρ κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς ἐστὶ in Ben Sira. It seems to me therefore that we need not assume any play upon words in Sir. vi. 21."

(c) In Sir. iv. 19 וּסְרַחֲתָהּ בְּאִמְרֵיהֶם . . . אִם יִסְדָּר it is implied

"with a threefold word-play," that Wisdom's training (מוסר) is restraining and therefore not agreeable to all men (Camb. *B. S.*, p. xxi n.). Bacher, followed by Lévi, takes the play to be on מור and assumes a comparison with its hophal participle, cf. Isa. xvii. 1 מוסר מעיר, *removed* from being a city. Thus, it is concluded, "The discipline is like its name, i. e. מוסר, remote, distant, not accessible to many" (*J. Q. R.*, XII, 277).

(d) As in my note referred to above in (c), I still hold that in *musar*, παιδεία, there is a play upon מוסר, *bind*, cf. Job xii. 18 מוסר מלכים בו. The fool may remove himself (Sir. iv. 19) from *musar*, but in itself this is not remote from or inaccessible to any. The same word-play is reproduced in Sir. xxi. 19 Gr. *πέδαι ἐν ποσὶν ἀνοήτοις παιδεία*. Syr. "Instar carceris est sapientia stulto," with "wisdom" presumably for *musar*, as Sir. vi. 22 σοφία. While wisdom in a certain sense is declared to be remote and *hid*, not from the fool only but from the eyes of all living (Job xxviii. 21), the same writer makes the wisdom accessible to any a simple thing for all (ver. 28), cf. Sir. li. 26 Gr. *ἐπιδεξάσθω ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν παιδείαν ἐγγύς ἐστιν εὐρεῖν αὐτήν*, Heb. [Wisdom] is nigh to them that seek her. To the fool she is not acceptable: her discipline is a restraint: he turns out of the way because it is at first τραχέα. Through their own fault she is "loin des railleurs," and "les hommes de mensonge n'y pensent pas" (Sir. xv. 8, Lévi, p. 109).

Sir. vi. 37 ותחבונת ביראת עלין ובמצותו והנה תמיד. Read הנח without *vau*, or תהנה (Schechter). This is found as a variant in the saying of בן בן בן in Aboth v, see page 172 of the *Appendix to J. F.*

Sir. vii. 18 ואח תלי בו. *Exchange not a friend at a price; Neither a brother that is attached for gold of Ophir.* Gr. *ἐνεκεν ἀδιαφόρου* (? διαφ-) . . . γνήσιον κτῆ.

Although תלי may be made to mean "attached" (Camb. *B. S.*, p. xxiv n.), in that sense it does not go well with

to accept Nöldeke's מִלֵּת as the original reading, whence Syr. ܡܠܬܐ and Gr. γνήσιον.

The Greek of MS. 248 is:—

μη ἀλλόξης φιλον ἀδιαφόρου κατὰ μηδὲ ξν,
μηδὲ ἀδελφὸν γνήσιον ἐν χρυσίῳ Σουφείρ.

The Syro-hex. by its ܡܠܬܐ, δωρεάν (Hart), attests ἀδιαφόρου taken as ἀνευ διαφόρου, but διαφόρου seems to be wanted. Holmes and Parsons give the readings: μη ἐλέγξης (for ἀλλόξης) 307. ἀδιαφόρου κατὰ μηδέν 106. διαφόρου, with κατὰ μηδὲ ξν *in charact. minore*, Alex.

It might be said (1) that μηδὲ ξν (*al. μηδέν*) is a dittograph; or (2) that it comes from Heb. and attests a reading 'ה חמ (cf. Sir. iv. 25 n., p. 447), whatever 'ה may stand for. On this hypothesis μηδὲ ξν may be accounted for in different ways. Bacher's מלש might have given rise to variants as מלש, חמס, חלם, חלח, חלח, or Ben Sira may have written חלם חמ; and in either case a marginal variant 'ה חמ may have been taken into the text.

Lastly it may be suggested that Ben Sira wrote חמס חמ. Hence again the abbreviation 'ה חמ, and Aram. חלם and Syr. ܡܠܬܐ.

Sir. vii. 30, 31. Mr. Elkan Adler's fragment of A as read in *L'Ecclésiastique* begins with 'ה חמ (ver. 29) followed by:—

30 With all thy might love thy Maker; and forsake
not his ministers.

31 Glorify God and honour a priest; and give *their*
portion as thou hast been commanded.

: 31^c לחם אברים ותרומת [יד זבח] צדק ותרומת קדש

Syr. for 'ה חמ defectively, "*Panem oblationum & primitias manuum.*" This attests לחם which Gr. ἀπαρχήν καὶ . . . ἀπαρχήν ἀγίων (H. & P.) omits.

The word אברים "n'est pas dans la Bible." So Lévi, with the conjecture that there was a reading אשם for אברים, which Syr. took rightly as from אשם and Gr. read אשם. Psalm lxxviii. 25 אשם אכל אברים לחם suggests an original

אֲבִירִים, with perhaps an early variant אֲשִׁים. If the phrase "bread of *abbirim*" means "*cibus nobilium* s. *principum* i. e. *cibus delicatior, exquisitus*," like Gen. xlix. 20 *dainties of a king*, it is quite appropriate in Sir. vii. 31, where the gifts should of course be of the best. Ben Sira gives his own sense and application to Biblical expressions. Note the אֶל חֲקָרֵי "bread of *ebarim*" in Midrash Tillim (*J. F.*, p. 178). Heb. in verse 31 חֲלָקִים, cf. אֲבִיר "de Deo."

As Ben Sira would not have used the same word תְּרוּמָה in both hemistichs, we should perhaps in the former read:—

לֶחֶם אֲבִירִים וְתְרוּמָה.

Using an old word and comparing Lev. xxiii. 17, we might render this, "*Payndemayn* and wave loaves"; and so we might read in Psalm lxxviii. 25 "Man did eat *payndemayn*." On this word, which means *panis Domini*, Lord's-bread, see Dr. Skeat's Chaucer; and cf. the *Century Dictionary*, on "*paindemaine*." Lévi renders מִשְׁרָתֵי in verse 30 and אֲבִירִי in Sir. xliii. 5 by "*ses ministres*."

Sir. vii. 32–35. In the Revised Version, which represents the Greek, verses 32–34 run thus:—

- 32 Also to the poor man stretch out thy hand,
That thy blessing may be perfected.
- 33 A gift hath grace in the sight of every man living;
And for a dead man keep not back grace.
- 34 Be not wanting to them that weep;
And mourn with them that mourn.

The Hebrew for the next verse is:—

35 אֶל חֶשֶׁא לֵב מֵאֹהֶב כִּי מִמֶּנּוּ תֵּאָהֵב

(a) The epithet "poor" is applicable to the dead (Ps. xlix. 17). Gr. and Syr. read חֵן כִּי for Heb. לֵב מֵאֹהֶב (ver. 33). With חֶשֶׁא at the end of the verse compare the rabbinic *gemiluth chasadim*, which is for rich, poor, living and dead (*J. F.*, p. 13). Giving to חֵן כִּי includes giving to an enemy.

(b) To give point to verse 35 we must suppose it to mean, So thou mayest have for a friend one who was an enemy, cf. the contrast *ohēb, sōnē* in Sir. vi. 1, 9, 13. To restore the assonance then read *מֵאֵיב*, and we get as a climax, Make no exception: withhold not sympathy even from an enemy, for of him thou mayest become beloved. Ben Sira would have thought of Ex. xxiii. 4 f. *כִּי תִמְנַע שׁוֹר אֶיֶכָּךְ כִּר*, and Prov. xxv. 21 f. *If thine enemy be hungry, &c.* As partly accounting for the form of Gospel precepts inculcating the love of enemies, note that the Hebrew words *אֹהֵב, שׂוֹנֵא* for friend and enemy mean *lover* and *hater* respectively.

(c) St. Paul perhaps alludes to Sir. vii. 30-35 in Romans xii, xiii. After quoting Prov. xxv. 21 f. he writes at the end of chap. xii *Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.* By *chesed* a man annihilates his enemy, *qua* enemy, i. e. he makes him a friend, "having slain the enmity thereby" (Eph. ii. 16). To God's *ministers* give their due *חֶלֶק* (Rom. xiii. 6 f.). Bless all (*ib.* xii. 14), "that thy blessing may be perfected." *Κλαλεῖν μετὰ κλαιόντων* (xii. 15).

Sir. viii. 1. This verse, which is a good example of a doublet, is read as below in *L'Ecclésiastique*, but the *beth* of *בִּידוֹ* is not clear—perhaps we should read *ל'* or *אל* for it, cf. *אל* two lines above in the facsimile:—

לִמָּה תִשָּׁבַע עַל יָדוֹ :	(a) אֵל תִּרְיַב עִם אִישׁ נָדוּל
לִמָּה תִפּוֹל בִּידוֹ :	(β) אֵל תִּרְיַב עִם קֶשֶׁה מִמֶּךָ

(a) "*חֲשׁוֹב, retourner, est mauvais; il faudrait* תִפּוֹל, *comme dans le doublet qui suit.*" Or (?) read *חֲשׁוֹב* with medial *kaf* at the end from *שָׁכַךְ*, a word used of the subsidence of the waters in Gen. viii. 1 and giving the sense here, "Wherefore shouldest thou be humiliated at his hand?" Gr. *μη διαμάχου μετὰ ἀνθρώπου δυνάστου μή ποτε ἐμπέσῃς εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ*, with *δυνάστου* for *אִישׁ נָדוּל*.

(β) "Doublet qui correspond mot pour mot à S." (Lévi), but Heb. *תִּרְיַב* is not exactly *לִגְחַל*. Some scribe put (a) and the variant (β) into the same text. Gr. and Syr. may

have rendered שכן as if נמל, or there may have been a variant תמול. If (a) had stood alone one might have thought of חשור as for תבוש.

Sir. viii. 2 אש לֹא הָקָל with לֹא in the margin and קָ (קרי) under it, as noted by Mr. Elkan Adler (*J. Q. R.*, XII, 467).

Sir. viii. 7 אֵל תְּהַלֵּל עַל נֹת, Gr. MS. 248 ἐν νεκρῶ τῷ ἐχθροτάτῳ σου (Prov. xxiv. 17). In the facsimile may be seen indications that there was a variant for נֹת, to which Lévi would prefer כַּת as "moins prétentieux"; but Ben Sira may have meant נֹת. For the word see also Sir. xiv. 17.

Sir. viii. 8 אֵל תִּנְשֵׁ שִׁיחַ חֲכָמִים וּבְחִירֵיהֶם תִּתְרַשׁ. With *lamed* for *resh* we get the sense, "Neglect not the discourse of sages; so shalt thou sharpen thyself with their hard sayings," cf. Ps. lii. 4 כְּתֹרֶת קִלְקִישׁ. The word חִידָה suggests חֲרָה, *sharp*, cf. Prof. xxvii. 17 *Iron sharpeneth iron; so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend.*

Sir. ix. 8. Many men have been ruined בְּעַר אִשָּׁה (Prov. vi. 26, vii. 26); and she inflameth her lovers בָּאֵשׁ (MS. ב'). Lévi, "Et leur amour brûle comme le feu," and in a footnote, "Et elle brûle comme le feu ses amants; mais la leçon des versions est meilleure."

But Ben Sira seems, like R. Aqiba after him (*J. F.*, p. 137, n. 4), to play upon the words for *man*, *woman*, *fire*. Compare Sir. viii. 3, "Strive not with אִישׁ לְשׁוֹן, and put not wood אֵשׁ עַל אֵשׁ," where חִינָן—from נָצַה, as חִישָׁן (vii. 14) from שָׁנָה—perhaps hints at נִצְרוֹן, *spark* (xi. 32, cf. James iii. 5); Sir. xii. 14 Heb. תְּבוֹעֵר בּוֹ אֵשׁ . . . זֶרֶק (MS. אִשָּׁה).

Sir. ix. 17. By the wise of hands יוֹשֵׁר יִשְׂרָאֵל; and he that is *wise of speech* ruleth over *peoples* (or *his people*).

On the text of the latter hemistich see *L'Ecclésiastique*. It is a question how to understand or emend יוֹשֵׁר יִשְׂרָאֵל, Gr. ἡγοῦν ἐναυεθῆσεται, Syr. *urbs stabilitur* with *Sapientia judicis* wrongly for בְּחֲכָמֵי יָדַיִם. Keeping יוֹשֵׁר as attested by Syr. *urbs*, since שָׂר may have been read עִיר, alter יוֹשֵׁר.

to יחזן from חזן, "i. q. Arab. حَسَنٌ *pulcher fuit*. Conj. II. IV. *ornavit*," which Syr. may have read as from חסן, *fortis fuit*. Taking the abstract ישר as for the concrete ישר מעשה we then get the sense, that under the hand of the skilled craftsman *opus rectum* becomes *pulchrum*: good workmanship takes fair form: what he does is done accurately and admirably.

Sir. x. 1 A.V. *A wise judge will instruct his people; and the government of a prudent man is well ordered.*

Heb. at the end (?) סדירה with dots pointing to a missing variant, perhaps סדורה. Syr. *stabiliet* might be thought to be for יסדר, cf. Sir. l. 14 ולסדר. With either reading we should have a word not used in the Bible but related to the Biblical סָדַר, see Job x. 22 ולא־סדרים.

Sir. x. 9-11. The *Speaker's Commentary* has a good note on the reading of verse 9. The passage means, according to Lévi:—

- 9 Comment s'enorgueillerait celui qui est poussière et cendre,
Qui de son vivant déjà a les intestins remplis de pourriture ?
- 10 Petite maladie, joie du médecin :
Aujourd'hui roi, demain il tombera.
- 11 A sa mort, l'homme devient le lot de la pourriture,
Des vers, de la vermine et des bêtes.

The Hebrew, with some vowel-points omitted, is:—

- | | | |
|----|---------------------|----------------------|
| 9 | מה ינאה עפר ואפר | אשר בחייו יורם יוֹי: |
| 10 | שמן מחלה יצהיב רופא | מלך היום ומחר יפול: |
| 11 | במות אדם ינחל רמה | ותולעה וכניים ורמש: |

This, as it stands, gives (as we shall see) a clear and striking sense. Verse 11 is, briefly, that "When a man dies he inherits *worms*." The preceding verses have been variously rendered as below.

Syr. (*ap.* Walton):—

- 9 *Cur superbiat pulvis ac cinis,*
Cujus latera dum vivit vermes perrepunt ?
 10 *Cujus intestina secturus est medicus ?*
Qui hodie gradietur, & cras morietur ?

The Latin, *minus* an interpolation found in the A.V. and noted in R.V. marg., is as follows:—

- 9 *Quid superbit terra & cinis ?*
Quoniam in vita sua projecit intima sua.
Omnis potentatus brevis vita.
 10 *Languor prolixior gravat medicum.*
Brevem languorem praecidit medicus.
Sic & rex hodie est & cras morietur.

The R.V., representing a form of Gr., gives the rendering:—

- 9 Why is earth and ashes proud ?
 Because in his life he hath cast away his bowels.
 10 It is a long disease ; the physician mocketh :
 And he is a king to-day, and to-morrow he shall die.

The A.V., following a different recension of Gr., ends thus:—

- 9 Because while he liveth he casteth away his bowels.
 10 The physician *cutteth off* a long disease ;
 And he that is to day a king to morrow shall die.

The corresponding Greek in MS. 248 is:—

- 9 *ὅτι ἐν ζωῇ αὐτοῦ ἐρριψαν τὰ ἐντέσθια αὐτοῦ.*
 10 *μακρὸν ἀρρώστημα κόπτει λατρός· καὶ.*

[יִירָם] Why should a man be proud because in his brief lifetime he *is exalted*? To account for Gr. *ἐρριψαν* (*al.* -ψα, -ψε), suppose the *yod* absorbed by the preceding חִי, and read יִירָם as רָמָה from רָמָה, *projectit*. Note that רָמָה can be read RAMAH and RIMMAH, *high, worm, cast away*. For יִירָם again see verse 23 וְאֵין לְכַבֵּד כָּל אִישׁ יִירָם.

[נִיִּי] In Hebrew Lexicons see under נִי, (1) נ (Gr. τὰ ἐντέσθια αὐτοῦ); (2) נו (Job xx. 25); (3) נִי; and cf. Heb.

נב with Syr. More familiar with fem. נָיָה than masc. נִי which Heb. seems to use here for σῶμα, the scribe may first have written נ with *shva* by mistake. The actual pointing of the letter is roughly represented in *L'Ecclesiastique*. Ben Sira's word would have been chosen to suit the rhythm and match ינאה, cf. "נָיָה a נָאָה *derivato*, &c." (Gesen. s. v. נָיָה). The man's *exaltation* of which he is vainly proud is the exaltation of a "vile body" or *carcase* which must soon perish, cf. Sir. xli. 11 הבל אדם בנִיתו.

שמן מחלה] The word שמן is ambiguous. Better than Gr. μακρόν in this context would (I think) be μικρόν, Lat. *brevem* as an alternative to *prolixior*. From שמן written שֶׁן would have come [שֶׁן] with *shin* relative, Syr. *Cujus intestina*. On the apparent omission of מחלה by Syr. see below.

יִצְחָה] So with *hé*, as our author may or may not have written. One word is wanted for the text, and another to explain the versions.

(1) On Gr., starting with σκῶπται as the received reading, Mr. Hart writes:—

"σκῶπται] σκοπεῖ 106: κοπτεῖ 157. 248: ἐκκοπτεῖ 55. 254.

Both renderings of the Latin go back to κοπτεῖ or ἐκκοπτεῖ for which Herkenne quotes also the Armenian. σκοπεῖ is found also in the pseudo-Athanasian *Synopsis* from which the prologue of 248 is taken, and in the Sahidic."

To account for κόπται read יִחְצֹב or יִחְצֹב, comparing Isa. x. 15 הִחְצֹב בוֹ, LXX τοῦ κόπτορος ἐν αὐτῷ. The same word explains Syr. *secturus est medicus*: the *medicus* has to perform a surgical operation on his exalted patient.

(2) Given יִחְצֹב as a variant and Lat. *gravat* as perhaps approximately the sense of the original, we might conjecture that Ben Sira used עָצַב as connoting *labor gravis et molestus* and wrote יַעֲצִיב, cf. Ps. lxxviii. 40 יַעֲצִיבוּ בִישִׁימוֹן. The letters *cheth* and *ayin* being interchangeable, as in חֶשֶׁק and עֶשֶׂק, we could satisfactorily account for the reading of Gr. and Syr. as coming from יַעֲצִיב.

Or it might be said that Ben Sira wrote צהב. Of צהב Kohut states in his *Aruch Completum* that it means נהה אדום בבקע או בעקס, *roth werden vor Aergerniss . . . vor Zank*. Thus צהב might mean much the same as יעצב. For צהב in the Bible see Lev. xiii. 30, "Then the priest shall see the plague: and, behold, if . . . there be in it a yellow thin hair . . ."; Ezra viii. 27 R.V., "vessels of fine bright brass," A.V. marg., yellow, or shining. For 1 Sam. i. 6 *And her adversary also provoked her sore* the Targum has ומצחבא לה צרחה. The root צהב meaning to glow or be ruddy, it may have been in early use in all of the above senses. If so, יעצב may have stood in the original Hebrew of Ecclus. But it is also possible that it came in later as a variant in place of an original יעצב.

יפול [מלך ה' ו' יפול] Syr. *gradietur*, reading מוהל. With this word Syr. may have confused מוהל, which it does not translate; unless, with a transposition, רופא מוהל was taken as a periphrasis for *medicus*. Note the inadequate rendering of יפול in Gr., Syr., Lat.

The sense of the passage may be represented thus:—

- 9 *How should one who is dust and ashes be proud,
For that while he lives his body is exalted?*
- 10 *A little sickness frets his physician:
A king to day, to morrow he falls.*
- 11 *When a man dies he inherits worms.*

Highest of the high to-day, to-morrow he falls and becomes food for worms. "How are the mighty fallen." Ben Sira after his manner, thinking perhaps of Job xxi. 22, 26 *he judgeth those that are high . . . the worms shall cover them*, played allusively upon the words ירם and רמה, and Syr. wrongly made the connexion between them organic. Omitting a *yod* and writing יעצב we should get in verse 10, "A little sickness: the physician is troubled."

Sir. xi. 18 *There is that waxeth rich by his wariness and pinching, and this is the portion of his reward.* So

A.V. and R.V. representing the Greek. The Hebrew as read by Lévi is:—

יחייב שכרו . . .

יש מתעשר מהתענות

“Le mot *יחייב* se lit sans peine, mais il ne conduit à aucun sens satisfaisant; on ne sait pas, d'autre part, s'il y avait avant ce mot *וזה* comme en G., ou *ויש* comme en S. Dans le premier cas, la phrase signifierait: *Et celui-là rend coupable son salaire.*” Passing over Syr., “Est etiam quem propriæ divitiæ non comitentur” as misplaced, we have to restore the latter half of the verse with the help of Gr.:—

καὶ αὐτῇ ἢ μὲρὶς αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Over the *cheth* there is a mark which may refer to a lost variant or at least indicate that there is some error, probably in that letter. Reading, with *hé* for *cheth*, *יחייב* or *יחב* (a synonym for *נתן*) we may suppose this to be a variant for *חלק*, which Gr. mistook for a noun *μὲρὶς*. Supplying a subject for the verb *חלק* we then get (1) for the sense, that the man prospers by his toil and self-denial, the Lord apportioning him his reward *therein*, cf. Eccles. iv. 9 *a good reward in their labour*, v. 18 (19) *to whom God hath given . . . to take his portion*; and (2) for the original Hebrew something like the following:—

יח' חלק בה שכרו:

יש מתעשר מהתענות

Instead of *בה* we might read *לו*; but for *בה* it is to be said that it would be rather more liable to corruption into *ב', מ'* (Gr. *ἀπὸ*), and would fall out more easily after *יחב* or *יחייב*. As to *זה* (Gr. *αὐτῇ*), compare page 463 (*b*). Or it may have come from *ה'*, meaning God, if that abbreviation was then in use.

Sir. xii. 2 *Do good to the righteous, and find recompense; If not from him, from the Lord.* 3 *No good cometh of bestowing upon (?) him that is wicked; And (?) that hath not done righteousness.* Heb.:—

וּגַם צְדָקָה לֹא עָשָׂה:

3 אִין מִטְבָּה לְמַנּוּחַ רָשָׁע

Bacher suggests למנח (J. Q. R., XII, 278). He is clearly right as to מנח; but for למנח read למחז, comparing verse 13 מן for מח, and Prov. xiv. 21 'מחזן בו'. No good comes to a man from being charitable to the wicked: he has *not even* the merit and satisfaction of having done an act of righteousness. Gr. οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν τῷ ἐνδεδεχίζοντι εἰς κακά, misreading מנח as for or connected with מחז, cf. chap. xxxvii. 12 Heb. מחז, Gr. ἐνδεδέχισε.

Sir. xii. 5 (xv. 12). In the former verse omit צורך בעת צורך, with Gr.; prefix כי (Gr. διπλάσια γὰρ); and read:—

כי מי שנים רעה תשיג בכל טובה תגיע אליו

In chap. xv. 12 emend חסם באנשי צורך כי אן צורך by reading רצן (Syr.) for צורך (Gr.). For instances of צך (xiii. 6) in B see chap. xxxviii. 1 and Dr. Driver's *Glossary* in the Oxford *Original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus*.

Sir. xii. 11 (viii. 18) היה לו כמגלה רן. Gr. καὶ ἔση αὐτῷ ὡς ἐκμεμαχὼς ἔσποπρον, R. V. *And thou shalt be unto him as one that hath wiped a mirror.*

(a) It is a question which Lévi leaves open whether רן (רא) *secret* is a corruption of רא *mirror*, or *vice versa*. He illustrates the simile of the mirror from the *Hippolytus* of Euripides:—

428 κακοὺς δὲ θνητῶν ἐξέφην', ὅταν τύχη,
προθεῖς κάτοπρον ὥστε παρθένη νέφ
χρόνος, παρ' οἷσι μήποτ' ὀφθείην ἐγώ.

The critical time when it comes reveals the character of evil men, as a mirror shows the face of a maiden.

Hamlet makes it the end of playing, *to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature.*

Chaucer in *The Squieres Tale* writes (ed. Skeat, 1894):—

F 132 This mirour eek, that I have in myn hond,
Hath swich a might, that men may in it see
Whan ther shal fallen any adversitee

Un-to your regne or to your-self also ;
 And openly who is your freend or foo.
 And over al this, if any lady bright
 Hath set hir herte on any maner wight,
 If he be fals, she shal his treson see,
 His newe love and al his subtiltee
 So openly, that ther shall no-thing hyde.

* * * * *

- 225 And somme of hem wondred on the mirour,
 That born was up in-to the maister-tour,
 How men mighte in it swiche thinges see.
 Another answerde, and seyde it mighte wel be
 Naturelly, by composiciouns
 Of angles and of slye reflexiouns,
 And seyden, that in Rome was swich oon.
 They speken of Alocen and Vitulon,
 And Aristotle, that writen in hir lyves
 Of queynte mirours and of prospectyves,
 As knowen they that han hir bokes herd.

The reference to Aristotle seems to be not verifiable. On the mirror in Rome, and on Alocen and Vitulon, see Dr. Skeat's notes (vol. v. 377 f.); adding that Kepler's *Optics* (1604) was called *Ad Vitellionem Paralipomena quibus Astronomiae Pars Optica traditur*. See also the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, art. "Mirror"; and Pausanias, vii. 21, viii. 37 (vol. i. 360, 422, ed. Frazer, 1898).

(b) The interchange of *yod* and *zayin* is illustrated by Sir. l. 16 להזכיר, written (as may be seen from the facsimile) with a small *zayin*, and read correctly by Mr. Cowley (*J. Q. R.*, XII, 111); but previously read להזכיר with *yod*, *yod* and להזכיר as a correction. For supposed or real uses of רז in the required sense see Isa. xxiv. 16 רזי לי, ז. ס. ד. רז. *μυστήριόν μου ἐμοί*, Targ. לי אחגלי לי, Syr. ראז לי; Dan. ii. 18-30, 47 ונלה רזין; and, as we may now add from Mr. Adler's fragment of A, Sir. viii. 18:—

לפני זר אל תעש רז

attested by Gr. ἐνώπιον ἀλλοτρίου μὴ ποιήσης κρυπτόν. Thus 17 is a word used by Ben Sira. As a man should not betray his *raz* to a *zar*; so he should endeavour to arm himself against an enemy by detecting his concealed purpose. He will be proof against his plots if he can be to him as a *galeh razin* and divine his secret. The Greek with its simile of the mirror conveys a like sense, but Sir. viii. 18 favours the reading 17 מנלה of Heb. and Syr.

Sir. xiii. 11 *Make not bold to be free (?) with him; And mistrust thou his much talk. For with his much talk maketh he trial of thee; And he will smile upon thee, and search thee out.*

In this rendering, thinking of שחל as inf. piel, I wrote "שחל is perhaps a verb related to שחל *freedom*, שחל *free*." So Lévi, with the remark, "שחל, verbe inconnu à la Bible"; but see Lev. xix. 20 שחל. Prof. Bevan writes, "Possibly we should pronounce שחל and translate 'to argue,' lit. 'to investigate.'" Gr. ἰσηγορεύειν and Lat. *ex aequo loqui* would thus be wrong renderings of the word as שחל.

נסין] Syr. *quoniam multitudo confabulationum ejus sunt tentationes*, but Gr. ἐκ πολλῆς γὰρ λαλιᾶς πειράσει σε. R. Saadyah, quoted by Dr. Schechter (Camb., B. S., p. 48), read בִּי בָרַב שִׁחַ מַסָּה אוֹתָךְ. For Heb. שִׁחוּ נְסִין I would read שִׁחַ נִסָּךְ, thus deleting the rabbinic נְסִין, which, however, is found elsewhere in the MS. as below.

(1) Chap. iv. 17 Heb. וְלִפְנֵים יִבְחָרְנִי בְּנִסְיוֹתַי, Gr. καὶ βασανίσει αὐτὸν ἐν παιδείᾳ αὐτῆς, i. e. בְּמִסְרָה. Hence perhaps מסה, מסות, and then the synonym נְסִיוֹת. Lévi (p. 18) on 'יבחרני, for which the versions suggest אֶבְחָנִי (Schechter), "Chose curieuse, saint Jérôme avait déjà un texte altéré comme le nôtre, car, délaissant G., il dit, *et in primis eligit eum*, par conséquent יִבְחָרְנִי."

(2) In chap. vi. 7 Heb. נִתְּנָה אֶתְּךָ בְּנִסָּךְ קִנְיָ, cf. Saadyah במסח, and see chap. xxvii. 17 Syr. נִסָּךְ חִבְרָךְ (Schechter). It would shorten and improve the hemistich

to replace נִסִּין by the Biblical נִסָּה, which may have stood also in Sir. xxxvi. 1, xlv. 20. Syr. נִסָּה as quoted suggests Heb. נִסָּה, and thus favours the proposed reading נִסִּין from נִסָּה in Sir. xiii. 11 (p. 464).

Sir. xiii. 12. This verse is given in an impossible form in the MS. The versions differ greatly, but they agree in suggesting the following division of it:—

אֲכֹרֵי יִתְּן מִשָּׁל

וְלֹא יִחַמֵּל עַל נַפְשׁ רַבִּים קָשָׁר קָשָׁר :

(1) Dr. Schechter (Camb., *B. S.*, p. 49) makes the following suggestions: Gr. ῥῆμα or ῥῆμα; יִתְּן perhaps from חָנַן to repeat; Syr. שָׁלֵם; קָשָׁר קָשָׁר misunderstood by Gr., cf. above vii. 8 חָסֵד לִשְׁנוֹת חָסֵד.

The Hebrew has defective traces of the texts which underlie the versions.

(a) Syr. as if:—

אֲכֹרֵי מִשָּׁלֵם שָׁלֵם וְלֹא יִחַמֵּל עַל נַפְשׁ רַבִּים :

This is more intelligible than appropriate to the context. To account for it we want a word in the Hebrew which could be misread שָׁלֵם. Then, given עַל יִחַמֵּל, וְלֹא, something like נַפְשׁ רַבִּים would follow not unnaturally. The translator may have read יִתְּן before שָׁלֵם.

(b) Gr. (*ap. Swete*):—

ἀνελεήμων ὁ μὴ συντηρῶν λόγους,

καὶ οὐ μὴ φείσεται περὶ κακώσεως καὶ δεσμῶν.

So the R. V.:—

He that keepeth *not* to himself words spoken is
unmerciful;

And he will not spare to hurt and to bind.

The A. V. omitting the *not*, which is perhaps a dittograph (ὁ μὴ from οὐ μὴ), gives the rendering, *But cruelly he will lay up thy words, &c.* Mr. Hart prefers this reading, and he quotes as authorities for it:—

MS. 253 and Syro-hex. ἀνελεημονως δε συντηρησει λογους

VOL. XV.

K K

σου: Lat. [as if -μων σου for -μωνος] *immitis animus illius conservabit verba tua.*

Chap. xiii. 13 συντηρήσῃς σου for שמר suggests שמור in verse 12. After it would have come מלך, or אמר, or רברך. For καὶ δεσμῶν Gr. must have had or assumed a reading וקשר (Lévi), see Hatch and Redpath's *Concordance*; but קשר may have come by transposition from שקר. This brings us to a reading giving the sense, *Cruelly he will observe thy sayings; And will not stint mischief and leasing*:—

אכזרי שמור מלך ולא חסל על רעה ושקר:

Working back from this we could account for variants as שלום and מושל, and for וקשר and thence קשר and קשר קשר; but קשר in the sense *bonds*, or in the sense *conspiracy*, may be the true reading. Although Syr. רבים and Gr. רעה are not directly interchangeable as variants, either might be represented by ר' in a marginal reading.

על] Gr. περὶ for על. Syr. may have been misled by the fact that על חסל has usually a personal object, as in Sir. xiii. 4, xvi. 8 f. For ח' על רעה see Job xx. 13 f., where it said that the wicked is chary of *wickedness* and *s pares it for himself*. Thus we have in effect רעה על חסל, aptly illustrating its opposite in Sir. xiii. 12.

(2) Prof. Bevan writes on 'יון מושל כו' :—

"In the interpretation of this very difficult verse we must be guided chiefly by the context. Both in the passage before and in the passage after it the author is describing the cruelty and treachery of the rich in their dealings with the poor. For this reason the word מושל 'ruler' seems more suitable than שלום . . . But whether we read מושל or שלום, the preceding word יון presents an insuperable difficulty . . . Perhaps we should read אכזר בפתן מושל 'a ruler is cruel as an asp,' cf. Deut. xxxii. 33 ראש פתנים אכזר 'the cruel venom of asps.' For the metaphor compare verses 17 and 19, where the rich are likened to wolves and lions."

(3) Or to account for יון read מושל יון, *he will lay* (lit.

give) a *stumblingblock*, comparing Lev. xix. 14 and before the blind תתן מכשול לא; Jer. vi. 21 Behold, I will lay *stumblingblocks* (נתן מ') before this people; Ezek. iii. 20 and I lay a *stumblingblock* before him, xiv. 3 ומכשול עתה נתנו בו; Sir. iv. 22 למכשולך, xxvii. 23 καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου δώσει σκάνδαλον (248 σκάνδαλα, Lat. *scandalum*). 1 Sam. xxv. 31 suggests the addition of לך. As a parallel to Syr. שלום for מכשול in Sir. xiii. 12, note the word-play in Ps. cxix. 165 שלום רב . . . ואין לנו מכשול.

It is remarkable that in Sir. xi. 31 we find יתן קשר where מום (ver. 33), represented in Gr. ἐπιθήσει μῶμον, seems to be wanted; and that Syr. has ܡܡܝܢܐܝܬܐ, the equivalent of נותן מכשול, although Lévi (perhaps rightly) explains it as for יתן מוקש. The text of Ecclus. having suffered so much through abbreviations, notice that מוקש is thus convertible into first מ' קש' and then וקשר מום.

If κάκωσις in Sir. xiii. 12 can mean vilification it may be for דבה, cf. Jer. xx. 10 For I heard רבים דבה, the *defaming of many* . . . All my familiars watched (שכרו) for my halting, Peradventure he will be enticed, and we shall prevail against him, and we shall take our revenge on him; Sir. li. 2 מרבת . . . כונ. With דבה and מכשול we get:—

אכזרי יתן מכשול לך ולא יחמל על דבה ושקר:

That is to say:—

*Cruelly he will lay a stumblingblock for thee;
And will not spare defaming and lies.*

From דבה or דיבה may have come רבים with *mem* for *hé* (p. 471) in one way or other; and thence, with an explanatory נפש, Syr. על נפש רבים. ולא יחמל.

To explain the Greek of the preceding clause, read Heb. with an abbreviation יתן מ' לך. אכזרי יתן ט. Then with ט for ת, as in chap. iii. 14 conversely תנחע for תנע, we get יטר מליך, Gr. συντηρήσει λόγους σου.

(4) But it may be said, Perhaps after all Gr. συντηρήσει represents the original Hebrew, say יטר מליך.

Conversely then we might read 'מן', 'מן', 'מן', a phrase transposed from chap. xxvii. 23; or we might take 'ב' for מן, which would go well with שר or שר. But, while σκάνδαλον stands for מן more often than for מן, I find the former after מן only in Prov. xxix. 25 שר מן, LXX δίδωσιν σφάλμα. In Sir. xxvii. 23 δώσει σκάνδαλον, well explained by Edersheim, seems to be for מן. He will put a scandal into thy words, "that is, he will purposely attach to them a meaning which will cause offence."

Sir. xiv. 1 *Happy is the man whom his own mouth hath not troubled; And whose heart hath not condemned him (?)*. Heb.:—

אשרי אנוש לא עצבו פיו ולא אבה עליו דן לבו

Gr. for the latter hemistich, with a variant:—

καὶ οὐ κατενύγη ἐν λύπῃ ἀμαρτίας (248 πλήθει ἀμαρτιῶν).

Syr. for the same:—

Et cujus oculis non est occultatum iudicium.

Lat.:—

Et non est stimulatus in justitia delicti.

לבן] "Read אבן . . . or perhaps אבן, cf. Is. iii. 26 and xix. 8" (Schechter). Prof. Bevan explains Gr. κατενύγη by אבן or אבן (Sir. xii. 12, xlvi. 20); accepts דן (דן) for דן; and concludes thus: "if we adopt this reading, and at the same time substitute אבן for אבן, the sense will be 'whose heart has not brought misery upon him' (cf. אבן אבן chap. xv. 13). The subject (לבן) stands at the end of the clause because it answers to פיו in the clause preceding." This can now be aptly illustrated from one of the British Museum folios of B, namely by Sir. xxxvi. 25 Heb. לב עבד מן, יתן עצבו, Gr. καρδία στρεβλή δώσει λύπην.

As an alternative to לבן דן we might read conjecturally לב, *sorrow of heart*, comparing Deut. xxviii. 65 שֶׁבֶתֶן; Prov. x. 22 λύπη ἐν καρδίᾳ, xxv. 20 καρδίαν λυπεῖ . . . λύπη

ἀνδρὸς βλάβπει καρδίαν; Sir. xxxviii. 18 λύπη καρδίας. Perhaps in Sir. xiv. 1 Gr. there was a reading ἐν λύπη (al. πένθει) καρδίας.

To account for Syr. *Et cuius oculis &c.*, (1) suppose the *aleph* of אנה lost after אלו and its *hé* read as *mem* (p. 471). Then by duplicating letters we get נעלם מעיני (cf. Job xxviii. 21); and we may take Syr. דינא as for דין לב, *judgment of heart*. Or (2), comparing from Schleusner s. v. καταλύσσομαι, "החעצב hithp. doleo . . . נאלם niph. obmutesco, Dan. x. 15 κατενύγην, *stupidus timore obmutescebam*," suppose that Syr. read מעיני (for נע) נאלם. With the reading לב דין עליו אנה אלו we have פיהו for the subject of the whole verse, and for its sense:—

*Happy is the man whose mouth hath not troubled him;
And hath not brought sorrow of heart upon him.*

Sir. xiv. 9 R. V. *A covetous man's eye is not satisfied with his portion; And wicked injustice drieth up his soul.* Heb.:—

בען כושל מעט הוא חלקו
ולקח חלק רעהו מאבד חלקו:

[כושל] Gr. πλεονέκτου, Syr. דיסכלא. Read כילי or כלי from Isa. xxxii. 5 ולכילי . . . לנבל 7, וכילי כליו רעים 7. Hence Syr. as if כסיל and Heb. כושל, a word used by Ben Sira but not here. Gr. πλεονέκτου, which gives the required sense, may be a rendering of כילי, cf. Rosenmüller on Isaiah l. c., "*Et avarus non dicetur munificus . . . כילי Gesenius fraudulentum, dolosum interpretatur . . . hic tamen . . . designatur talis qui per fraudes res corradit easque tenaciter tenet.*"

[רעהו] The one trace in Heb., as above, of the original Hebrew of the hemistich. So Syr. *proximi sui* i. e. רע mispointed, as Edersheim well remarks. Gr. ἀδικία ποιηρά (248 ποιηροῦ) for רע ען misread רע ען (not רע ען)—for this order of the words in Gr. cf. chap. xlii. 9 ἀπόκρυφος ἀγρυπνία with the note upon it in *L'Ecclésiastique* (Part I, p. 50), and the footnote on chap. xxxi. 1 in *Camb. B. S.*

[מאבד חלקו] Syr. *perdit animam suam*, Gr. ἀναξηρείνει

ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ, both reading נפש. Heb. *his portion* is an evident scribal error due to חלקו (MS. הוא חלקו with א above the line), whence first לוקח or ולוקח as a variant, and finally חלקו . . . ולוקח חלק. like שקר קשר קשר from שקר in chap. xiii. 12 (p. 466). Gr. ἀναξήραται καὶ points to the true original נפש נפש, cf. Num. xi. 6 נפש יבשה (Schechter). Compare also Sir. vi. 3 f. כעץ יבש ונפש כר'; and see יבש in Mandelkern's *Concordance*.

Thus we come to the sense, *In the eye of a churl his portion is scanty; And he that is evil-eyed drieth up his own soul:—*

בעץ כילי מעט הוא חלקו ורע עין מיבש נפשו :

The word נפש was of course suggested by עין which has the sense *fountain*, cf. מען in the next verse.

With Heb. [נפש] תאבד compare in the New Testament, *And whosoever shall lose his life (or soul) for my sake shall find it; where וכל המאבד נפשו would be better than וכל אשר לו נפש, or וכל אשר תאבד לו נפש (Delitzsch).*

Sir. xiv. 10 *The eye of him that hath an evil eye(?) is grudging (Gr.) of bread; And there is famine at his table. An evil (Syr.) eye lavishing bread Is as a fountain dried up that should well with water (?)*. Thus I rendered:—

(α) עין רע עין תעים על לחם ומקומה על שלחנו :
(β) עין טובה מרבה הלחם ומען יבש יל מים על השלחן :

Gr. in Dr. Swete's text or notes:—

ὀφθαλμοὺς πονηροὺς φθοβεροὺς ἐπ' ἄρτου (αλ. ἄρτων),
καὶ ἐλλιπὴς ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης αὐτοῦ.

Syr. *Oculus nequam multiplicat panem,*
Et siccum (יבש) projicit super mensam.

[תעים Looking at מעט above (ver. 9) and מרבה just below in (β), I think that תעים may be from מעט, say for ימעט or ממעט, piel as Sir. iii. 18 מעט נפש. On this Lévi remarks (p. 6) that in rabbinic "on emploie plus correctement la préposition כ avec ce verbe"; thinking perhaps *inter alia*

of Aboth iv כמעט כמעט, where however there are variants including כמעט כמעט (*J. F., App.*, p. 158). In (α) we should perhaps read simply לחם (or 'מ), corresponding to לחם in (β). When the writing is indistinct *mem* may be read as or for *hé*, or *cheth*, or *tau*. Thus כמעט transposed might be read תעית.

[ומהומה] For this Dr. Schechter referred rightly to Aboth v רעב של מהומה (*Camb. B. S.*, p. 50); but with Lévi I doubt whether it was in Ben Sira's Hebrew. On ἐλλειψίς Lévi writes that Gr. has taken בצרת *sécheresse* for an adjective, and he concludes, "L'avare n'ose pas manger son pain, et il souffre de la sécheresse, de la *famine* à sa table,"—thus (as I think) just missing the point.

Reading with Syr. בצורת we may take it that Ben Sira means, "The evil-eyed man scants bread, and there is *drought* at his table": he gives little to eat and nothing to drink. The strange מהומה is accounted for by Aboth v רעב של מהומה ושל בצורת בא (*J. F., App.*, pp. 77, 167). Supposing this variant in Aboth already known, we have only to conjecture that, in some MS. of the *Wisdom of B. S.* of earlier date than A, a note of it was made in the margin over against בצורת, and that eventually מהומה found its way from the margin into the text. Ben Sira reproduces the thought of Prov. xxiii. 6 f. *Eat thou not the bread of him that hath an evil eye . . . Eat and drink, saith he to thee; but his heart is not with thee.* To the votaries of Wisdom Sir. xv. 3 promises bread and water.

In the above rendering of (β) from *Camb. B. S.* I reject על השלח as a dittograph and read ען רעה with Syr. The comparison of the evil ען with a dried-up מען is in the manner of Ben Sira, and it is of a piece with כ' מישב in verse 9 as restored above (p. 470).

Sir. xvi. 7 R.V. *He was not pacified toward the giants of old time, Who revolted in their strength.* Heb.:—

[אשר] לא נשא לנסיכי קדם חמורים [עולם] בגבורתם :

With this compare Sir. xlv. 3 *Rulers of earth in their royalty* (Gr. *Lording it in their kingdoms*); *And men of name in their might*. Heb., with references to רודי and נבזרים in the right and left margins:—

וְרֹדֵי אֶרֶץ בְּמַלְכוּתָם וְאֲנָשֵׁי שֵׁם בְּנִבְזָרָתָם:

[לנסיכי קדם] The words אשר and עולם seem superfluous, and rhythmically the verse is better without them. On לנסיכי Lévi writes: "*Les géants de G. sont bien mieux en situation que les princes de notre texte, lequel est d'accord sur ce point avec S., à moins qu'on n'admette que נסך ait fini par comporter ce sens de géants, ce qui est peu plausible. On attendrait plutôt נבילים.*" But the word was well chosen. Ben Sira of course refers to Gen. vi on the antediluvian "giants," of whom together with their descendants he would have thought as "the *mighty ones* which were of old, *men of name*." From verse 4 may have come the אשר and עולם of Sir. xvi. 7 Heb. On Gen. vi. 11, 13 see below under המורים.

He would also have thought of Josh. xiii. 12 *All the kingdom of Og . . . who remained of the remnant of the giants.* 21 . . . *whom Moses smote with the princes of Midian . . . which were dukes of* (נסיכי) *Sihon, dwelling in the country.* Compare Ezek. xxxii. 30 נסיכי צפון; Ps. lxxxiii. 12 כָּל נִסְכָּמוֹ; Dan. xi. 8 עַם נִסְכִּיהֶם. Thus his נסיכי goes well both with קדם and also with לֹא נָשָׂא, the Biblical נסיכים being princes who are destroyed or carried captive, except in Micah v. 4 שָׁמָּה נִסְכֵי אֲדָם.

[המורים] Syr. *qui mundum sua potentia repleverant*, from Gen. vi. 11, 13 מְלֵאָה, *the earth was filled with violence.* With the old "mighty men" of violence who were "men of name" Ben Sira probably means to compare the "men of name in their might" of chap. xlv. If so, using רדה in both cases, he may have written in chap. xvi. 7:—

*He forgave not the princes of old time,
Who domineered in their might.*

From הַמְרִידִים would have come perhaps first הַמְרִידִים (Camb. B. S., p. 30, n. 8) and then הַמְרִידִים. The word רָדָה, on which see the Lexicons, is very appropriate here. It is used of the men of old time (Gen. i. 28), and it may imply the arbitrary use of power.

Sir. xvi. 14 A.V. *Make way for every work of mercy; for every man shall find according to his works.*

Heb., with a letter in brackets in each hemistich suggested by Syr.:—

[ל] כָּל הַעוֹשָׂה צְדָקָה יֵשׁ לוֹ שָׂכָר
וְכָל אָדָם כַּמַּעֲשֵׂי יִצָּא לִפְנָיו :

Gr., with variants:—

πάσῃ ἐλεημοσύνῃ ποιήσει (?-σεις, 248 ποίησον) τόπον,
ἐκαστος (106, 248 γάρ) κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ εὐρήσεται.

H. and P. add the readings, ποιει τοπον 55, 254: ποιηση τοπον 307.

Reading כָּל בִּי for Gr. ἐκαστος γάρ, we have a logical relation between the two clauses. In the former substitute מָקוֹם (Gr. τόπον) for שָׂכָר; and in the latter omit לִפְנָיו as certainly superfluous, and perhaps brought in from Isa. xl. 10 לִפְנֵי ... שָׂכָרִי. Then, making the first part of the verse a precept, we get the sense of the A. V. rendering in Heb. thus:—

לְכָל צְדָקָה עֲשֵׂה (תַּעֲשֵׂה) מָקוֹם כִּי כָל אָדָם כַּמַּעֲשֵׂי יִצָּא :

For a like absolute use of יִצָּא see Sir. xi. 10 Heb. אָמַם לֹא תִצָּא; Matt. vii. 8, Luke xi. 10 (sec. Delitzsch) וְהִצִּיאָה.

Sir. xvi. 22 חֹק כִּי אֲצִוֶּה חֹק, Gr. μακρὸν γὰρ ἡ διαθήκη. Bacher (*J. Q. R.*, XII, 280) well conjectures אֲצִוֶּה חֹק (Ps. cxix. 145). Note that this brings together חֹק ר' which might be read רָחוֹק חֹק, and thus helps to account for Gr., with which Dr. Schechter compares Micah vii. 11 יָרָח חֹק. For the interchange of ר and ρ see above on Sir. iii. 17, xi. 10 (p. 441 f.).

Sir. xvi. 23-26 *And a perverse man(?) will imagine this . . . Hearken . . . and receive my proverbs(?) . . . When God created his works from the beginning; According to their parts* (Heb. *life*). Here the fragment ends.

Verse 23] As a first approximation transpose a *vau* of ונבר עוה and read ונבר עוה (Schechter). Then alter to ונבר תועה with תועה for Gr. *πλανώμενος*, comparing Prov. xxi. 16 אדם תועה מדרך השכל, and for the whole verse read, say with sing. (Gr.) for pl. (Syr.) at the beginning:—

חכר לב יבן אלה ונבר תועה יחשב זאת :

Before the publication of the facsimiles Prof. Bacher, misled by the spacing of the printed text, wrote of עוה, "The abbreviations חה and y must, in accordance with G (*ἄφρων καὶ πλανώμενος*), be supplemented thus: [ול] ונבר ח[ת] ה יחשב זאת. S reproduces only the first epithet, and renders it by the similar term *ἄνους*. G. read *אניל*."

Gr. (*ap.* Swete) in the first clause *ἐλαττούμενος καρδίᾳ διανοεῖται ταῦτα*, and in the second *καὶ ἀνὴρ ἄφρων καὶ πλανώμενος διανοεῖται* (248 *ἄφρων διανοεῖται πλανώμενος*) μωρά. Here *διανοεῖται bis* suggests a confusion of the two hemistichs; so that perhaps *μωρά* came from אלה (Lat. *inania*) taken over again and misread אלה, *folly*, cf. Sir. iv. 25 Heb. אלהים for אלהתך (p. 447).

Verse 24] Perhaps the scribe wrote סכלי for שכל, Gr. *ἐπιστήμην*.

Verse 26] The fragment of A ends abruptly:—

מברא אל מעשיו מראש על חיהם

the initial *mem* being perhaps for ב or כ, but corresponding to Gr. *ἀπό* in the latter half of the verse.

C. TAYLOR.

(To be continued.)

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE REFORM MOVEMENT IN JUDAISM.

THE Jew has always been susceptible to the influences at work in the environment in which he has chanced to be. His mind is singularly open to the thought-waves that permeate his intellectual surroundings. The keen inquirer can learn often the leading cultural *motifs* of the various civilizations in whose midst the Jew has dwelt by familiarizing himself with the remains of Jewish literary achievement. From the earliest times this has been the case. The Bible indicates in many a passage the proneness of the Israelites to adopt the customs of the surrounding peoples and to accept their view-points of religion and life¹. That the Babylonian civilization with which the Jews came into contact during the exile and after left more than a passing effect there can be little doubt; the feast of Purim may be instanced as a striking proof of this; Babylonian in origin it was given a Jewish dress and became incorporated into the system of Jewish observance². Thus, too, the Persian environment in which the Jews found themselves after the passing of the Babylonian empire into the power of Cyrus and his successors left its mark³; to mention but one result of the contact with Zoroastrian beliefs it is only necessary to refer to the

¹ Num. xxv. 3; 1 Sam. viii. 5 ff.; 1 Kings xi. 7; 2 Kings xxiii. 11; Amos v. 26; Hosea iv. 12; Jer. vii. 18, xlv. 17, 18, 19, 25.

² Zimmern, "Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Purimfestes," *ZAW.*, XI, 157-169; C. H. Toy, "Esther as a Babylonian Goddess," *New World*, VI, 130-145.

³ Erik Stave, *Ueber den Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judenthum*, Haarlem, 1898.

influence of the Persian system of angelology and demonology on Jewish thought¹; the so-called Hellenistic movement among the Jews of the two pre-Christian centuries is indication sufficient of the hospitality afforded to Greek thought²; the writings of Philo testify to the welcome which was accorded the Alexandrian neo-Platonic philosophy; in the Talmud³ there are indications that Jews of the early Christian centuries were influenced by customs and thoughts that prevailed among their neighbours; traces of neo-Persian influence are not wanting⁴; the Arabic philosophical movement is reflected in the pages of Saadia's *Faith and Knowledge*, and the Aristotelian revival in Europe through the Christian scholiasts finds its Jewish counterpart in the Judeo-Spanish mediaeval philosophers; so pronounced, in fact, was the mirroring of the life and thought of the surrounding Christian world in Jewry that it passed into a popular proverb in the form "wie es sich christelt, jüdet es sich"; the reciprocal influences of Christian and Jewish life⁵ were so pronounced that more than one church council issued edicts prohibiting this. All this free interplay ceased as a matter of course when the ghetto became an established official institution throughout Europe; the Jew, shut up within the ghetto walls and barred from all contact with the outside world by the ghetto gates, gradually became also intellectually ostracized from the thought currents in the world without.

¹ A. Kohut, *Ueber die jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus*, Leipzig, 1866.

² M. Friedländer, *Das Judenthum in der vorchristlichen griechischen Welt*, Vienna, 1897; also in *J. Q. R.*, XIV, 268.

³ Talm. Bab. Soṭah 496; Ab. Zara 446; Meg. 9a, 186; Chag. 146; B. K. 83a. Talm. Jer. Soṭah VII, 1; Meg. I, 11.

⁴ I. M. Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten*, II, 143; A. Kohut, "Was hat die Talmudische Eschatologie aus dem Parsismus aufgenommen?" *ZDMG.*, XXI, 552-591.

⁵ M. Guedemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Deutschland während des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts*, 158 ff., Vienna, 1882; A. Berliner, *Persönliche Beziehungen zwischen Christen und Juden im Mittelalter*, Halberstadt, 1882.

The visible material ghetto had as its concomitant the imperceptible intellectual ghetto. The period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, the era of ghettoism, is coincident with the exclusion of the Jew from all sympathetic concern with the culture of the world. His intellectual outlook was bounded by the Talmud and its dependent disciplines. His *Weltanschauung* was restricted by the narrowing influence of the *Shulchan Arukh* and all that this implies. The constant confinement of the Jewish mind to the study of the Talmud and the casuists resulted in the fantastic ingenuities of pilpulism, and the rigid observance of the enactments codified in the *Shulchan Arukh* made of the religion a legalistic system. Pilpulism and shulchan-arukhism were the logical accompaniments of ghettoism. The jargon went hand in hand with these phenomena. The degradation of the Jewish communities of Europe was almost complete by the middle of the eighteenth century. They were cramped intellectually; they were social pariahs; politically they were non-existent; they spoke a language which was a strange conglomerate of Hebrew and German with a sprinkling of terms and phrases from the other languages of Europe. The systematic exclusion of centuries had done its work. But this could not last for ever. It was unnatural. The Jew must once again come into contact with the larger world, and when this would prove to be the case he would follow the example of former generations, as just recounted; would emerge from the intellectual prison-house in which he had been confined during the ghetto centuries and participate in the highest cultural aspirations of his time; the form which the public expression of his religion had assumed, and the interpretation which the religion had received during these dark ages, would be subjected to searching examination in the light of the broader culture; intellectual and religious emancipation usually advance *pari passu*; it is the story of religious reform resulting from the acquisition of intellectual freedom and civil

emancipation among the Jews that it is my purpose to narrate in these pages.

Although the reform movement in Judaism was practically the achievement of the nineteenth century, yet can it not be understood unless we succeed in tracing its connexion with other phenomena in the life of the Jews. No religious movement of this kind is isolated. It is the outcome of preceding causes. The immediate causes in this case were three; first, the new intellectual movements inaugurated among the Jews along lines different from the old methods¹; secondly, the linguistic emancipation—if I may so term the acquisition by the Jews of a pure language—through the medium of Mendelssohn's Bible translation; this pure language displaced the jargon, and enabled the Jews to participate in the remarkable literary awakening that took place in Germany in the closing quarter of the eighteenth century and to acquire the culture of the time²; and, thirdly, the civil emancipation which began with the act of Sept. 27, 1791, of the National Assembly of France, which declared the Jews citizens of the country, and the similar enactment of the Batavian Republic in 1795. These things caused a complete revolution in Jewry. The Jews were being brought once again into touch with the life and culture of the world. The old order was changing. New hopes and ideals stirred hundreds among the people. In all the larger communities of Germany men who had acquired the new learning began to appear. Although comparatively few in number at first their influence was none the less telling chiefly because of their attainments. A sign of the times was the publication of the Jewish magazine, *Ham-meassef*, in Königsberg in

¹ Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten*, III, 317; Holdheim, *Geschichte der Entstehung und Entwicklung der jüdischen Reformgemeinde in Berlin*, 23 (Berlin, 1857); M. Levin, *Die Reform des Judenthums*, 19 (Berlin, 1895).

² Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 14; Geiger's *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie*, V, 7; Holdheim, *Berliner Reformgemeinde*, 14; S. Stern, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, 184.

1783; the band of men who wrote for its pages, mostly friends or disciples of Mendelssohn and known as the *Meassefim*, did much towards spreading the new culture among their co-religionists¹. Although these phenomena caused unwonted disquiet in the Jewish communities, Rabbis of the old school felt correctly that the new education was dealing a death-blow to the old era; hence their anathema against Mendelssohn's translation of the Pentateuch and Hartwig Wessely's open letter to his co-religionists which advised them to educate their children along the lines laid down in the Toleration Edict of the Emperor Joseph II of Austria in 1784, viz. in secular branches and in the German language. But anathemas cannot stay the progress of events. They are usually the last resort of the entrenched authorities who feel their power waning. An interesting side-light is thrown on the conditions at this critical juncture, when the old Judaism was struggling to retain its hold and the new had not yet made its appearance, by the document addressed by one of the foremost rabbis of the time to his congregation. I refer to the letter of farewell written by Rabbi Hirschl Levin, the aged chief rabbi of the Berlin community. He was not a fanatic. He did not join with other rabbis in their denunciation of Mendelssohn and Wessely. On the contrary he was an admirer of Mendelssohn. This rabbinical chief was greatly distressed at the disquieting conditions prevalent in Germany's chief Jewish congregation towards the close of the eighteenth century. He recognized that changes were impending, but he could not comprehend what it all meant. Judaism seemed to him to be threatened with some great danger and to be near dissolution. Because

¹ The chief writers for this magazine were Isaac Euchel who translated the Prayer Book and also the Book of Proverbs; the celebrated physician, Michael Friedländer; the ingenuous grammarian, Joel Loewe of Breslau; the philologist, Isaac Satanow of Berlin; Herz Homburg, superintendent of the Jewish schools in the Austrian empire that were founded after the formulation of the edict of the Emperor Joseph; Hartwig Wessely, and others.

of this sad situation he states that he desires to resign his office and go to Jerusalem to end his days in the Holy Land, for he cannot bear to witness any longer the decay of the religious life among his people. From such expressions the inference is drawn readily that the rabbinical interpretation of Judaism had ceased to appeal to a large section of the community. There was a conflict between the demands made by the traditional religion and the life the people were leading. Further, the larger thought, nurtured by the philosophical and literary culture of the time, could find no religious satisfaction in the observance of forms, customs, and ceremonies that had been unhesitatingly and unquestionably accepted by the fathers as constituting an essential element of the faith. No wonder that the old rabbi felt that the ground was slipping from beneath his feet. He and such as he knew but one rule for the Jew, and that was the faithful performance of every jot and tittle of religious observance as codified in the *Shulchan Arukh*. Here, however, were hundreds upon whom this obligation sat lightly, aye, who disregarded utterly many an injunction that he considered of supreme importance. But although the impending change was in the air, the eighteenth century witnessed but one practical demonstration of the working of the new spirit. This, too, not in Germany but in Holland. In 1796 a congregation was organized in Amsterdam under the name and title *Adath Jeshurun*, whose avowed purpose was to introduce some reforms, but these were so insignificant that although the formation of the congregation was the outcome of great agitation¹, the results were painfully inadequate. These results were merely the abolition of some *piutim*² or liturgical pieces wherewith the synagogal service had become overburdened, and the use of the vernacular in public addresses³.

¹ Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, IX, 120.

² Geiger, *Nachgelassene Schriften*, I, 147.

³ Jost's *Israelitische Annalen*, I, 58.

Before passing to the story of the reform movement and detailing its significance and its progress, it may be well to consider briefly the attitude in this matter of Mendelssohn, and of one other prominent figure in eighteenth-century Jewry who made a peculiar attempt towards solving the religious problem involved in the transition from the old life of the ghetto to the new life of the latter days in which he lived. Mendelssohn is frequently spoken of as the originator of the reform movement in Judaism. This rests upon a misconception. True, Mendelssohn made the reform movement possible by giving the impulse to modern education and culture among the Jews. But a religious reformer he was not¹. Quite the contrary. He conformed strictly to every requirement and demand of rabbinical Judaism. His conception of Judaism was that it is divine legislation²; that since the ceremonial law was revealed by God, it has potency and must be observed until it shall be repealed distinctly by another revelation. But Holdheim pointed out in a number of passages³ how poorly taken Mendelssohn's position was in this matter. The Pentateuch as well as the prophets teach positive religious doctrines; therefore Judaism demands belief as well as practice. As for the contention that another revelation is necessary to repeal the ceremonial laws, Holdheim gave utterance to the striking thought that the spirit of the age is also a revelation of God, and that this commanded the abolition of many observances that had religious sanction at one time; besides, many of the ceremonies considered obligatory by the rabbinical Jew are the products of the Talmudic age, were these also revealed? One cannot help but feel that Mendelssohn's position was inconsistent. He would not grant that religious beliefs and practices are subject to the same

¹ Holdheim, *Geschichte der Berliner Reformgemeinde*, 121 note.

² *Jerusalem*, 31.

³ *Autonomie der Rabbiner*, 38, 45. *Vorträge über die mosaische Religion*, 59; *Ceremonialgesetz im Messiasreich*, 58, 68.

laws of change and progress as obtain in other provinces of human thought and activity. For him Judaism was a closed chapter. The contention of reform Judaism is the very opposite. For Mendelssohn every ceremony was of eternal validity; for the Jewish reformers ceremonies were transitory expressions of the religious spirit and had to be accommodated to the changing needs of successive ages. But Mendelssohn did not live to see this thought become dominant. In his own life he succeeded in avoiding the conflict between the old Judaism and the new culture; how artificial his position was grows clear from the religious experiences of his own offspring; being children of the era of enlightenment and having received an intellectual training in accordance with the spirit of the time, they could find no satisfaction in the ceremonial observance that passed for Judaism, and all of them abandoned the ancestral faith. There were hundreds in a similar plight; the reform movement was the outcome of the clear thought that distinguished the permanent from the transitory in religion. Mendelssohn, interpreting Judaism to be a mere legislation, could not have formulated such a programme. Hence we repeat that, although his labours on behalf of the intellectual culture of the Jews were one of the moving causes that led to the agitation in Judaism known as the reform movement, he was not a religious reformer, as little as was Ezekiel Landau of Prague, one of the hyper-orthodox rabbis who pronounced the ban upon his German translation of the Pentateuch.

A peculiar attempt at the solution of the religious difficulties in Judaism at the close of the eighteenth century was made by David Friedländer, the best-known of the disciples of Mendelssohn. Friedländer was a man of broad culture and was keenly interested in the forward movements among his co-religionists. He was one of the leading spirits in the foundation of the first school that taught secular branches to Jewish children. This was the Jewish Free School of Berlin, founded in 1778. He was

also active in a literary way, and published among other things a translation of the Hebrew Prayer Book (Berlin, 1786). This translation met with opposition on the part of the rabbis of the old school similar to that aroused by Mendelssohn's Pentateuch translation. Eleazer Fleckeles of Prague denounced it vehemently in a pamphlet, *Olath Zibbur*, and declared the translation of the Hebrew prayers into German to be one of the greatest of sins. Friedländer answered him in an "Open Letter to the German Jews," in which he set forth the necessity of the people understanding the prayers, and denounced the obscurantism that finds in the mere use of the Hebrew some saving power, even though what is prayed in that language be unintelligible.

The distressing condition of affairs among the Jews of Berlin toward the close of the eighteenth century, religiously speaking, led Friedländer to take a fantastic step. As said above, rabbinical Judaism which had degenerated into a casuistical system of legalistic intricacies had lost its hold upon many; the service in the synagogue with its sale of the *mitzwoth*, its disorder, its interminable length, was undignified, and repelled rather than attracted them. Added to this was the fact that these men found the doors leading to the professions or official careers closed to them because they were Jews. All these circumstances led to an extensive abandonment of Judaism. Conversions to Christianity were numerous. This appalling state of affairs induced Friedländer to write in 1799 his notorious "Open Letter of Several Jewish Fathers to Councillor Teller" (*Send-schreiben einiger jüdischer Hausväter an den Probst Teller*). In this communication Friedländer declared himself and his sympathizers ready to accept Christianity, on the condition that they might dispense with the distinctive Christian doctrines such as the trinity, the divinity of Jesus, and the observance of the Christian festivals. He declared further that Judaism in its essentiality requires belief in but three doctrines, the unity of God, the immor-

talities of the soul, and the mission to reach out towards moral perfection. Teller's answer was discouraging as was to be expected from an orthodox Christian; for even though the writers of the letter had expressed their willingness to call themselves Christians, what they proposed was far from a declaration of Christianity; it was the play of *Hamlet* without Hamlet. From the Jewish standpoint, too, Friedländer made a serious mistake. In truth he evidenced by this open letter that he did not understand Judaism. The past development of Judaism cannot be thrown overboard lightly as he purposed to do. Judaism represents a growth, as the Jewish reformers insisted strenuously. True, their opponents declared constantly that this movement implied a complete break with the past: but the scholars and thinkers who are the founders of reform in Judaism justified their standpoint by the fact that their researches had convinced them that in Judaism there was a constant development; that the past furnished ample indications that the stream of thought was ever flowing; that forms, prayers, and ceremonies were the products of different times; "every era in the history of Judaism is of importance; the present can break with the past as little as any separate limb can dissociate itself from the body without suffering serious injury. Such a connexion with the past means not the dominance of dead custom, but the persistence of the living idea which permeates all ages with its vigour, and if it leads to different developments this does not justify a disregard of its origins. If anywhere it is in the religious province that reform alone brings blessing." Thus wrote Geiger¹, and his position was shared by all who understood the true inwardness of the reform movement². In truth, as shall be shown later on, it was the investigations of scholars

¹ "Nothwendigkeit und Mass einer Reform des jüdischen Gottesdienstes," in *Nachgelassene Schriften*, I, 205.

² *Ibid.*, 127, 187, 204. Holdheim, *Verketterung und Gewissensfreiheit*, passim. Loew, *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 271. Levin, *Reform des Judenthums*, 80.

into the past productions of the Jewish mind and spirit that laid the foundations for the true reform movement. Friedländer therefore was most superficial in his sensational letter to Teller. If, as has been stated by an apologist for Friedländer¹, this letter was a counsel of despair because of the wholesale defections from Judaism, the proposed remedy was equivalent to killing the patient. I have dwelt at some length upon this incident because it illustrates how deeply the waters of Jewish life were stirred in the years immediately preceding the birth of the reform movement; the ship of Judaism had been loosened from the old moorings and was floundering in strange waters; many had deserted the ship; far-seeing ones among the faithful discerned that the ship required a new anchor; this they found in the movement that reconciled the teachings and practices of Judaism with the culture, the needs and the spirit of the time.

Schools. Israel Jacobson.

The road to the reform movement lay really through the schools of modern tendency that began to be founded among the Jews in the closing decades of the eighteenth century². True, from time immemorial there had been provision for the education of the young. But this education had come to be restricted to purely Hebrew instruction. In Germany the Jewish schools had fallen to a sorry state. The schoolmasters were for the most part uncouth Poles, devoid of all pedagogical ability. The *cheder*, as the Jewish school was called, was synonymous with disorder; the children learned little and the influence of the instructors was not for the best. A thorough-going reform of the school system was necessary if the Jews were once again to participate in the life of the world as seemed likely from

¹ Schreiber, *Reformed Judaism and its Pioneers*, 34 (Spokane, 1892).

² Levin, *Die Reform des Judenthums*, 19. Bernfeld, *Juden und Judenthum im 19ten Jahrhundert*, 28. Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten*, 317.

the signs of the times. This was accomplished by the establishment of schools in various places where training in the Hebrew branches was supplemented by instruction in secular studies; a decree providing for the establishment of one of these schools declared that "a regular school should be founded in which the children, besides receiving instruction in the religious branches, should be taught pure morality, love for humanity, their duties as subjects, as well as writing, reckoning, language, geography, history, and natural science, in order that the rising generation may be educated to become useful citizens of the State¹." Children reared in such a school could not help but become disaffected with the views and conditions that had been accepted by their parents as a matter of course. The first of these schools in order of time was the Jewish Free School of Berlin, adverted to above as having been founded in 1778 by David Friedländer and his brother-in-law Itzig. This school was superintended for a time by that remarkable thinker, Lazarus Bendavid, a Kantian and a fine spirit. Bendavid was one of the foremost figures among the Jews of the "enlightenment" period; he had been ordered to leave Vienna by the police on the charge of being an "innovator," because in a pamphlet, "The Characteristics of the Jews," called forth by the Toleration Edict of Joseph II, he had given expression to several very liberal ideas on ceremonialism and religion: the statement which gave the greatest offence was the assertion that the faults of the Jews arose from the oppression to which they had been subjected; this was construed as an attack on Christianity. Coming to Berlin he lived the quiet life of the thinker, supported himself by grinding lenses after the manner of Spinoza, and lent what influence he possessed to the forward movement among his co-religionists. In 1791 the Wilhelmsschule was instituted in Breslau in accordance with the decree mentioned above; similar schools were founded in Dessau (Franzschule, 1800),

¹ Breslau, May 21, 1790.

in Seesen by Israel Jacobson (1801), in Frankfort-on-the-Main (the Philanthropin, 1804), in Wolfenbüttel (the Samson school, 1807), in Cassel (1809). It was through the influence exerted by the instruction given in such schools that the first reform of the ritual and the public worship became actualized; in these schools a service was instituted for the pupils in which reforms were introduced that would not have been tolerated in the synagogue; thus the children became accustomed to innovations, and when they grew to maturity often enlisted in the cause of reform¹; frequently when the reformers did not venture to introduce sermons and songs in the vernacular into the service in the synagogue, this was done in the schools, and these school services were attended by many adults who would have felt compunction in encouraging by their presence a similar service in the house of worship proper².

I have mentioned the name of Israel Jacobson in connexion with the foundation of the school at Seesen. He was the man of action who inaugurated the reform movement in Judaism. Born in Halberstadt in 1768, he married at the age of nineteen the daughter of Herz Samson, the wealthy *Hofjude* of Brunswick. Through his business connexions he travelled extensively and noted the peculiar conditions existing among the Jews. Deeply attached to his people and his faith, he could not but view with concern the indifference of the cultured Jews of the period, notably in Berlin, to their religion; the rupture between this cultured class and the mass of the people was becoming more and more pronounced; the Judaism of the synagogue had degenerated into a lifeless formalism; the forms, customs, and ceremonies had usurped the place of the essentials; the public service consisted of an endless recitation of frequently unintelligible liturgical pieces, and was marked by such noise and indecorum as consorted ill with the spirit of devotion;

¹ Jost, *op. cit.*, III, 325.

² *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, I, 240.

there was nothing to attract one to whom religion meant something more than the slavish observance of traditional forms that however religiously significant they may once have been, had lost all power to impress. He felt that there must be some middle way between the contemptuous attitude of the so-called enlightened ones towards Judaism and the official expression of the faith from which the living breath had departed, leaving only the dry bones. This middle way spelt reform; Jacobson became convinced that reforms of some kind must be inaugurated; he himself was not capable of introducing a thorough-going reform based upon an intimate acquaintance with the sources of Judaism and its development; he had neither the knowledge nor the grasp to accomplish this. He was neither a scholar nor a philosopher. He was a practical man of great intelligence and some learning who understood the needs of the people. He had the inclination and the means to toil for the improvement of his co-religionists. He proceeded cautiously and began his activity in the cause of reform by founding the school at Seesen as already mentioned. Through his generosity, his wealth, and the prominence of his family connexions he acquired an influential position. His influence grew from year to year because of his untiring activity. The French occupation of western Germany afforded him his long-desired opportunity. The kingdom of Westphalia was formed by Napoleon for the purpose of giving his brother Jerome a throne; the code of France became the law of the land; the Jews were benefited by the change; they received the full rights of citizenship, and by a decree of March 31, 1808, there was established, after the French model, a consistory with its seat in Cassel that was to direct and regulate all Jewish affairs. Jacobson was named president of the consistory. The other members of the consistory were three rabbis and two laymen. The manner in which the consistory was to proceed was a matter of great concern to Jacobson; he consulted with three of the foremost Jews

of the generation as to the best course to pursue, viz. David Friedländer of Berlin, Professor Wolfsohn of Breslau, and David Fränkel, director of the Francis School of Dessau and an editor of the newly-established magazine *Sulamith*, the first Jewish magazine edited in the German language. Friedländer was particularly insistent that the consistory should blaze a new path. But the officers of the consistory, although giving him a respectful hearing, determined not to antagonize rabbinical Judaism. Jacobson directed the activity of the consistory along the lines he had laid down at Seesen. A school was established at Cassel in which instruction was given in elementary branches. Divine service was held every Saturday in the chapel of the school; the prayers were partly in Hebrew, partly in German; a member of the consistory, frequently the president, delivered an address in the vernacular; German hymns were sung. These slight innovations were the beginning of the reform movement as a practical achievement. The rabbis who were members of the consistory took pains to show that these apparent innovations did not transgress any prescribed rabbinical enactments. The school service met with such favour that Jacobson determined upon a bolder step. He built a temple at Seesen at his own expense, placed an organ in it, and formed a choir from among the pupils of the school. This temple was dedicated with great *éclat* on July 17, 1810. The event was described as the Festival of the Jewish Reformation. Professors, Christian clergymen, and governmental officials were present. Jacobson was enthusiastically praised in more than one literary effusion inspired by the occasion. The dedication of this temple was considered the beginning of a new era for the Jewish people. From this temple a new spirit was to go forth that would revolutionize Jewry. The Jewish people would now emerge from the isolation of centuries. Many of these expressions were bombastic and extravagant. Jacobson, however, seems to have taken them quite seriously. He

really thought that the religious difficulties that were corroding the very vitals of his people were now solved. But the evil lay deeper than he had the power to fathom. The reforms with which his name is associated were purely external. He did all he could according to his light. But he did not, because he could not, penetrate to the heart of the distemper that was playing such havoc with the inherited traditions. He failed to recognize that there was an essential conflict between the viewpoint of rabbinical Judaism and that of the new era which was dawning for the Jews. His was not the philosophical insight to determine and to designate the essentials of the religion, to show how these had been overshadowed by non-essentials and to define the real significance of the ceremonial law and its proper place in the outworking of religious development; his was not the scholarly acumen to set forth clearly the theses that would prove the new movement to be a necessity if Judaism was to continue to influence as a religious force those born within the pale, and if there was not to be a complete break between religion and life. The superficial ills only were evident to him. He noted the estrangement of many from the faith. He observed also that many a custom had crept into the public service that was unaesthetic. The manner of conducting the service offended good taste. Many of the prayers were unintelligible. He thought that these things alone were the causes of the alienation of Jews, especially in the larger cities, from the synagogue. Hence his whole aim was to aestheticize the service; German sermons, German hymns, some German prayers—these he considered the means of making the religion a living entity to his generation as it had been to the fathers. But these few external reforms did not meet the case. They simply touched the rim of the problem. But with all his limitations his fame is secure as the pioneer who led the way in taking active steps towards the reform of the service.

The German sermon as a regular feature of the service

was considered a marked innovation and aroused the opposition of the rabbis of the traditional school. They were accustomed to preach but twice a year, on the Sabbath preceding Passover and on the Sabbath of the penitential season between New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement. In these sermons, or rather expositions, they explained the laws to be observed in connexion with the festivals. They spoke either in Hebrew or in the German-Jewish jargon. To preach in pure German was therefore denounced as an unjustifiable innovation, for no other reason than that it had not been done in the past. True, the dedication of the Jacobson temple was not the first occasion on which a German sermon had been preached in a synagogue, but it gave prominence to the practice and assured it an accredited place in the service as a regular feature. The earliest record we have of such a sermon is connected with the name of Moses Mendelssohn. He wrote three sermons, which were preached in the synagogue of Berlin by the chief rabbi David Hirschel Fränkel, in celebration of the victories of Frederick the Great at Rossbach and Leuthen and of the conclusion of the treaty of peace at Hubertusberg¹. These were, however, exceptional utterances. The first preacher who made a practice of delivering sermons in German was Joseph Wolf, co-editor with David Fränkel of the magazine *Sulamith*. Wolf delivered his first German sermon in Dessau in 1808. Although preaching in the vernacular was considered one of the chief reforms, still was it in reality merely a return to a practice that was quite prevalent in a much earlier day. It is true that such

¹ It is of more than passing interest that the English translation of one of these sermons was the first Jewish publication printed in Philadelphia, U. S. A.: it appeared in the year 1763 under the title "A Thanksgiving Sermon for the Important and Astonishing Victory obtained on the Fifth of December, MDCCLVII, over the united and far superior Forces of the Austrians in Silesia. Preached on Sabbath, the tenth of said month, at the Synagogue of the Jews in Berlin, by David Hirschel Fränkel, Arch-Rabbi. Translated from the German original printed at Berlin." See Publications of the Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc., I, 63.

preaching had been unknown among the Jews for some time past. But this was due to untoward circumstances. Such as did not know the development of Jewish homiletic effort imagined that there was some inherent objection to it. Here was an instance in which scholarship became the handmaid of reform. In his remarkable and epoch-making book, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden* (Berlin, 1832), Leopold Zunz proved beyond the possibility of a doubt that preaching in the vernacular had obtained among the Jews in many lands in earlier times, and that therefore the outcry against sermons in German as being in violation of Jewish tradition was due to ignorance of that tradition. Jacobson had the correct intuition that preaching in the vernacular might attract to the synagogue some who had become estranged. The rabbis of the old school were living practically in an age that was past; their generation had outgrown them; they were unable to meet the religious requirements of the people; they could not preach; what they called preaching was an explanation of rabbinic observance or a fantastic explanation of Biblical passages which in many instances they did not understand, owing to their ignorance of Hebrew grammar¹; nor could they be expected to preach in a manner edifying to men and women whose outlook upon life and whose interpretation of religion was so much broader than theirs.

As long as rabbinism was the acceptable interpretation of Judaism the spoken word was not missed by the people; the rabbis explained the laws of religious practice which were the be-all of the religious life; the rabbi was not expected to be a preacher, but an adept in casuistical interpretation, with its thousand-branched tree growing from the roots of Talmudical dialectics. But when life began to mean something more than rabbinism could explain satisfactorily, when the two civilizations came into conflict, the old represented by rabbinism and suited only to ghetto-conditions, that is, an existence self-centred

¹ Dembitz, *Services in Synagogue and Home*, 295; Philadelphia, 1898.

and isolated, and the new adopted by the people of the contemporaneous age who had emerged from the exclusion of the ghetto and were sharing in the larger life of their new possibilities, it was inevitable that the old had to give way if the children of the latter days were to be retained within the fold. Their religion would have to be expounded in an intelligible and acceptable manner; hence the necessity, among other things, of the sermon in the vernacular.

To sum up then, we may say that Jacobson's claim to the first place, in point of time, in the history of the reform movement in Judaism is based upon his effort and his success in making the service attractive to many of his contemporaries. The true significance of this earliest effort in behalf of reform lies in the attention it aroused to the possibility of giving Judaism a public expression sympathetic to the living generation. However, this first attempt at reform which is associated with the name of Jacobson must be considered merely the forerunner of the true reform movement whose chief protagonist was Abraham Geiger; this was based upon the historical and philosophical interpretation of the principles of the religion. The Jacobson movement did not spread beyond Westphalia, and even there did not continue long, for with the downfall of Napoleon the Westphalian kingdom ceased to be a French possession, and the French institutions, among them the Jewish consistory, were abolished. This, however, did not end Jacobson's activity in behalf of the reform of the ritual. We shall meet him again as a prominent figure in the early attempts at reform in the Prussian capital, whither he removed after the collapse of the consistory at Cassel.

The French Synhedrin.

We must interrupt the thread of the narrative of the development of the reform movement in Germany for a brief space, in order to cast a glance upon Jewish

conditions in the neighbouring country of France. The Jews of that land had obtained civil emancipation by the act of the Assembly of September 27, 1791. The political events in France were of so absorbing a nature during the next fifteen years that everything else sank into insignificance. There were certainly no inner agitations within the Jewish communities to compare with the stir among the Jews of Germany. The new learning which was the immediate cause of the dissatisfaction with rabbinism among the German Jews had not asserted itself among their French brethren. Although civilly emancipated and to all intents and purposes citizens of France, mediaeval conditions, religiously and intellectually speaking, continued among them. The emancipation of the Jews, too, had not been accepted with equanimity by all classes. There were constant complaints against the unfitness of the Jews for citizenship as being not only distinct in their religion but a strange people within the state¹. Notably from Alsace did these charges emanate, especial stress being laid upon the usurious practices of the Jews, and the consequent helplessness of the peasants who may have fallen into their clutches: the further charge was made that the Jews had no sense of patriotism or civic honour. Napoleon, who from the beginning of his career had been quite favourably disposed toward the Jews, had changed his attitude after the battle of Austerlitz². The affairs of the Jews were discussed at length in several meetings of the council of state in the year 1806. Napoleon, speaking through his mouthpiece Molé, was for curtailing the rights of the Jews³. This met with determined opposition on the part of several members of the council. It was thereupon determined to call a convention of Jewish notabilities, through whom the affairs of the Jews were to be regulated. In a decree issued May 30, 1806, the Emperor commanded

¹ Léon Kahn, *Les Juifs à Paris*, 86 (Paris, 1889).

² Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, XI, 268.

³ Guizot in *Revue des Deux Mondes* for July, 1867, 18-20.

the attendance at Paris in July of that year of the foremost men among the Jews ("une synagogue générale des Juifs"), who were to express the wishes of the Jews and to make such suggestions as should induce their brethren to exchange the degrading occupations that they were engaged in for honourable trades. The call aroused great enthusiasm among Jews of foreign lands¹, who knew nothing of the immediate cause of the Emperor's action or of his own feelings towards his Jewish subjects, which were anything but friendly². The assembly opened on July 26, 1806, in the Hôtel de Ville. There were 110 notables present, who had been selected by the prefects of the various departments of France, of the German provinces that had come under French rule, and of Italy which was likewise under French suzerainty. Abraham Furtado of Bordeaux was elected presiding officer. The most distinguished man of the assembly was David Sinzheim, rabbi in Strasburg³. The Emperor submitted to the second meeting on July 29 twelve questions for discussion and decision. These questions were:—

1. Are Jews permitted to marry several wives?
2. Does the Jewish law permit divorce? Is such divorce valid without the sanction of the civil court or if obtained by laws which are in opposition to the French code?
3. May a Jewess marry a Christian or a Jew a Christian woman? or does the Jewish law permit marriages between Jews only?
4. Do the Jews consider the French their brethren, or do they look upon them as aliens?
5. In either case, what duties does their law prescribe for the Jews towards Frenchmen of other faiths?
6. Do the Jews who are natives of France and are treated as French citizens by the law look upon France

¹ "Reform des Judenthums in Frankreich und Italien," *Sulamith*, II, 3 ff. (Dessau, 1807).

² Kahn, *Les Juifs à Paris*, 88.

³ *Sulamith*, I, 183.

as their fatherland? Do they consider themselves in duty bound to defend it? Are they obliged to obey the laws and to satisfy all the demands of the civil code?

7. Who appoints the rabbis?

8. What magisterial power do the rabbis exercise over the Jews and what judicial authority do they possess?

9. Does their authority rest upon written laws or upon tradition?

10. Are there trades which are forbidden the Jew by his religion?

11. Does their law forbid the Jews to exact usury from their co-religionists?

12. Does it forbid or permit them to exact usury from their non-Jewish fellow citizens?

It was notably the third question which aroused the most active and heated discussion. It was in this debate that the statement was made for the first time in a public assembly that Judaism had been distorted frequently by rabbinical enactments in the course of the centuries, and that it was necessary to return to the Bible as the source and basis of religious practice. Such an utterance indicated clearly that a new era had dawned, and that the people were growing restive under the yoke of rabbinism. The question was answered evasively to the effect that marriage between Israelites and Christians contracted according to the laws of the "Code Civil" are from a civil standpoint binding and valid, and although such marriages cannot be invested with the religious forms, they shall not entail disciplinary punishment (anathema¹). The other questions were readily and satisfactorily answered. The replies of the assembly showed clearly that the Jews were not a "nation within the nation²," that their non-participation in the past in the interests of the nation was not their own fault, but was due to the repressive legisla-

¹ Mielziner, *The Jewish Law of Marriage and Divorce*, 97 (Cincinnati, 1884).

² An expression which had been used by Napoleon himself, "*une nation dans la nation*"; see Kuhn, *op. cit.*, 88.

tion to which they had been subject, that they were distinct from their compatriots in their religion only. The answers were satisfactory to the Emperor. Desiring to give them the force of law and yet not wishing to issue a special decree for that purpose, he determined to compass this end through the agency of a Jewish legislative body to be known as the Great Synhedrin. In a letter dated August 23, 1806, he wrote to his minister De Champagne that it is his purpose "to constitute the Assembly actually gathered in Paris into a Great Synhedrin, whose acts shall be placed beside those of the Talmud as articles of faith and principles of religious legislation." This body was to consist of seventy-one members, like the great Synhedrin of old in the land of Palestine. The assembly of notables was directed to make all preparations for the session of the Synhedrin. On October 6, 1806, Napoleon issued a decree in Hebrew, French, and Italian, convening the Great Synhedrin. The sessions of the Synhedrin opened on February 9, 1807; its organization was on the lines of the ancient Synhedrin, the presiding officers being called *nassi*, *ab beth din*, and *chacham*. Its meetings continued through one month, final adjournment taking place on March 9. It accomplished little beyond placing the seal of its approval upon the answers of the assembly of notables. It was undoubtedly Napoleon's love for the sensational and the spectacular that prompted him to attempt this revival of the old Jewish legislative body on French soil. The French Synhedrin requires mention in the history of the reform movement because, even if its members did not declare in so many words the repudiation of the traditional belief in the return to Palestine and all the doctrines dependent upon this, yet their answer to the fourth and sixth questions, to the effect that they looked upon Frenchmen as their brethren and France as their native country, implied this, and the answer to the eighth question indicated that they considered rabbinical jurisdiction in civil and judicial matters a thing of the

past. Still, in spite of this approach to the spirit of the reform movement, this latter made but little headway among the French communities beyond some aesthetic improvements in the service here and there; even these external reforms were slow in being adopted, for as late as 1839 the author of the famous Tsarphati letters declared, "If reforms are not introduced the Jews will either become absolutely indifferent or enter the Christian Church¹." Rabbinical Judaism continued to be officially recognized; the reform movement did not make great progress there, and the result was much as Tsarphati predicted.

Early Reforms in Berlin. The Science of Judaism.

The famous edict of March 11, 1812, issued by the King of Prussia, Frederick William III, at the initiative of his noble and liberal-minded prime minister Hardenberg, was interpreted by the Jews of that country, and notably by those living in the city of Berlin, as the beginning of a new period of light and freedom. And in truth they were justified in entertaining this feeling. In unmistakable terms this emancipatory edict removed from the Jewish inhabitants of the Prussian state the restrictions and wrongs of centuries. It declared them to be natives, and raised them to the rank of Prussian citizenship on the condition that they took family names and employed the German or any other living language in place of the jargon in their daily lives and transactions. It gave them permission to settle anywhere in the land and to acquire real estate; it made them eligible for teachers' positions and for communal offices; all restrictive trade conditions were abolished, as well as all special taxes which they had been compelled to pay as Jews. In return they had to assume all the obligations of citizenship, such as taxes and military service. Rabbinical jurisdiction was to cease. There were

¹ Quoted in *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, III, 151, from the *Courrier de la Moselle*.

a number of inhibitory paragraphs also, but the general tendency of the edict was such as made for freedom in so marked a degree, that it is not surprising that the Jews of Berlin looked upon it almost in the light of their *magna charta*; the elders of the Jewish community, David Hirsch, Bendix, Friedländer, and Gumpertz, addressed a letter of thankful appreciation to the king¹. True, the edict did not touch the religious affairs of the Jews further than to demand that rabbinical jurisdiction cease; it left expressly for future consideration the ecclesiastical conditions and the education of the Jews, for the regulation of which "men of the Jewish faith who enjoy the public confidence because of their attainments and uprightness"² were to be drawn into consultation. Here again, as in Westphalia, we find that the acquisition of civil emancipation was the beginning of active efforts for religious emancipation. Shortly after the promulgation of this edict David Friedländer wrote a pamphlet, entitled "On the Changes in the Service in the Synagogues made necessary by the new Organization of the Jewish Schools in the Prussian States" (*Ueber die durch die neue Organisation der Judenschulen in den preussischen Staaten nothwendig gewordene Umbildung ihres Gottesdienstes in den Synagogen*. Berlin, 1812). In this pamphlet he indicated the lines along which the religious and educational affairs of the Jews ought to be directed. He dwelt particularly on the necessity of a reorganization of the schools and a reform of the service; the chief features of the latter were to be the abolition of all prayers having a national Jewish colouring and the introduction of the German as the language of the service. This publication met with decided disapproval on the part of the rabbinical Jews, who were opposed to any and every change in the ritual or the customs; the king to whom Friedländer had submitted a copy of the pamphlet was on the point of answering the author to the effect that

¹ Ludwig Geiger, *Geschichte der Juden in Berlin*, 145 (Berlin, 1871).

² Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, XI, 317.

he would give his recommendations consideration on the condition that they involved no innovations; Frederick William was essentially a reactionary; he was prevented from answering in this wise by Hardenberg, who showed him the meritorious points in Friedländer's programme. Hence the prohibition against making any reforms or innovations was not issued; still it was only delayed; after Hardenberg's death it appeared.

The first active step towards reform in Berlin was taken in 1815. In the Prussian capital, as in Westphalia, the reform movement was inaugurated by public-spirited, practical men. Here too, as there, the movement arose from the desire to make the public services decorous and intelligible. Israel Jacobson, who had removed from Cassel to Berlin, established such a service in his own home on the Feast of Weeks in the year 1815 on the occasion of the confirmation of his son; this service was accompanied by organ music, singing by a choir, a German sermon, and prayers in the vernacular¹. The room in Jacobson's house being too small to accommodate all who wished to attend, Jacob Herz Beer, a wealthy banker, father of the celebrated composer Meyerbeer, instituted a similar service in his home². The sermons were delivered by talented young men, Isaac Auerbach, Eduard Kley, Leopold Zunz, Isaac Noa Mannheimer, and Gunzberg, three of whom became commanding figures in later years, Kley as one of the founders and preachers of the reform congregation of Hamburg, whose story will be recounted shortly, Zunz as a master of Jewish scientific research and one of the greatest of scholars, and Mannheimer as the famed preacher of the Viennese congregation. The services were attended by hundreds from among the cultured classes of Berlin Jewry. The government, however, was not in favour of innovations of any kind or anywhere. Notably was the dissatisfaction of cultured Jews with their inherited

¹ *Sulamith*, II, 66.

² *Ibid.*, 68.

faith agreeable to the king, for this led frequently to an abandonment of Judaism and the adoption of Christianity. Further, the rabbis of the old school and their followers were but too ready to appeal to the government against the reformers. These latter had not formed a new organization. They simply conducted these private services, which any one was welcome to attend. But they were not left unmolested long. In 1817 the government ordered all private synagogues to be closed. This was the first definite victory of the adherents of rabbinical Judaism. The order was directed against the two private temples, Jacobson's and Beer's. This is the earliest instance of that disastrous policy of calling in the aid of the government to suppress the reformers which was the cause of so many scandals during the next three decades. When the orthodox leaders saw that the reformers were likely to succeed, or in fact had succeeded, in establishing a foothold, they preferred charges with the government against the reformers as being fomenters of disturbances by the introduction of innovations. I need refer only to the Geiger-Tiktin affair at Breslau¹, the *cause célèbre* of Löwe, the reform rabbi of Fürth in Bavaria², the attitude of Bernays, the orthodox rabbinical chief of Hamburg, towards the reform congregation of that city³, and the disgraceful proceeding of some Jews of orthodox proclivities against Leopold Löw when rabbi of Papa, in Hungary⁴. But it was not only the orthodox party that sinned in this respect; the reformers too were guilty occasionally of compassing their object by the help of the civil power; I need point only to the case of Saxe-Weimar⁵; fairness, however, demands the statement that the orthodox party was given to this course by far more than the reformers. But to return to the case

¹ Geiger, *Die letzten zwei Jahre*, Nachgelassene Schriften, I, 1-51. *Ansprache an meine Gemeinde*, *ibid.*, 52-112.

² *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, I, 457; III, 244; V, 610; VIII, 259.

³ *Ibid.*, VI, 108.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XI, 251; XIII, 89.

⁵ Vide *infra*, 618.

in hand. Beer's private temple evaded the immediate consequences of the decree of 1817 by the peculiar circumstance that, owing to the fact that repairs were being made in the chief synagogue, this private temple was used as the temporary communal house of worship. The struggle was now on between the old and the new. The service in the temple met with great favour on the part of many, notably the young. However, the orthodox party would none of it. The rabbinate of Berlin, chief of which was Meyer Simon Weyl, was unalterably opposed to any reform; he would not even sanction the appointment of German preachers (as contradistinguished from the rabbis), whose sole duty was to be the preaching of sermons, while the rabbis were to continue to perform the same functions and wield the same authority as of old. A commission was appointed by the Minister of Religions to suggest a possible solution of the difficulty. A number of compromises were suggested, such as to make the synagogue which was now undergoing repair large enough to accommodate all the Jews of all tendencies of religious thought; and thus to have practically two synagogues under one roof, one orthodox and the other reform; another suggestion was to have two services on Sabbath and holidays; first a service along traditional lines, and after that another service with German prayers and a German sermon. This latter suggestion met with the approval of the Minister of Religions. The orthodox party, sure of the sympathy of the king, appealed to him; they found a ready hearing, and the monarch issued a decree (*Cabinetsordre*) on Dec. 9, 1823, commanding "that the divine services of the Jews must be conducted in accordance with the traditional ritual and without the slightest innovation in language, ceremonies, prayers, or songs¹." A decided reaction had set in in all respects. The high hopes that had been aroused by the edict of 1812 in Prussia and by similar

¹ *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, VI, 393. Geiger, *Geschichte der Juden in Berlin*, 234.

emancipatory decrees in other German states had been shattered by the events that had taken place after the downfall of Napoleon and the Congress of Vienna. In several parts of Germany the Jews had been subjected to outrages reminiscent of mediaeval days; the *hep hep* cry resounded in the streets of cities like Frankfort and Würzburg. This reactionary spirit made itself felt also in the movement for religious reform. The year 1823 is marked by a number of restrictive edicts besides the one just mentioned; a rescript of March 11 of that year declared that "the Jewish religion was only tolerated, and that its confessors have no ecclesiastical officials," and similarly the general legislation for Prussia promulgated for that same year stated that "Jewish rabbis are not instructors of youth, and cannot be looked upon as religious teachers in the same sense as Christian clergymen, because they have no ecclesiastical standing such as the Christian clergy have." All this meant the absolute triumph of the orthodox party; the private temples were closed; every innovation in the service was forbidden; efforts in the cause of reform in the chief city of Prussia were intermitted for a number of years. The orthodox element was too short-sighted to see that they were playing directly into the hands of the orthodox Christian king; he had forbidden innovations in the Jewish service on the ground that with the rise of Christianity Judaism had ceased to be a living religion, that it had persisted through the centuries as a dead stock and only as such must it continue; that to introduce reforms and innovations would be equivalent to proving that there was still some life in the religion. The victory of the orthodox party was costly indeed; it was during the years immediately succeeding that the conversions of Jews to Christianity took place in great numbers; this would certainly have been prevented largely had the reform movement not been stifled in the bud. The cultured Jew found the synagogue unattractive and its services unsympathetic; rabbinism belonged to a past

age; he became lost to Judaism altogether either by absolute indifference or by going over to Christianity.

This condition of affairs was made possible further by the fact that the Jews had little or no knowledge of their own past and of the lofty achievements of the Jewish spirit in the ages agone. For the great mass of even the so-called cultured Jews Judaism spelt merely a barren legalism; it was simply the repository of some worn-out customs that were no longer harmonious with the new spirit that had breathed upon the world; even the reformers had been impelled to their acts not by the thought of Jewish development, but by the artificial motive of making the external expression of the faith respond to an aesthetic longing. That Judaism had an intellectual development, that its past presented a tale of worthy religious effort, that it had its own inner life deserving of respectful consideration—these were facts unknown not only to the government (which, upon the information furnished by a Jewish Philistine, had branded the rabbis contemptuously as “Kauscherwächter,” as though the inspection of meats were all of Judaism, and it was therefore unworthy of a place among the religions recognized by the state), not only to the Christian populace that viewed the Jews and Judaism only through the glass of prejudice, but also to the great body of the Jews themselves. The governmental interference with internal Jewish affairs for the stifling of the reform movement and the reactionary events of 1817 and the following years but accentuated this. Then it was that a number of young men conceived the correct idea that salvation could come only from within, that the Jews and the non-Jews must be made acquainted with what Judaism, its history and its literature, really were, that only by research into the past and thus making the science of Judaism (*die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*) the basis of reform would the new movement have stability. These young men, some fifty in number, under the guidance of Leopold Zunz, Moses Moser, and Eduard Ganz, founded in 1819 in Berlin “The

Society for the Advancement of the Science of Judaism" (*Verein für Cultur und die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*¹). Although this Society was able to carry out but a fraction of its ambitious programme, which included the foundation of a Jewish institute of learning, the building up of a great Jewish library, the establishment of a magazine embodying the results of the research into Jewish history and literature²; although, further, the high hopes of the founders ended in disappointment and temporary despair with the dissolution of the Society in 1824, yet had they struck the true note, and its watchword, "The Science of Judaism," was to become the motto of the second movement for reform in Judaism in Germany under the leadership of Geiger, Holdheim, Einhorn, Philippson, Stein, Hirsch, and the other scholarly guides among the second generation of reformers. Zunz, who had begun life as a preacher in the private reform temple of Jacob Herz Beer, applied all his great powers to the field of research after this temple had been closed by the government³. His first great literary work was really the outcome of this incident; it will be remembered that the reason given for this action was that Judaism, being only a lifeless survival since the time of its fruition into Christianity, it could put forth no such new shoots as preaching and prayers in the vernacular or any other innovations that involved a departure from traditional custom and usage⁴. Zunz undertook the task of proving

¹ Because of the special meaning which the term "science" has assumed in English it is difficult to render exactly the German phrase "*Wissenschaft des Judenthums*"; if the word "science" be understood in its original and larger meaning of knowledge and not in the more restricted significance of physical science, the phrase "Science of Judaism" may stand as the equivalent of the German.

² But one volume of this magazine appeared with the title *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums* (Berlin, 1823).

³ He had won his spurs before this as an original investigator by his study on the great Jewish commentator Raschi, which had appeared in the magazine mentioned in the previous note; his first publication was an essay on rabbinical literature (Berlin, 1818).

⁴ *Supra*, 20.

the falsity of this position; the theses he set out to establish were that homiletic exercises, such as interpretation of Scripture and preaching in the vernacular, had been customary among the Jews in many localities at different times, that the literary spirit had been constantly active, and that Judaism, far from being a lifeless survival, had put forth new shoots in age upon age, and hence inferentially there was no reason why it should not do so now¹; this work, which was epoch-making in the history of Jewish literature, was entitled *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, and appeared in the year 1832. In this book Zunz proved that no one has the right "to prohibit the introduction of new prayers; from the time of the Great Synod to the present day the Jewish liturgy has been constantly enriched by Soferim, synhedral authorities, teachers of the Mishnah, Emoras, Gaonim, Paitanim, and rabbis, by poets, cantors, congregational leaders, cabbalists². . . . Prayer in the vernacular was permitted by all authorities, yea, even commanded in certain instances³. . . . The most important part of these improvements in the service consists in the return from abuse to normality, from the dead to the living form. Hence resistance to reforms in this field is to be looked for from prejudice and ignorance rather than from true insight⁴." The conclusion at which he arrives as the result of his researches is that reform is the mission of the present generation, whose work it must be to discover the real needs of the present and assert their dominance in the political situation of the Jews, in the field of learning and in the religious province, and, further, to embody these progressive ideas in institutions⁵. The closing paragraph of this book discloses its purpose most clearly, and may be quoted as a classical expression of the hopes and expectations of the early reformers; "the closest attention in the movement for improvements in the service of the synagogue

¹ Ritter, *Samuel Holdheim*, 82 (Berlin, 1865).

Vorträge, 477.

² *Ibid.*, 478.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 479.

³ *Gottesdienstliche*

Vorträge, 475.

should be given to the removal of faults and abuses, and to the reintroduction of regular sermons. Let the speaker be called what he will, preacher or rabbi, teacher or orator, so long as he understands how to expound the word of God from the Bible and the Hagadah, to extract the pure gold from old and new fields, to teach the present generation its true work and to reach all hearts by skilful speech. Then the divine spirit will return to thy temples, O daughter of Zion, and will become manifest in deeds flowing from words of enthusiasm. The rekindled spark will never be quenched again; persecutions will only cause it to flame the more brightly, for reform and the triumph of speech propounding reform are irrevocable as are the victories of freedom and civilization, the civil emancipation of the Jews and their scientific culture¹." Zunz performed a great service for the reform cause by this book; he gave the movement a scientific basis, and pointed the way for future workers². Although modern Jewish research had produced some results before the appearance of this book³, yet will it be considered always the first great achievement of the Jewish literary renaissance of the nineteenth century. Clearly as the book proved the fact of a constant development in Judaism, yet were its effects further reaching than the triumphant establishment of its thesis that this inner development in Judaism demanded and justified sermons in the vernacular, necessary changes in the liturgy, and corresponding reforms. The scientific spirit was revived, and through the influence and devotion of Zunz and such other kindred spirits as Rappoport, Luzzato, Geiger, Krochmal, Reggio, and many others, Judaism celebrated a literary rebirth; these investigators into the products of the Jewish spirit achieved the purpose

¹ *Ibid.*, 481.

² Ritter, *op. cit.*, 81.

³ Rappoport's biographies of Saadia, Chananel, Nathan Hababli, Elazar Kalir, Nissim, and Hai Gaon had appeared in the periodical *Bikkurei Haithim* in 1828-1831, and Luzzato's treatise on the Aramaic translation of the Bible in 1830.

set forth in the programme of the "Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft des Judenthums," viz. "to bring the Jews into harmony with the age and the countries in which they live by means of a development proceeding from within¹."

The Hamburg Temple.

The earliest attempt at reform in Berlin ended, as we have seen, in failure. The orthodox party had succeeded in suppressing completely the efforts of the "innovators" with the aid of the government. It was a Pyrrhic victory, however. As a result, Judaism suffered great defections from its ranks. Reform was an absolute need, but the rabbis of the traditional school were blind to the signs of the times. Their signal defeat seemed to lame the energies of the progressists, and it was years before another active effort was made in the Prussian capital to organize a second movement along similar lines. But the ideas that swayed the Berlin reformers were not confined to any one place. They were in the air as it were; the need was being felt generally for an intelligent expression of the underlying principles of the faith in accordance with the culture of the time. Thus, for example, although preaching in German had been forbidden in Berlin, it continued at Dessau²; and it was not long ere the practice became quite general in Southern Germany; as early as 1814 the confirmation³ had been introduced by the Jewish congregations of Denmark at the command of the government; in Austria the candidates for the rabbinical office were required to have a university education by a decree issued in the year 1820, and besides the use of the vernacular was commanded; sporadic though these phenomena were, yet were they all indicative of the general unrest that was

¹ Geiger, *Geschichte der Juden in Berlin*, 251.

² *Supra*, 67.

³ For an account of the introduction of the ceremony of confirmation into Judaism see the author's *Confirmation in the Synagogue*, Year Book of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, No. I.

agitating Jewry and the desire for liturgical reforms of some kind.

Of all the early attempts that of the so-called Hamburg Temple congregation aroused the most wide-spread attention; several of the most important contests between the old and the new school were waged about this as the storm centre. In 1817 Eduard Kley, who had been one of the preachers of the private reform temple of Jacob Herz Beer in Berlin, had removed from that city to Hamburg to accept the post of director of the Jewish free school in the Hanseatic city. He began to agitate for a reformed service almost immediately, and finding a number of sympathizers, he organized together with these a reform society; they at once took active steps for the erection of a house of worship, and on October 18, 1818, dedicated the building that became famous as the Hamburg Temple. The bitterest opposition was engendered. The three rabbis of Hamburg set all things in motion to suppress the new movement. The Hamburg reform movement is of especial importance, because it was the occasion of the first definite official clash between the two tendencies in Judaism. The issue was not as clear-cut as it might have been because the reformers hedged considerably; although ostensibly a protest against rabbinism, yet when the test came they sought to justify their reforms from the rabbinical standpoint instead of standing fully and uncompromisingly upon the right of instituting such changes of custom and interpretation as the modified requirements of their day demanded. The Talmud was the norm of authority for rabbinism; for centuries Judaism had been held to be synonymous with Talmudism; it excites little wonder therefore that the early reformers sought to find Talmudical support for their innovations; it was an artificial attempt; the spirit of the new time was opposed to the spirit of rabbinism, and the religious view-point of the Jew, the emancipated citizen of the state, was altogether different from that of his forefather, the

excluded pariah of the ghetto. Like all compromises, this too was unsatisfactory, but it was not recognized to be so till a later day. The introduction of the first reforms really sounded the death-knell of the authority of the Talmud as the absolute rule for Jewish practice; years before the reform movement took shape life had decided the question; to all intents and purposes the Talmud, or rather its codification, the *Shulchan Arukh*, had lost its hold as the rule of practice for many Jews; officially, it is true, it was still recognized, and the struggle promised to be long and bitter ere its authority would be definitely renounced by any representative body¹. From our present point of vantage we see that the issue between the party of tradition and the party of reform was clear and decided; they represented two incompatible tendencies; the former held that every jot and tittle of past custom and practice had eternal validity and could not be changed; the latter declared that the dead hand of the past must not be permitted to rest upon the present, and that, unless the expression of the religion conformed with the requirements of living men, these would drift away from its influence altogether. The one party defended the principle of stability and immutableness in religious practice, the other that of progress and change. But in the formative years this difference was not consistently adhered to. As just said, the reformers attempted to base the validity of their reforms on the authority of the Talmud, thus showing that they themselves were not thoroughly cognizant of the real significance of the movement they were sponsoring. They were really struggling in the dark. There was no definite programme founded upon clearly enunciated principles. Reform in its first stadium then was an inadequate though honest effort to meet the almost revolutionary

¹ This was done by the Central Conference of American Rabbis at the Rochester meeting in July, 1895; see *Yearbook of Central Conference*, No. 6, p. 63; also the author's "Progress of the Jewish Reform Movement in the United States," *J. Q. R.*, X, 87.

change that had taken place in Jewry consequent upon the civil, social, and intellectual emancipation that had thrown them from the isolation of the ghetto into the companionship of the world. The truth must be confessed that the men who fathered the reform movement were not equal to the task. They had not the philosophical breadth to comprehend the real significance of the conditions they were attempting to meet. This grows very apparent from the Hamburg movement. There is no thoroughgoing definiteness¹. The three distinctive features that marked the Temple as a departure from traditional lines were for the most part opportunistic. These three features were—some changes in the liturgy, notably in the prayers for the coming of the personal Messiah; the introduction of German prayers; and the use of the organ. Here again we note the same fact as we did in connexion with the initial steps towards reform taken by Jacobson at Seesen. The aestheticization of the service was the seeming be-all and end-all of the work of the reformers. True, the partial omission and partial modification of the traditional prayers for the coming of the personal Messiah are an indication that there was some consciousness of the deeper significance of the changed phase whereon Judaism had entered. But even here there was not entire consistency. Some prayers for the restoration of Zion and the coming of a deliverer in the person of a Messiah were retained. In his masterly critique of the inconsistencies in the Hamburg Temple Prayer-book Geiger says that the position taken on this point “looks entirely too much like a compromise; there is apparent the desire not to surrender the old view, but to evade its injurious effects²”; and with deep insight he sums up in a sentence the merits and the defects of this first reform Prayer-book when he declares that the principle which guided those who arranged and edited this new order of prayers was “to re-establish the external

¹ Jost, *Outlinegeschichte zur neueren Geschichte d. Israeliten*, III, 23.

² *Nachgelassene Schriften*, I, 16a.

conditions of devotion without clashing too much with the current views on prayer, and to remove such passages as were in conflict with the civil position of the Jews"; there was but little attempt at a thorough reform of the service by which alone the demands of the devout disposition could be satisfied¹. The time was out of joint as far as the religious situation among the Jews was concerned, and commendable as were the unselfish efforts of Kley and his associates, L. J. Riesser, M. J. Bresselau, S. J. Fränkel, and others, still did they have no full grasp of the principles involved². Yet have the formation of this Hamburg reform congregation and the dedication of its first temple become historic in Jewish annals because of the consequences. The three rabbis of Hamburg, Baruch ben Meir Osers, Moses Jacob Jafe, and Jechiel Michael Speier, issued a proclamation denouncing the heresies of the new movement. Feeling ran very high. L. J. Riesser, the son-in-law of Raphael Kohn, rabbi of Altona, and father of the great advocate, the central figure in the stirring history of Jewish emancipation in Germany, Gabriel Riesser, issued an address to his co-religionists in Hamburg, counselling peace and calling attention to the fact that the need for reforms was undeniable³. His words fell upon deaf ears. The orthodox party now took the reprehensible step of attempting to induce the Senate of Hamburg to close the new house of worship. This caused the reformers to bestir themselves; the officers of the new congregation requested rabbinical authorities for an expression of opinion on the validity of the reforms they had introduced. This resulted in the publication of a volume⁴ containing a number of opinions favourable to the new departure. The most noteworthy deliverance in this controversy is that of Aaron Chorin⁵, rabbi of Arad in Moravia,

¹ *Nachgelassene Schriften*, I, 148.

² Jost, op. cit., 23.

³ *Adresse an meine Glaubensgenossen in Hamburg, Altona*, 1818.

⁴ *Nogah Zedek*, with an appendix *Or Nogah*, Dessau, 1818.

⁵ *Aaron Chorin, Eine biographische Skizze von Leopold Löw, Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 251-420. Szegedin, 1890.

one of the most interesting figures of the early years of the reform movement. Chorin defends all the reforms introduced at Hamburg by citations from rabbinical authorities; he recommends these reforms as necessary, and condemns without stint the abuses which the reformers had taken steps to remove; he speaks a word of encouragement to the members of the new congregation, and urges them to continue in the work upon which they had entered¹. The rabbis of Hamburg also appealed to their colleagues for support in the stand they had taken; they received twenty-two responses². These all seconded the

¹ The last public utterance of Aaron Chorin was a communication addressed to a conference of Hungarian rabbis at Bacs in 1844. He died on August 24 of that year; on August 13 he wrote the communication in question; I quote a portion of it because it expresses so well the ideals that led this early reformer up and on. He had passed through struggles and persecutions because of his convictions, but at the very close of his life, after he had reached his seventy-eighth year, we find him as undimmed as ever in the cause to which he had devoted himself. We may consider this final communication as his rabbinical will and testament; he wrote thus: "The permanent elements of religion must be expressed in terms that appeal to the people and are consonant with the needs of life. If our religion and life appear to conflict with one another this is due either to the defacement of the sanctuary by foreign additions or to the license of the sinning will which desires to make its unbridled greed and its false tendency authoritative guides for life. If we will show ourselves as ready to strip off these unessential additions which often forced themselves upon our noble faith as the spawn of obscure and dark ages, as we are determined to sacrifice our very lives for the upholding of the essential, we will be able to resist successfully with the help of God all wanton, thoughtless and presumptuous attacks which licence or ignorance may direct against our sacred cause; the seeming conflict will then disappear of itself and we will have accomplished something lasting for God. I need not tell you that of all the external institutions the public service demands our immediate and undivided attention. He who is faithful to his God, and is earnestly concerned for the welfare of his religion, must exert himself to rescue our service from the ruin into which it has fallen and to give it once again that inspiring form which is worthy of a pious and devout worship of the one true God. For it is not only the excrescences of dark ages which cover it with disgrace, but thoughtlessness, lack of taste, absence of devotion, and caprice have disfigured its noble outlines." *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, VIII, 551.

² *Ets dibre habb'ri'ith*. Altona, 1819.

position taken by the rabbis of Hamburg, and denounced violently the reforms without, however, giving any satisfactory reasons for their opposition. They simply condemned *ex cathedra*. Some of these expressions are characteristic and well worth citing, as indicative of the feelings entertained generally by the opponents of reforms in Judaism. Rabbi Moses Sofer¹, the celebrated chief of the Jewish community of Pressburg, Hungary, calls the reformers "infidels," "foxes which destroy the vineyards." He objects to the placing of an organ in the synagogue or the use of any musical instrument in the service on the ground that the Jews are in exile and mourning because of the destruction of Jerusalem, and therefore all music as expressive of joy and pleasure must be excluded from the service. The Prague rabbinate declared that the Hamburg reformers were "neither Jews nor Christians, but people without faith"; that "their prayers were sinful and their only purpose in introducing reforms was to curry favour with the Christians." These condemnatory responses had no practical result. The orthodox party did not succeed in having the temple closed by the government as they had hoped to be able to do. The reform congregation continued to flourish. Shortly after the dedication in October, 1818,

¹ Moses Sofer was one of the luminaries of rabbinical Judaism. His fanaticism against the reform movement was intense. He was the very antipode to Aaron Chorin, and since his final utterance also contains some expressions concerning reform, I quote it as representing the other side. In his will he gives his children parting advice and instruction in these terms: "Avoid the pernicious company of these evil-doers, the innovators who have removed themselves far from God and his law! Live not in their vicinity, and have no association of any kind with them. Touch not the books of Moses of Dessau (Moses Mendelssohn); then will your foot never slip! . . . Your daughters may read German books, but only such as are written in our spirit, in harmony with the explanations of our teachers of blessed memory. . . . Never say 'The times have changed.' We have an old Father, blessed be his name! who has never changed, who will never change." Apart from the polemical expressions against reform the document is permeated with a fine spirit and teaches the loftiest lessons. Published in *Jost's Israelitische Annalen*, I (1839), 354; see also Abrahams, *J. Q. R.*, III, 475.

Gotthold Salomon was called from Dessau to fill the post of preacher in connexion with Eduard Kley. Still, in spite of the fame of its preachers and their splendid activity, the practical activity of the congregation remained local, except for one achievement, viz. the establishment of a branch reform synagogue at Leipzig during the great yearly fairs or "Messen." Merchants from all over Europe gathered at Leipzig during these fairs, and the institution of a reform service in the year 1820 was missionary work in the highest sense for the new cause. The ideas expressed in the sermons preached here were taken home by the hundreds of strangers who heard them, and became frequently the incentives towards work along the lines of reform in their home communities¹. J. L. Auerbach of Berlin was the preacher of this cosmopolitan congregation. The congregations at Hamburg and Leipzig were the salvage rescued from the wreck of the ship of reform on the shoals of reaction. These two congregations, and notably that of Hamburg, existed on as the visible symbol of reform. The mere fact of this continuance was a great service to the cause. During the years intervening between the triumph of the orthodox party in Berlin in 1823 and the beginning of Geiger's activity in 1835 the Hamburg Temple was the one congregation in Germany that represented the reform principle, in spite of the inconsistencies whereof it was guilty in its attempts at compromise. "Is the rabbi consistent who germanizes and de-orientalizes his sermons and his theological disquisitions so far as language, form, and style are concerned, and at the same time worships with covered head and has his children do likewise? is he consistent if he recites the prayer *hanoten t'shua* composed for some Asiatic despot or Italian condottiere, and immediately thereafter speaks of civic conditions in the light and spirit of our century? is he consistent when he strains every nerve to have order and decorum in the

¹ *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie*, herausgegeben von Abraham Geiger, I, 464; II, 493.

synagogue on the ninth of Ab and then permits torn clothes and unshaven faces on occasions of private mourning? is he consistent when he preaches conciliation and tolerance towards all and then does not dare abolish the prayer *welamalshinim* ¹?" These words, which a critic of the Hamburg Temple wrote in denunciation of the inconsistencies in its ritual and its service, showing that it had not gone the whole length of reform by any manner of means, may not obscure the great service performed by this congregation during the years mentioned; for "it cannot be gainsaid that it contributed greatly by its mere existence to the rejuvenation of the service in places far and near, and exerted a great influence upon the renewed discussion and treatment of this question ²." Before proceeding to the account of this period of "renewed discussion and treatment," the time of the second generation of reformers, it is necessary, in order to complete the picture we are attempting to present, to mention a number of salient matters that distinguished the agitation for reform in other parts of Germany during these formative years. An edict regulating the affairs of the Jews in the Duchy of Saxe-Weimar was promulgated by the Grand Duke Carl Friedrich on June 10, 1823. It consisted of thirty-four paragraphs, whereof the following are concerned with the subject in hand; the whole service was to be in German, with the exception of the readings from the Torah and the Haftarah, which were to be in Hebrew, to be accompanied, however, by a translation into the vernacular; the benediction preceding the reading from the Torah, the benediction accompanying the blowing of the Shofar, and the priestly benediction were to be recited in Hebrew. A number of the paragraphs of the edict aimed at overcoming the disorder in the house of worship; thus the "Haman beating" on Purim as well as the beating of the breast during the confession of sins on the Day of Atonement was forbidden, likewise the selling

¹ *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, II., 210.

² Geiger, *Nachgelassene Schriften*, I, 176.

of "mitzwoth"; the frequent opening and closing of the ark on New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement were to cease; the prayers *adonai elohe yisroel*, *shomre yisroel*, and *kol nidre* were abolished; the Kaddish prayer was to be spoken by the reader in German and repeated quietly by the mourners¹. The district rabbi of Saxe-Weimar was Dr. Mendel Hess, one of the most ardent, I had almost said, most fanatic of the early reformers; it was undoubtedly due to him that these drastic provisions were included in this "Judenordnung"; all opposition to this decree was crushed by governmental aid; but the resentment aroused by the attempt to enforce its enactment was so great among the Jewish congregations that it was not carried into effect till 1837². Hess was guilty of the same unpardonable offence as the orthodox party in Berlin, viz. the invoking of the police power of the government in private religious concerns; he made the same mistake as did so many reformers of this first generation; instead of educating the people up to their ideas and founding reform upon a philosophical basis, they aimed merely to establish certain improvements in the service; reform in this light dealt merely with externals, while in reality it was a new interpretation of ceremonial Judaism.

In 1833 Joseph Abraham Friedländer, the chief rabbi of the Duchy of Westphalia and the barony of Wittgenstein, introduced into the synagogue a number of reforms. The orthodox party preferred charges against him to the government on the ground that he had violated the traditional ritual; the accusation contained seventeen counts; I reproduce them because they give an excellent idea of the status of affairs in those days when such insignificant reforms as these were considered so great breaches in the wall of tradition. The offences of Friedländer as enumerated by his accusers were these: the singing of the introductory Sabbath hymn, *l'kho dodi*, by

¹ *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, I, 101, 110.

² *Ibid.*, I, 25.

the choir; the responsive reading of the introductory Sabbath psalm, *mizmor shir l'yom hashabboth*¹; the singing of *sh'ma yisroel* by the choir; the abolition of the section *bameh madlikin*² and *ezehu m'koman*³; the placing of a pulpit in the synagogue; the responsive reading of the *p'suke d'zimrah*⁴; the singing of German hymns before and after the sermon; the abolition of the *n'ginah*⁵; the reading of the *haftarah* by the cantor instead of by some member of the congregation; the responsive reading of the *ub'nuchoh yomar*⁶ and of the *Hallel*⁷; the choral-like singing of the *yigdal*⁸; the prohibition to remove the shoes and sit on the floor on *tish'a b'ab*⁹; the confirmation service. The government declined to entertain the charges on the ground that such points of internal administration were without its province and belonged to the jurisdiction of the congregation. The reforms continued to be observed.

This Abraham Joseph Friedländer is an interesting figure; he was one of the few older rabbis who espoused the reform cause, the reason for which action he gave in these words in 1842 when he was eighty-six years old: "Thought cannot be checked. It progresses. Those who advocate the principle of progress in all other directions cannot

¹ Psalm xcii.

² A Mishnaic section (Mish. Sabb. II) on the Sabbath lights, which had been incorporated in the liturgy.

³ A similar section on the sacrifices (Mish. Zeb., V).

⁴ Psalms included in the service.

⁵ The peculiar chant in which the cantor read the Pentateuchal section.

⁶ The verse taken from Numbers x. 36 and spoken at the "Einheben," the return of the scroll to the ark.

⁷ The psalms of praise (cxiii-cxviii) read as an additional portion of the service on New Moon, the three high feasts, and the Feast of Dedication.

⁸ A poetical rendition of the thirteen articles of faith formulated in the Maimonidean creed and used as a hymn at the close of the service.

⁹ The ninth day of Ab, the anniversary of the Destruction of Jerusalem, observed as a day of fasting and mourning.

possibly expect that in religious matters alone antiquated notions should rule. If we refuse to reform our faith in accordance with the culture of the time we will force an ever greater number of the present generation, yes, I may say, the majority of them, either to become hypocrites or to find their faith uncongenial¹."

During these years of the interregnum, if I may so term it, between the activity of the first and second generation of reformers, i. e. between the collapse of the first reform movement in Berlin and the appearance on the scene of Geiger and his contemporaries, a period of some twelve years, although there was no agitation on a large scale and apathy seemed to have succeeded the strenuous labours of the earliest reformers, still was this only as a calm preceding the great struggles of the fifth decade of the nineteenth century that culminated in the rabbinical conferences of Brunswick, Frankfort, and Breslau in 1844, 1845, and 1846 and the formation of the Berlin reform congregation in 1845. True, various reforms had been introduced in a number of congregations in Germany, Austria, and France; but in most places the party of tradition held the official reins and the cleft between life and Judaism was growing wider and wider. "The number of those who withdraw themselves completely from all participation in the religious services grows considerably from year to year, not because they do not experience the need of true religious edification, but because the services in the synagogue, as conducted at present, are not such as to meet this need." Thus wrote an intelligent observer in Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1837². This expressed the state of affairs throughout Germany, notably in the larger centres of population.

However, it was not alone the dissatisfaction with the service in the synagogue that gave evidence of the religious

¹ *Rabbinische Gutachten über die Verträglichkeit der freien Forschung mit dem Rabbineramt*, 14 (Breslau, 1842).

² *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, II, 4.

unrest among the Jews, but the entire attitude towards the state, towards life, towards the future was different from what it had been in the days when the *Shulchan Arukh* was the *vade mecum* of the Jew. An indication of the usual condition of Jewish religious affairs at this time is presented in a document of the year 1835, an edict of the Bavarian government calling for assemblies of Jewish representatives, rabbis, teachers, and laymen in the various districts of the land to deliberate and arrive at decisions upon doctrinal, educational, and administrative matters; one of the reasons mentioned for issuing the edict is that there is no unanimity nor certainty among Jewish congregations as to what are the articles of faith; "there are differences as to the number and content of the fundamental principles; these differences exert a marked influence on the question of the civil position of the Jews¹." This points undoubtedly to the difference in the attitude of the parties of tradition and reform on the question of the return to Palestine, since this involved the fundamental consideration as to whether the Jews still looked upon themselves as a nation or merely as a religious community whose members had no national hopes and aspirations other than those of their fellow citizens of other faiths. Such and similar basic differences were involved in the changed interpretation that the reform movement was the expression of. The spirit of change was at work in many quarters, and I can close this study of the beginnings of the reform movement in Judaism no more effectively than by quoting an outburst occasioned by the dedication of a new temple in the city of Prague; this temple was dedicated on April 3, 1837, with choir, organ, German sermon and the abolition of the *piutim*; the *beth din*, consisting of the rabbis of the city, was present at the dedication; the editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, the leading, in fact the only, Jewish newspaper of the time, was

¹ Geiger's *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, II, 435.

moved to supplement the report of this event with these words: "Oh, the change! In the year 1819 the rabbinate of Prague anathematized every such innovation in the well-known book *Ele dibre habb'rith*¹: thus mightily works the spirit of the age²."

DAVID PHILIPSON.

CINCINNATI, U.S.A., *June*, 1902.

¹ *Supra*, 513.

² Vol. I, 44.

ZUR GESCHICHTE DER ZAHL π .

SCHON im Jahre 1875 hat Prof. Cantor gelegentlich der Recension eines Aufsatzes von Oppert ("L'étalon des mesures assyriennes") in der *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik* (XX. Jahrg., historisch-litterarische Abteil., S. 163 ff.) die Meinung ausgesprochen, dass der Wert $\pi = 3$ aus altbabylonischer Messkunde in die Bibel herübergenommen sei, von wo er weiter in Mischna und Talmud übergegangen ist. Als Beleg dient ihm die das sogenannte eherne Meer des salomonischen Tempels betreffende Angabe im ersten Buche der Könige, vii. 23, die in der Übersetzung von Luther folgendermassen lautet: "Und er machte ein Meer, gegossen, zehn Ellen weit von einem Rande zum andern, rund umher, und fünf Ellen hoch, und eine Schnur dreissig Ellen lang war das Meer ringsum." Auch in seinen Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik vertritt Cantor diese Ansicht; während er aber in der erwähnten Recension die Bibelstelle richtig dahin versteht, dass der Umfang des Meeres mit Hilfe einer Schnur *wirklich gemessen* worden ist, geht er in der ersten Auflage seiner Vorlesungen nicht näher auf diesen Punkt ein, bemerkt aber in der zweiten Auflage (Seite 101): "Der Umfang von 30 Ellen ist wirklich aus 3·10 *berechnet* und *nicht etwa infolge ungenauer Messung* gefunden worden, denn sonst hätte die Schnur ja 31½ Ellen, oder wenn 10 Ellen nur der innere Durchmesser war, gar 32 und mehr Ellen sein müssen." Gegen diese Ansicht und ihre Begründung erheben sich aber bei einer genaueren Würdigung der betreffenden Bibelstelle so gewichtige Bedenken, dass es angebracht erscheint, diese historische Bemerkung ein wenig kritisch zu beleuchten.

Die hier zitierte Bibelstelle ist nämlich von Luther in ihrem entscheidenden Teile ganz ungenau übersetzt, und Cantor, der dieser Übersetzung folgt, ist durch sie zu seinen Folgerungen verleitet worden. Kautsch dagegen übersetzt richtig: וְהָיָה שֵׁלִישׁ בְּאַמָּה יָסַב "und eine Schnur von 30 Ellen umspannte dasselbe ringsum." Es wird hier also die Thatsache berichtet, dass die 30 Ellen lange Schnur das Meer wirklich ringsum umspannte, mithin hat auch eine thatsächliche Messung stattgefunden; wie will also Cantor auf eine Berechnung schliessen, für die unser Text eine

Grundlage schlechterdings nicht bietet? Freilich erhebt sich sofort die Schwierigkeit, dass bei einem runden Gefässe vom Durchmesser 10 der Umfang, auch innen gemessen, 31·41, aussen gemessen aber noch mehr betragen müsste. Ein moderner Bibelübersetzer (Klostermann in Kiel) durchhaut diesen gordischen Knoten, indem er mit bewundernswerter Willkür den Text seinem Geschmacke gemäss ändert, so dass statt der 30 Ellen Umfang "30 Hähne an dem Meere ringsum" erscheinen, "20 waren unterhalb seines Randes ringsum und speisten es, und am Boden des Meeres 10, welche das Meer ausliessen, zwei Reihen bildeten die Hähne und *gossen nach ihrem Gusse*" (!). Ohne uns mit diesen Phantastereien länger aufzuhalten, kehren wir zu unserem Texte zurück. Bedenken wir, dass Verfasser dieses Theiles der Bibel der bekannte Prophet Jeremias war (Bleek, *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, Berlin, 1893, S. 201, vermutet als Verfasser den Freund und Jünger dieses Propheten namens Baruch), so muss es um so befremdlicher erscheinen, dass er von einer thatsächlichen Messung so ungenau, ja geradezu falsch berichtet. Schon der Talmud, der die uns vorliegende Bibelstelle eingehend behandelt (Tractat *Erubin*, fol. 14), bemerkte diese Schwierigkeit. Es würde zu weit führen, die talmudische Diskussion hier zu wiederholen; diejenigen Leser, die sie in deutscher Sprache kennen lernen wollen, seien verwiesen auf *Das Mathematische im Talmud* von Dr. B. Zuckermann, Breslau, A. Hepner's Verlag, 1878. Dieser Autor wird durch die im Talmud gegebene Berechnung des Kubikinhalts des Meeres dahin geführt, die mehrerwähnte Massangabe von 30 Ellen Umfang auf das dem Kreise vom Durchmesser 10 eingeschriebene Zwölfeck zu beziehen, indem er annimmt, das Meer habe zwar aussen Cylinderform, innen aber die eines zwölfseitigen Prismas gehabt. Nun ist allerdings der Flächeninhalt des regelmässigen Zwölfecks vom Kreise $r = 5$ Ellen 75 Quadratellen, was in der That mit den das Volumen des Meeres betreffenden Angaben des Textes sehr gut harmoniert. Dieses betrug nämlich 2000 Bat à 3 Saa oder 6000 Saa, und da $40 \text{ Saa} = 3 \text{ Kubikellen}$, so sind 6000 Saa 450 Kubikellen. Nun hatte das Meer nach den Angaben des Talmud (*Erubin*, fol. 14^b), dem wir in dieser Frage die vollste Glaubwürdigkeit wohl nicht bestreiten können, in den drei unteren Ellen seiner Höhe die Form einer quadratischen Säule, dort also ein Volumen von $(10^2 \times 3)$ Kubikellen, in den zwei übrigen Ellen hatte es Cylinderform, und, wenn man mit Zuckermann für diese das zwölfseitige Prisma substituirt, ein Volumen von 75×2 Kubikellen, im ganzen also wirklich $300 + 150$ Kubikellen, wie der Text verlangt. Allein wie willkürlich diese Umdeutung des Cylinders in ein zwölfseitiges Prisma ist, ergibt sich aus zwei Thatsachen: erstens wird der Umfang am Rande zu 30 Ellen ange-

geben; handelte es sich um ein regelmässiges Zwölfeck, so betrüge derselbe bei einem Durchmesser von 10 Ellen 31.06 Ellen, wir hätten also mit denselben Schwierigkeiten zu kämpfen. Zweitens aber heisst es vom Rande des Meeres (1. Könige, vii. 26): "er glich dem Rande des Kelches einer blühenden Lilie," d. h. so dünn war er; hat aber ein so dünnes Gefäss innen prismatische Form, so macht sie sich auch nach aussen geltend. Das würde jedoch, um mit Zuckermann zu sprechen, dem Bibelausdrucke widerstreiten, der das Meer am Rande als rund bezeichnet.

Alle diese Schwierigkeiten können, wie wir vermuten, durch Beachtung eines einzigen Buchstabens beseitigt werden, ohne dass der Wortlaut unseres Textes irgendwie geändert zu werden braucht; ja seine Angaben können sogar mit dem genaueren Werte $\pi = 3.141$ in Einklang gebracht werden. Was nämlich, soviel wir sehen, keiner der zahllosen Bibelkommentatoren beachtet hat, das scheint des Rätsels Lösung zu enthalten. Man beachte nur, dass an unserer Stelle die Massangabe nicht einfach lautet שלושים אמה und עשר אמה , sondern das Mass wird beidemal mit dem א eingeleitet, was Gesenius (*Lex.*, edidit Buhl, 12. Aufl., S. 50) als *art. generis* deutet, während Strack (*Kurzgefasster Kommentar zum Alten Testament*, München, 1894, S. 248) es mit der Bemerkung erledigt: "wörtlich an der Elle, oft zur Angabe der Zahl der Ellen." Wir aber nehmen dieses א in seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung von *intra*: es betrug also der Durchmesser des Meeres nicht 10 Ellen, sondern nur 10 mal innerhalb der Elle, etwa 10 mal 0.9551 Ellen, mithin einen Differenzbetrag von 0.0449 auf die Elle, der begreiflicherweise in einem derartigen Berichte unterdrückt werden konnte. Der Umfang betrug demgemäss, wenn er, wie es auch der Talmud annimmt, innen gemessen wurde, 9.551×3.141 Ellen = 29.999691 Ellen, also noch unter 30 Ellen, was unser Text folgerichtig mit שלושים אמה wiedergiebt. Auch die Volumangabe mit 2000 Bat = 6000 Saa = 450 Kubikellen steht unserer Hypothese nicht im Wege; das Volumen eines 2 Ellen hohen

Kreis - Cylinders vom Durchmesser 9.551 Ellen beträgt $\pi \frac{d^3}{2}$

= 143.2635228 Kubikellen, mit dem oben berechneten Volumen des unteren 3 Ellen hohen prismatischen Teiles von 300 Kubikellen zusammen 443.2635228 Kubikellen; die noch fehlenden 6.7364772 Kubikellen konnten wohl durch vollgehäuftes Aufschütten von Wasser in einer Höhe von nicht ganz 0.1 Ellen (genauer 0.098 Ellen), was im Notfalle wohl möglich war, erzielt werden. Dass das volle Volumen von ganzen 450 Kubikellen nur im äussersten Falle erreicht wurde, ist auch in dem Stamme des an dieser Stelle gebrauchten Verbs כיל angedeutet, welches "fassen können" heisst.

Wir glauben durch unsere Erörterung gezeigt zu haben, dass die von Cantor angeführte Massbestimmung des ehernen Meeres keineswegs beweist, dass die Bibel für π keinen anderen Wert als 3 benutzt hat. Der viel später entstandene Talmud rechnet allerdings mit diesem Werte, aber selbstredend nur wegen seiner in religionsgesetzlichen Fragen weitreichenden praktischen Brauchbarkeit. Theorie, am allerwenigsten mathematische Theorie, gehört nicht zum talmudischen Lehrgebiete. Dass den Gelehrten des Talmud ein genauerer Wert für π bekannt war, hat schon Zuckermann in seiner früher erwähnten Schrift nachgewiesen, was ja auch bei Männern, die auf der Höhe der Bildung ihres Zeitalters standen, nur selbstverständlich ist.

Es erübrigt nur noch zur Festigung unserer Hypothese über die Bedeutung des 3 vor dem Masse מנא auf die eine oder andere der annähernd 40 Bibelstellen (nach Mandelkern, *Concordantia magna*), in denen מנא vorkommt, zu verweisen und mit wenigen Worten auf sie einzugehen, um zu zeigen, dass sie unserer Vermutung durchaus nicht entgegenstehen. Die erste, Exodus, xxvi. 2, betrifft die Massangabe für Länge und Breite der Teppiche, die die Decke über die Stiftshütte bildeten. Es ist leicht verständlich dass sie nicht genau 18 Ellen lang und 4 Ellen breit sein durften, denn da sie aus Wolle gefertigt waren, musste mit Rücksicht auf die Elasticität dieses Stoffes 18 Ellen Länge und 4 Ellen Breite nur annähernd genommen werden, um die Congruenz mit den unausdehnbaren Bretterwänden, an denen die Teppiche weit herabhingen, für immer zu sichern. Wenn ferner Numeri, xxxv den Leviten Städte mit 2000 Ellen weiten Umkreisen zugewiesen werden und es bei der Abmessung, die מחוץ לעיר , d. i. ausserhalb der Stadt, also nicht unmittelbar mit der Stadtmauer beginnt, heisst מלפני כנרת , so harmoniert auch diese Stelle mit unserer Hypothese, weil eben thatsächlich etwas weniger als 2000 Ellen gemessen werden musste. Es mag genügen, nur noch auf Zacharia, v. 2 zu verweisen; dort sieht der Prophet, wie durch den 20 Ellen hohen und 10 Ellen breiten Eingang zum Allerheiligsten eine Schriftrolle von entsprechenden Dimensionen sich bewegt, und da passt wiederum der Ausdruck מנא , der die für die Beweglichkeit erforderliche Einschränkung dieser Masse andeutet.

ELIAS FINK.

THE ARABIC PORTION OF THE CAIRO GENIZAH.

(J. Q. R., XV, p. 167 ff.)

DIE Mittheilungen *Dr. Hirschfelds* über jüdische Genizahschätze muhammedanischen Inhaltes haben bei Gelegenheit des Hamburger Orientalistenkongresses das Interesse aller Anwesenden erregt und man kann Herrn H. nur dankbar dafür sein, dass er die in mündlichem Vortrage behandelten Texte uns in ihrem ganzen Umfang zugänglich gemacht hat.

Die kulturhistorische Bedeutung dieser Mittheilungen rechtfertigt es wohl, dass ich es nicht für überflüssig halte, die herausgegebenen Texte und die beigegebene Erklärung mit einigen philologischen und sachlichen Bemerkungen zu begleiten.

(a) *Zur Übersetzung.*

P. 169, l. 4 v. u.: "whom we came," etc.; richtiger: "die zu uns kamen und uns überwältigten, unsere Männer (רַגְלֵנָא = רַגְלֵנָא, also nicht "our foot") bekämpften und unsere Rosse fortzuschleppten." Im Text ist אַחֲרֵינוּ וְקִרְיָנוּ in אַחֲרֵנוּ וְקִוְיָנוּ zu verbessern; nur so giebt der Satz einen Sinn.

P. 170, l. 7: "was not incumbent upon us"; ich meine: "der Sabbath galt nicht als entweiht." Vgl. *R. É. J.*, XLV, p. 4.

L. 9: "and marriage gift," l. as: "ihre Freilassung wurde ihr als Brautpreis geschenkt"; dies kommt auch anderwärts häufig vor.

L. 10: ich übersetze die Lücke nach "covenant" wörtlich so (Text 177, 6 v. u.): "Gott möge gnädig sein einem Diener (עֲבָדָא = עֲבָדָא) und seinen Eltern, der anwesend ist (beim Vorlesen dieser Urkunde) und andere veranlasst dabei anwesend zu sein, der (sie) vorträgt (= سَمِعَ hören lässt) und der (sie) anhört, der (sie) verkündet (אָבִי) oder dabei Gesellschaft leistet (in der Versammlung anwesend ist), damit er den Vertrag des Propheten sehe in der רַבִּי des Ali." רַבִּי bleibt unverstanden. Dürfte man einen so argen "blunder" des Copisten voraussetzen, so läge es nahe, es in בְּרַבִּי zu verändern, in "der Schrift des 'Ali"; nach 178 ult. hat ja der Prophet diesen Vertrag dem 'A. in die Feder dictirt.

L. 7 v. u.: "annoyance of land-tax"; ich denke: "die *Entrichtung* der Kopfsteuer." Für אִרְאָה, das Hirschf. vorschlägt, ist אִרְאָה d. h. אִרְאָה zu lesen.

Penult.: "his mark." Hirschf. denkt dabei wohl an die Gizja-Marken (*Mittheilungen aus der Samml. Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, II-III, 171 ff.), die aber hier keine Anwendung haben, da soeben vom *Erlass* dieser Steuer die Rede war; ... جعل رسماً علی heisst hier: jemandem *Abgaben* auflegen. "Niemand soll euch *Abgaben* auferlegen."

P. 171, l. 11: das unübersetzt gelassene (Text 178, 14) שר אלכשתחין ist nach Veränderung des letzteren Wortes in אלכשתחין (das Facsimile hat 1 als letzten Buchstaben) zu übersetzen: "das Umbinden des Gürtels"; es liegt das persische Lehnwort کُشتِج in seiner bei Dozy, Suppl. II, 464 a, belegten Form کُشتِيز vor. Auch das synonyme griechische Lehnwort نَار wird mit dem Verbum شَد verbunden.—In derselben Zeile bedeutet المشهرات (mit 7 statt mit 6): *praetextae*.

L. 13: "precluded from governing Moslims." Der Sinn ist: "ihr sollt nicht verhindert werden zu den Machthabern der Muslimen einzutreten (حجاب)," d. h. eure Beschwerden ihnen persönlich vorzutragen.

L. 17: "a sacred spot." Ich gestehe, dass ich für diese unwahrscheinliche Erklärung der Worte מוצע אלחץ אליקין (Text 178, 17) nichts Annehmbareres vorzuschlagen weiss.

L. 21: "and not to touch you"; d. h. "sie mögen Nachsicht haben (يعفوا عن) gegen jene von euch, die etwas schlechtes thun; מסיכם (178, 12 v. u.) ist nicht = מסיכם sondern = مُسِيحِيكُمْ (wie es auch bei Belâdori, ed. de Goeje, 60, 13 heisst).

P. 172, l. 17: "friend." Richtig: der Freigelassene, Client.

P. 176 ult.: "for any one who had found a firm position." Richtig: "for a firm position"; nicht المُستَقَر sondern المُسْتَقَر.

(b) Zu den Texten.

Einige Verbesserungen sind bereits in obigen Bemerkungen zur Übersetzung gegeben. Ausser denselben erlaube ich mir noch folgende Vorschläge zur Herstellung des Textes:

P. 178, l. 7: תחשרון Druckf. für תחשרון; es scheint, dass hier die Worte וְלֹא ת' dittographirt sind.

L. 12. (Druckf.) יפתרא.

L. 5 v. u. Die Lücke ist mit dem Worte ואלמלאיכה auszufüllen; dies ist in der betreffenden Fluchformel das häufigste: لعنة الله ولعنة الأتمة واللائمة Agent, XI, 52, 20; noch voller in dem Spruch bei Schejbāni, *Āthār* (ed. Lahore, 1309), 159, wo von einer

Frau die Rede ist, die ohne Erlaubnisse ihres Gatten das Haus verlässt :
 إِنْ خَرَجْتَ مِنْ بَيْتِهَا بِغَيْرِ إِذْنٍ مِنْهُ لَمْ يَرْزُقْكَ اللَّهُ بِعَنْهَا وَالْمَلَائِكَةُ وَالرُّوحُ
 الْأَمِينُ وَخَزَنَةُ الرَّحْمَةِ وَخَزَنَةُ الْعَذَابِ حَتَّى تَرْجِعَ.

Ult. Die Lücke ist wohl so auszufüllen: [חַמְלָה עַ]רְשָׁה "seine Engel, die Träger seines Thrones"; das fatha des ך ist demnach auf den vorhergehenden Buchstaben zu beziehen.

P. 179, l. 14. In der Ausfüllung der Lücke muss dem Worte לָלֵא noch
 אֲבֹר הַבְּשָׂר vorangehen; Adam ist אָדָם.

L. 6 v. u.: וְאַחֲרָיו ל. וְאַחֲרָיו.

P. 180, l. 14: וְכַעֲשָׂאִי. Der Zusammenhang fordert אָמֵן "nicht ich rufe dich, sondern du rufst mich zu dir."

L. 18. Das erste אָחֵר ist zu streichen.—Von נִדְרֵי bis l. 21 אֲלֵכֶּיךָ
 (so ist zu lesen), ferner von מַלְכֶּךָ bis l. 23 וְכִי־אֵלֶיךָ sind zwei Gedicht-
 chen des Hallāg, die in de Goeje's *Arab*-Ausgabe (Tabari continuatus,
 Leiden, 1897) 106 und 107 nach Ibn Maschkowejhi mitgetheilt sind.

P. 181 ult. בְּקִטְעָה ל. יִקְטַע; die richtige Ergänzung der Lücke: עָלֵי
 עָשִׂים מִעַל לַאֲלֵהֵם [קֵי]; vgl. Kuscsejri, *Risala* (Kairo, 1304), 100, 14 عَاشَ مَعَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى
 بَلَا عِلَاقَةٍ. Dies entspricht dem تعليق القلب, das in den sufischen
 Abhandlungen über das "Gottvertrauen" so häufig erwähnt ist;
 z. B. Gazālī, *Minhāj al-'ābidīn* (Kairo, 1306), 47 unten (vgl. meine
 "Materialien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Sufismus," *WZKM.*,
 XIII (1899), 56). Es ist dies derselbe Begriff, den der von der Sufi-
 Litteratur beeinflusste R. Bechai im 5. Kapitel, § 3, des סֵפֶר הַבְּטוּחִין
 seiner *Herzenspflichten* behandelt und Jeh. b. Tibbôn mit לֹא יִסְמַךְ
 בְּלִבּוֹ übersetzt.

I. GOLDZIEHER

BUDAPEST, März 1903.

THE JEWS IN PORTUGAL

FROM 1773 TO 1902.

APPENDICE ET ERRATA¹.

J'ai signalé, dans l'ancien Cimetière Israélite de Lisbonne, la plaque commémorative placée, en 1875, par les fils de Solomon Solomon, pour tenir lieu de l'inscription qui devait se trouver sur la tombe de leur père **הלוי ישראל הלי**, dit Solomon Solomon.

La partie portugaise de cette plaque dit que "les inscriptions primitives se sont oblitérées."

Or je viens de retrouver ce texte primitif, au cours d'une visite faite dans ce cimetière, dont M. Joaquim Bensaude, de Lisbonne, a relevé toutes les épitaphes,—travail qu'il a bien voulu me communiquer.

La tombe de Solomon est en médiocre état; mais l'inscription en est très nette; elle offre la transcription hébraïque du mot "Falmouth."

מצבת קבורת רודף
צדקה וחסד **יחזק**
בן **הר** **ישראל** **אהרן**
הלוי **מפאלמוט** **כל** **בע**
כד **שבט** **שנת** **התקע"ט**
לפס **תנצ"ה** ..

Traduction : Monument funéraire du charitable et pieux le vénéré maître Isaac fils du vénéré maître Israel Aharon Ha-Levy, de Falmouth. Il alla au séjour de son repos le 24 Shebat de l'an 5579 du petit comput.

Cette date correspond au 29 janvier 1819.

L'inscription de Faro 5075, mentionnant un certain **ר'** (rabbin (?) ou, plutôt, maître), est du 23 janvier 1315.

Je tiens à signaler deux fautes d'impression assez importantes :

1°. Le nombre des Juifs brûlés à Lisbonne par l'Inquisition est de 366 et non de 6, comme le lecteur a dû le présumer.—Le chiffre total

¹ JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, XV, 251-275.

de 1454 brûlés pour les trois Inquisitions de Portugal (p. 257) ne peut, d'ailleurs, être reconstitué (p. 253) qu'en donnant le nombre 366 à Lisbonne.

A propos de ces chiffres, je crois utile de donner ceux de Moreira, publiés dans un appendice au tome ix, p. 348, de la traduction de l'Histoire de Portugal du Dr. Heinrich Schaefer¹:

	Variously sentenced.	Burnt	
		In person.	In effigy.
Lisbon . . .	7024	461	181
Evora . . .	9466	344	163
Coimbra . . .	9000	313	230
Goa . . .	4046	57	64
Total	29536	1175	638

Ces nombres sont établis d'après les listes des autos da fé.

2°. Après le nom du Dr. Raoul Bensaude, l'imprimeur a oublié quelques mots et lui attribue ainsi (p. 272) les fonctions rabbiniques à Lisbonne. Il faut lire après le nom de ce savant:—"The Rev. Ruby Isaac J. Wolfensohn officiates as rabbi at Lisbon."

3°. Le savant portugais que je cite p. 273 est le Dr. Theophilo Braga.

CARDOZO DE BETHENCOURT.

¹ *Historia de Portugal . . . para servir de continuação á tradução da do Dr. Schaeffer*, por Jos. Lour. Domingue de Mendouça (Lisboa, 1845, 8°), vol. IX.—L'exemplaire du British Museum, 9195, f. 7, est incomplet: on n'y trouve que le premier cahier de la partie concernant l'Inquisition. Les exemplaires complets sont rares.

INDEX TO THE DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF HEBREW MSS. OF THE MONTEFIORE LIBRARY.

A. AUTHORS AND TRANSLATORS.

[SEE ALSO No. 106.]

The numbers refer to the numbers of the MSS.

- Aaron (18th c. ?). פירש, 229.
— David b. Aaron Nurlingen (1607). Responsa, 114, 97; פנקס, 94, 4 b.
— Berekhyah of Modena (17th c.). פנקס, 459; see also פירש, 479, 1.
— Chorin (1766-1844). Letters, 483, 24.
— b. Elijah, the Qaraita (14th c.). פירש, 280.
— Elijah (16-17th c.). פירש, 229.
— b. Israel Finzi (16th c., Nepi g). Resp., 480, 2.
— Hakkohen of (Lunel ?) Majorca, (14th c.). פירש, 103, 3 b; 131.
— Magliab Romanini (1857). Poem, 403.
— b. Meshullam (1200). Letter, 461, A b.
— Pontremoli (18th c.). Refutation of Christian antagonist, 452.
— b. Samuel Nurlingen (16th c.). Resp., 480, 2.
Abbā Māri b. Moses b. Joseph (1300). פירש, 271; Letter, 116 mm.
Abbās (18th c. ?). פירש, 229.
Abigedor b. Samson. פירש (1590). Resp., 480, 2.
Abraham (19th c.). Poems, 396, 397.
— (18th c. ?). פירש, 229.
— אברהם (18th c. ?). פירש, 229.
— Abigedor (14th c.). Translation of פירש, 441, 3 a.
— Abulāfiā (13th c.). פירש, 322, 1; פירש, 316, 1.
— of Jerusalem (17th c.). Resp., 116 c.
Abraham Bibago (1446-1471). פירש, אברהם, 289.
— of Bologna (1518). Resp., 480, 2.
— of Brisk (18th c.). Resp., 109.
— Broda (17-18th c.). פירש, 87, 153.
— Cardozo (17-18th c.). Letter, 471, 9.
— Catalano (17th c.). פירש, 473 a.
— of Cologne. פירש, 13, 1; Poem, 493, 7 b.
— b. Daniel (16th c.). Prayers and hymns, 251.
— b. David, sen. (1160). פירש, 474, 3; פירש, 274, 1.
— b. David, jun., of Porquière (died 1198). Glosses to פירש, 96.
— b. David (14th c.). Note on פירש, 216, II a.
— b. David Provinziale, grandson of Moses b. Abr. Pr. (16th c.). Responsa and letters, 114; Poem, 94, 3.
— b. Ezra (1093-1168). Commentaries: Pentateuch, 10, 11; Isaiah, 33, 1; Minor Prophets, 34; Five Scrolls, 40. Grammar: פירש, 404; פירש, 484, 1. Theology: פירש, 279, 5. Liturgy: 17, 2; 129, 5 c; 198, 203, 225, 233, 245, 493, 6. Poetry: 297, 3; 362, VI; 479, 21. Mathematics and Astronomy: פירש, 423, 6; פירש, 420, 3.
— חכמה, 419, 2. חכמה, 419, 2. Attributed: Prayer, 247; פירש, 247, 9; פירש, 436; 486, 5; Poem, 362, VII; פירש, 489, 3.
— Fassel (18th c.). Novellae, 153.

- Abraham Fontanella. Abstracts from, 182.
 — Galante (16th c.). לקטים, 348, 1.
 — Hakköhen of Tunis (19th c.). Resp., 144.
 — Hazzän Girondi (13th c.). פירוש, 203, viii b.
 — b. Hielai (1235-1240). פתח חסד, transl. 277.
 — b. Hiyya (12th c.). דפנות הסודות, 423; נזר הארץ, 423, 1; Letter, 484, 7 a.
 — b. Isaac of Constantinople (16th c.). Glosses on Pentak., 62, 14.
 — b. Isaac b. Isaac Häsid. Elegy, 368 a, 3.
 — b. Isaac (דקא) Hallävi (died 1393). Commentary on Canticles, 487, 8; Letters and Poems, 371, II e.
 — b. Isaac Šarfäthi (16th c.). Resp., 480, 2.
 — b. Jacob (13th c.?). פירוש, 214, A.
 — Jonah (1813). Letter, 111 r.
 — b. Meir de Balma (1509). גמרא המעשרה, 291.
 — Mendel (17th c.). Query 109.
 — Monson (16th c.). Resp., 116 a, 448.
 — b. Mordecai Ankawa (1858). פירוש מאמרים, 144.
 — Josef Solomon b. Mordecai Graziano (17th c.). Collectanea, 479, 480.
 — b. Moses Hakköhen. Resp., 480, 2.
 — b. Moses Maimüni (13th c.). Resp., 103, 4 b; Letters, 100 a; 130, 10; 493, 4.
 — b. Nathan (1304). חסדות, 103, 2 m.
 — Nahmias b. Josef (15th c.). Translation of Thomas of Aquino's Commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, 398.
 — Menahem Porto (16th c.). Resp., 480, 1.
 — Reggio (18th c.). Letters, 161, 164, 173, 176, 183; Sermon in memory of, 259, 3.
 — of Sarni (16th c.). Gloss, 116 a.
 — of Sartirano. הלצה, 488 b.
 — Segre of Casale (17-18th c.). פירוש ספר, 479, 7 e.
 — Solomon of Jerusalem (19th c.). Letter, 162, 1.
 — Zaccuto (15-16th c.). פירוש לנפש, 486, 1; פירוש הדמים, 325, 4; Horoscope, 426, 4; Astronom. Tables, 426, 2.
 Absalom. Poem, 380.
 Abtalion (18th c.?). פירוש, 229.
 Aleschwanger Isaac Benjamin Wolf, (1846). Poem, 399.
 Amräm Gaon (9th c.). Quotation from סדר, 103, 3 c.
 Amräm Ammār (17th c.). ספר, 119, 2 a.
 Anselmo Astruc (14th c.). ספר, 279, 2.
 Aqiba b. al Sakh b. Judah (15-16th c.). Poem, 301, 5.
 Aristes. Letter [דוד וקיס], 486, 3.
 Aryeh Ascoli (19th c.). Letters, 164, 176.
 Ashër b. David b. Abraham b. David. Comm. on 13 Attr., 487, 5 b.
 — b. Jshiel (14th c.). פירוש דמיון, 68; 74; 85; 129, 9 b; Resp., 100 b; 102, 1 b; 103, 2 c; 130, 9 c; Homily, 14, 5; Ethical Will, 247, 10; Glosses to, 107.
 — of Lunel (12th c.). חסדות, 217 g.
 Astruc Remokh (13th c.). Letters, 301, 3; 446, 2.
 Austerlitz, Wolf (18th c.). Gloss, 153.
 Azaryah de Rossi (died 1577). Resp., 114, 64.
 — Hayyim Sangrinetti (19th c., Ghirondi, 284; Letter, 164.
 — b. Efraim Figo (1610). נדביל, 147.
 Azriel b. Jehiel (16th c.). Resp., 480, 2.
 — Graziano. Poem, 479, 26 f.
 — b. Solomon (?) (13th c.). Commentary on Ten Sefiroth, 487, 5 a; פירוש דמיון, 354, 2; חסדות, 487, 5 a.
 Bahyā (18th c.). פירוש וסודות, Comm. on Esther, 42.
 — b. Josef (b. Baqūda, 11th c.). חסדות, 244 f; 264 c.
 Barges (Abbé, 17th c.). Autograph letter, 475, 3.
 Baruch b. Abraham. Sermon, 570.
 — Almosnino (15th c.?). Letters, 363.
 — b. Jacob. Resp., 480, 2.
 — b. Samuel (12-13th c.). Resp., 130, 3.
 — Sinai (17th c.). Elegy, 233 g.
 Behayy b. Ashër. נר הקטן, 505.
 Belais Abraham (born 1773). פירוש, 562; דודל והסודות, 563; פירוש לנפש, 571.
 Belilios Daniel (18-19th c.). Poems, 382.

- Ben Asher (ob. 1000). סדר השערים, 294, 3.
- Ben Siôn Aryeh Ghironi (Padua, 1764-1817). Letters, 161, 162.
- Ben Sirah (Pseudo), 279, 8 a.
- Benjamin (17th c.). כתובת הקדוש, 410, 1.
- b. Abraham (14th c.). Calendar rules, 216, II a.
- Anaw (13-14th c.). סליחה, 214, C. i. 16.
- b. Azriel (16th c.). Letter, 464.
- b. Isaiah Bassano (18th c.). Letter, 148 a.
- b. Judah (18-19th c.). Introduction to the study of Grammar, 407, 2.
- b. Ephraim Finzi (16th c.). Resp., 480, 2.
- Hallévi (16th c.). Letter, 371, I a.
- Köhen (17th c.). Collection of prayers, 253; Queries, 337.
- b. Samuel (18th c.). Hymn, 236 a.
- Nehemiah. Sections of the Talmud in rhymes, 479, 26.
- Wolf of Schidlow (18th c.). Letter, 111 b.
- Benveniste, Don (18th c.). Letters, 488.
- b. Labi. See Vidal Benveniste. Letters and Poems, 363; 371, II i, III d; 488 f.
- Berekhyah Hannaqdān (13th c.). דורי ונכרי, 434; כסלי שועים, 502.
- Bernart Alberti (14th c.). כתובת במלמדה, 441, 3.
- Beṣalāl (17th c.). Talmudical discourse, 153.
- Bidpai. כסלי סבוראי, 486, 2; 500.
- Blumenthal, J. (19th c.). Syllabus of study in Beth Hammidrāh in Jerusalem; 514.
- Böhm, Samuel (16th c.). Note, 60, 1.
- Brasch [ש"ס, 1040]. Poem, 483, 17 b.
- Büchner, Josef (19th c.). Poem, 520, 11.
- Calman of Mantua (16th c.). Resp., 480, 2.
- Castro. See Jacob.
- Casbs. See Samuel.
- Christobal de la Torre (1721). See Isaac Orobio, 299.
- Crescas Vidal (14th c.). Novellae, 89.
- Dafano S[tella] (18th c.). Ital. letter, 234 b, 3.
- Daniel b. Solomon Harōfē (1448). Commentary on Pentateuch, 15.
- David (16th c.). Letters and poems, 371, I a.
- חתם דוד. See David Qamhi.
- Piyyut, 234, b 5.
- of Modena (19th c.). Autograph letter, 181.
- Abbās. Piyyut, 229.
- Silva b. Abraham Hārōfē (1650). ס' סומכים, 238 a.
- David Hayyim b. Abraham Samuel (19th c.). Letters, 161, 165.
- [b. Aryeh Lida] of Amsterdam (18th c.). Obituary notice on, 343 a.
- בנעל. Novellae on משנה, 82, 2.
- b. Eliezer Portaleone (16th c.). Resp., 480, 2.
- b. Hodāyah (13th c.). דורס, 130, 17.
- b. Josef b. Yahyā (1497). Poem, 362, V (fol. 68).
- b. Judah Messer Leon (15th c.). כתב דוד, 290.
- Hayyim b. Judah Moses (19th c.). Letter, 111 a.
- b. Levi (12th c.). Commentary on משנה, 71.
- Zakkuth b. Mazāl Tōb (19th c.). Letter, 164.
- of סרייט (1762). Resp., 148 b.
- Franco. See Mendez.
- Nāsi (16th c.). דורס, 461, B 1; 483 b; Preface to דודא בעל דין, 182.
- Nieto. See Nieto.
- b. Qalonymos (14th c.). חקטא, 130, 15 a.
- Qamhi (13th c.). Commentaries, Gen. ch. i. 485 b; Ezekiel, ch. i. 324, 3; Haftārōth, 27, 1; on חסידים הקטנה, 217 d; Abstracts from כסלי, 413, 1; חתם דוד, 409.
- סימני (18th c.). Letter, 148 d.
- Quirinale (18th c.). Resp., 111, a.
- b. Rafael Meldola (1832). ליקוטי דוד, 120; כבודות דוד, 507; Sermon, 508.
- of Rocca Martino (14th c.). וסח, 301, 1.
- b. Samuel Aboab (18th c.). Letter, 111 a.
- b. Abi Zimrā (16th c.). Respp., 105; 116 dd.
- Majar (18th c.). דורס מאה, 351, 1.
- Sinzheim. See Sinzheim.
- Davidson (1843). ער דוד, 520, 7.
- Dinus de Gerscho (died 1327). Surgery, 441, 2.

- Duran of Lunel (Simeon b. Josef, 1300). *הספד*, 460.
- Efraim. Resp., 485 a.
- Josef b. David Rimini (1770). See Mattathias b. Nissim.
- b. Isaac (1160). Resp., 115.
- b. Jacob (12th c.). *גורמ חתק"י*, 475, 2.
- Hakköhen (1726). 111 v.
- Joshua Luzatto (18th c.). *קצור הלכות סוטה*, 142, 1.
- of Modena (Nepi 21, died 1809). *ס' הוספי*, 304.
- Syrus (died 373). Hymn on learning (in Syriac), 493, 5 b.
- b. Samson (13th c.). Commentary on Pentateuch, 323, 4.
- Ehrenberg, S. M. (1773–1853). Hebrew translation of Gleim's *Die Tugend*, 483, 22.
- El'azar (13–14th c.?). Poem, 267.
- of Colin (17–18th c.). Gloss on *תורה*, 153.
- Hakköhen (16th c.?). Poem, 362, III (fol. 44).
- of Worms (13th c.). *ס' שירים*, 139, 1; Commentary on Psalms 62, 8, *attib*. Prayer, 214, A.
- Eldād Haddāni (about 900). *ס' אלדד*, 451, 2.
- Elhānān b. Isaac (died 1184). *תוספתא*, 65.
- Eliezer (18th c.). *ס' הדקוק*, 413, 3.
- b. Abraham (15th c.). Poems, 303.
- Abulafia of Tiberias (19th c.). Letter, 162.
- Ashkenazi (died 1586). Letter, 114, 66.
- Azaryāh of צלצור (1490). Elegy, 124, 5 a.
- *חז"י* (15th c.). Letter, 468, 1.
- b. Isaac (11th c.). Glosses, 101 d.
- b. Jacob Nāhūm (18th c.). Comm. on *תורה*, 70.
- b. Joel Hallēvi (13th c.). *ס' ראב"ה*, 115; Resp., 100 b; 130, 2, 9 d; *אבן אבן*, quoted, 128.
- b. Judah (13th c.). Resp., 130, 9 d; *קצור*, 130, 15 a.
- Provinziale (17th c.). Notes, 114.
- b. Nāthān (12th c.). *אבן ראש*, 101 b; 103, 2 b. Comm. on *סוטה*, 261; *קצור גירמ חתק"י*, 475, 1.
- b. Samuel (14th c.). *קצור*, 130, 15 a.
- Eliezer Shimeōni (16th c.). Letter, 371, 1 d.
- b. Simon (14th c.). *קצור*, 130, 15 a.
- b. Solomon (16th c.). Resp., 480, 2.
- Sopino (14–15th c.). *ספר שו"ת*, 45.
- Elijah Aaron Lattes (1834). Letter, 176; Poem, 388.
- b. Abraham (15th c.); Letters, 468, 1.
- b. Abraham Mizrāhi (16th c.). Resp., 106; Letter, 116 oo.
- [b. Asher] Levita (died 1549). *ס' הדרכה*, 413, 5.
- Köhen of Höchheim (18th c.). Glosses on *מנחת*, 153.
- b. Hayyim (16th c.). Resp., 116, 2, 3, pp.
- Hallēvi, *ספר*, 368 c.
- Menahem Hālfōn (1535). Resp., 480, 2.
- b. Isaac of Carcassonne (14th c.). *ס' האספד*, 134.
- of Mantua. Calendar notes, 479, 28 a.
- Hayy b. Moses Nāhūm (18th c.). *אורח אליהו*, 250, 1.
- *נאמאש* (8th c.). Resp., 111 t.
- Obadiah (15th c.). Letter, 371, 1 i.
- Walid (18th c.?). *ספר*, 229.
- Mordecai Werbel (19th c.). *חזק עליה*, 395.
- Haazqōn (about 1050). *ספר הוספי*, 211, 214, A.
- Ellaha Gallico (16th c.). Letter, 479, 17 a.
- b. Moses Rieti. Diary, 519.
- Elyākim Mehlack (19th c.). *ספר ראב"ה*, 347; *ספר ראב"ה*, 468.
- Emanuel Hyims (19th c.). Sermon, 573.
- En Bonet Abram. See Jedāyah Hap-penini.
- Ezekiel Ladan (died 1783). Talmudical discourse, 153.
- Eliezer Abulafia of Tiberias (19th c.). Letters, 164, 173.
- Al Farābi (9–10th c.). *ס' הדורות*, 292, 1, 294, 1; *ספר הדוכות*, 489, 4.
- Al-Farghāni (9th c.). Compendium of the *Almagest*, 294, 5; 426, 3.
- Fassel, Hirsch (1863). Remembrance of, 568.
- Figo. See Azaryāh.

- Finzi. See Aaron, Benjamin, Hezekiah, Isaac Rafael, Israel, Jacob, Jequithiel, Josef, Mordecai, Moses, Samuel Isaac.
- Fischel of Brest (18th c.). Gloss, 153.
- Friedmann, F. M. (1857). 'Fest-Geschenk,' 520, 10.
- Gabriel b. Judah of Vitri (18-19th c.). שמואל, 350.
- of Nikolsburg (1703). Letter, 469, 4.
- Galenus. שמואל, ד, 440, 5.
- Gawler, Col. Establishment of Jewish Colonies in Palestine, 513.
- Gedaliah Cazes. Letter, 175.
- b. Moses Yahya, Poem, 362, VII.
- Gelberg, Isaac Aryeh (19th c.). שמואל, 392 a.
- Sebi Hirsch (1870). צבי לזר, 392 b.
- Gentilis of Foligno (died 1348). Medical treatise, 441, 1.
- Georgius Amira (1596). *Grammatica Syriaca*, 493, 5.
- Germaise, L. B. (1846). *Frühlings-gedicht*, 520, 9.
- Gerschön b. Judah Me'or Haggöläh (11th c.). Commentary on חזקוני, 73; Resp., 100; חזקוני, 130, 9 a, 16 b; 451, 4.
- Gerahöm. קרה, 194 a.
- Hefes (died 1700). די חזקוני, 495, 4.
- Köhn (17th c.). Letter, 464.
- Al-Ghasali (12th c.). ספר השלח, 392, 2.
- Ghirondi. See Mordecai.
- Ginzburg, Mordecai Aaron (19th c.). ספר חזקוני, 561, 1.
- Goldberg, B. (19th c.). Tables, 430.
- Goslar. See Naftali Hirsch.
- Gumpertz, Reuben (18th c.). Poem, 483, 14.
- Samuel (1787). חזקוני, 483, 27.
- Guriland, Jonas (19th c.). Translation of Hebrew Tablet, 520, 2.
- Hai Gaon (969-1038). ספר חזקוני, 130, 34; 364, 1; 493, 8; Resp., 101 d; צדק לזר, 62, 6.
- Hammäl Gaon. Attrib. חזקוני, 316, 2.
- Hananel (died 1050). Resp., 128.
- Hanökh b. Solomon (14th c.). ספר חזקוני, 324, 2.
- Hayyim. שמואל, 229.
- Baruch Maestro (18-19th c.). Letters, 483, 25.
- Hayyim David Al Abrash (17-18th c.). Cabblistic note, 324.
- Eliezer b. Isaac (13th c.). Resp., 104, 3.
- Falagi (19th c.). Letters, 162, 164; חזקוני, 525.
- Al Fawwāl (16th c.). Letters, 371, 1 b, c.
- Josef David Asulai (died 1807). Letters, 470.
- Köhn (17th c.). Abstr. from ספר חזקוני, 162; Prayer-book, 221.
- מרדכי (18th c.). די חזקוני, 383.
- Samuel Köhn of Tiberias (19th c.). Letter, 162.
- Vital (1543-1620). *Astron.*: ס' חזקוני, 426, 1; *Qabbalah*: חזקוני, 328, 2; חזקוני, 327, 3; 426, 5; חזקוני, 326; חזקוני, 359, 1; חזקוני, 359, 2; חזקוני, 327, 4; חזקוני, 357 g; Abstracts, 381 b; 333, 1; 349, 2.
- Herzberg, Josef. See Moses Mendelssohn.
- Hezekiah b. Isaac b. Baqudah (1617). ספר חזקוני, 448.
- Finzi (16th c.). Query, 114, 114.
- b. Manöah (1260). Referred to, 410, 2.
- b. Reuben (14th c.). חזקוני, 130, 15 a.
- Hiläl Gaon. Resp., 101 d.
- Hillel b. Eliezer of Verona. Commentary on Maimöni's twenty-five Theses, 270.
- Hillel of Modena (16th c.). Letter, 114, 139.
- de la Torre (19th c.). חזקוני, 451, 6.
- Hirsch, David ('Chajes,' 19th c.). Letters, 164, 174.
- Hisdai Crescas (1410). ספר חזקוני, 268.
- Näsä (see Zunz, *Lit. Syn. P.*, p. 345). חזקוני, 232, 1, 1.
- Hiyya b. Solomon b. Habib (13-14th c.). חזקוני, 133.
- Hyims, Emmanuel (19th c.). Sermon, 573.
- Ibn Qapril. חזקוני, 247, 4 a.
- Roahd. חזקוני, 295.
- Immanuel b. Isaac b. Sion Riechi (1706). חזקוני, 154, 1; חזקוני, 154, 2.
- b. Jacob (1415). שמואל, 423, 3.

- Isaac of Urbino (18th c.). Letter, 111 v.
- Viva Voghero (17th c.). Letter, 111 k.
- Isaiah b. Elijah de Trani, the elder, (13th c.). מ'ס' חסד, 132; Glosses, 72.
- —, the younger (13th c.). מס' הלכות, 92, 1; Comment. on דק' 485 a.
- Hurwitz. Glosses on מדרש, 91.
- Ismael b. Elisha. *Attrib.* סדר הדפוס, 316, 3; Prayer, 359, 3.
- Hanināh (16th c.). Resp., 480, 2.
- Menahem. *Attrib.* Extracts from Ben Sirah, 259, 6.
- Israel. פס, 229.
- [Israeli b. Josef]. מדרש ופס, 259, 11.
- b. Aaron b. Isaac of Satanow (17th c.). מס' חסד, 346, 1.
- b. Abraham of Poland (18th c.). Letter, 110.
- (Jacob?) Al Ghāzi (18th c.). Glosses on שור אבן העזר, 119, 1 a.
- of Modena (17th c.?). חורש, 479, 17 b.
- Moses סביל (1864). Sermon, 520, 15.
- b. Moses Samoso (died 1772). איגרת שטים, 427.
- Sarik (16th c.). Abstracts from, 348.
- Simon Schajin (1875). שיר חזק, 398.
- Issachar Baer b. Moses Petahyāh (17th c.). מאמר ביה, 479, 2.
- Issachar b. Mordecai Ber Mikloz (1698). Calendar rules, 226, 3; חשיבות המינים, 226, 5.
- Jacob (Patriarch). *Attrib.* ספר דפוס, 329, 348, 2.
- Commentary on the thirteen divine attributes, 217 c.
- (14th c.?). Responsa, 98 b.
- (13th c.). פנים ושינוי כתב הקדמה, 492, 1.
- of Padua (died 1782). Letters, 111 g.
- קי (17th c.?). Hymns, 233 f.
- פס, 229.
- Treves (17th c.). Catalogue, 517, 1.
- Abohab (18th c.). Letter, 111 v.
- b. Abraham Solomon (16th c.). Resp., 480, 2.
- b. Abraham מאירשן (17th c.). Historical notice and poems, 190 A.
- Jacob Adler (1823). Letter, 483, 16.
- Anatoli (13th c.). מ'ס' חסד, 294, 5.
- b. Aahar (14th c.). Commentary on Pentateuch, 12; מ'ס' חסד, 103, 2 i; חקמה, 180, 15 a.
- רד' חסד of Asti (16th c.); רד' חסד, 479, 4.
- Hirz Beer (1816). Queries, 483, 11.
- Berab (15-16th c.). Resp., 101, 116, g and bb.
- Bodek of Lemberg (19th c.). Letter, 174.
- Castro (16th c.). Resp., 116 i-l.
- of Corbeil (died 1233). Resp., 100.
- Corinaldi (16th c.), Resp., 480, 2.
- b. David Pöhl (14th c.). Tables, 428, 2; 439, 3.
- b. Elazar (13th c.). מ'ס' חסד, 497, 2; מ'ס' חסד, 501.
- Qalonymos b. Eliezer (16th c.). Resp., 480, 2.
- b. Isaac Hallevi Finzi (17th c.). חורש ופנים חסד, 479, 5; Glosses, 479, 6, 8; Letter, 479, 7.
- Forti (18th c.). Letter, 111 i.
- Hāi Luzatto (18th c.). Letter, 111 k.
- Hayyim Vidal Farissol (1422). מ'ס' חסד, 268.
- Huldrika (18th c.). Life of Jesus, 449.
- b. Isaac Al Fandari (18th c.). Letter, 111 v.
- b. Isaac Hallövi (14th c.). חקמה, 180, 15, 9; Resp., 101.
- Lombroso (17th c.). מ'ס' חסד, 479, 6.
- b. Makhir (13-14th c.). On the Astrolabe, 425, 6; On the Quadrant, 425, 7.
- Marago. מאמר לעק, 345.
- b. Meir Tam (12th c.). חקמה, 180, 16; חסד, 180, 18; 492, 5; Resp., 65, 136 f; *Attrib.* מ'ס' חסד, 247, 2; 497, 3; חסד, 92, 2.
- Musafia. חשיבות המינים, 99.
- Israel b. Rafael Finzi (16th c.). Resp., 113.
- Reifmann (19th c.). Letter, 174.
- Roman (17th c.). Hebr. Prosody, 377, 2.
- Hallövi Sappir (1849). מ'ס' חסד, 500; מ'ס' חסד, 520, 6.
- Jacob Semah. חסד מן חסד, 340; חסד חסד, 341; חסד חסד, 342.

- Jacob b. Shāsheth (13th c.). ש"ס
השנים, 487, 1.
— Sobels (18th c.). See Jacob Huldrika.
— Well (15th c.). הלכות שחיטה,
138, 2; 226, 2.
Jedāyāh Happenini (13th c.). Com-
mentary on שלם שלם, 124, 20;
מנחה ומחנאות, 231, 2; *Mām* prayer,
129, 8 d.
Jehiel Bassano (16th c.). Resp.,
116, b, d.
— Castellan (16th c.). Note, 116 n.
— Jehiel Melli (17th c.). ס' הנחיות,
479, 12.
— b. Moses Kōhen (16th c.). Resp.,
480, 2.
Jerōham (14th c.). ס' חמרים, 103, 2 k.
Jēshūa b. Josef (15th c.). הליכות שלם,
474, 1.
Jōsh b. Jehiel (14th c.?). פ"ס, 218,
1 j. 5.
Jōsh b. Nāthān Kōhen (14th c.).
קדוש, 130, 15 a.
Jōhānān Judah Alatrini (16th c.).
Letter, 488, p.
— of Girōn. דמות סדרה, 118, 1.
— b. Mattathias Šarfāthi., Resp.,
124, 9.
— Treves (1510). Resp., 480, 2.
Jōm Tōb b. Abraham of Sevilla
(1342). Novellae, 86.
— — Spitz (19th c.). אנלי ומסחר,
402.
Jonah Gerondi (died 1263). עליית ר',
82, 1; ששי חסויה, 302, 2 a; ח"י שלם,
129, 2.
Jonathan Eibenschütz (1690–1764).
שולחן ערוך, 143; Novellae, 153.
Josef b. יהודה. ר"ה וטרא. ר"ה וטרא,
486, 6.
— כסבוריה (19th c.). Damascus affair,
499 c.
— Hayyim b. Aaron Strasburg
(15th c.). Resp., 124, 11.
— b. Abi Thaur ('Abitur,' 10th c.).
דשעטת, 194, c 3.
— b. Abraham Almosmino. Elegy,
368, a 2.
— b. Abraham Šiyāh. צדוק הדמים,
318.
— Gān b. Abraham. Drafts of
documents, 156, 1.
— Albo (15th c.). On Maimūni's
Thirteen Articles of Creed, 413,
12 b.
— Ashkenāzi (19th c.). Letters,
161, 162.
Josef [b. Azarijāh?] (14th c.). זדה
לרץ, 129, 130.
— Bāqi (17th c.). Elegy, 233 a.
— b. Benvenist (1411). See Joshua
Al Lorqi.
— Benveniste (16th c.). Letter,
371, II k.
— Kōhen Büchner (19th c.). סדרה
מנחה, 520, 11.
— Solomon of Candia. יש לנבון, 484,
2 a.
— Chiqatilla (13th c.). עקרי האמונה,
129, 3 b; Various cabbalistic
treatises, 319 to 321.
— Ezōbi (13th c.). קדוש כספ, 249, 6;
364, 2.
— Finzi (16th c.). Respp., 480, 2.
— b. Gorion. Gloss on 474, 4.
— Herzberg. מועדי שנה. See Moses
Mendelssohn.
— b. Jāhyā (14th c.). Poem, 362,
VII.
— b. Jalil (1287). Historical note,
363, III.
— b. Joshua Hakkōhen (15–16th c.).
Quotation from his "Chronicles,"
181.
— — (16th c.). סקץ נדמים, 444 a;
Supplement, ibid. b.
— b. Jūdāh. בללי השנה ודמיון, 159.
— — Zarko (15th c.). רבי ששים,
367; פ"ס, 100.
— Karo (died 1575). סדר משרים,
325, 6; Respp., 116, a, r.
— Kaspi (1279–1330?). Commentary
on Esther, 297, 2; Ethical Will,
279, 3.
— Kōhen (17–18th c.). Drafts of
Documents, 491 a.
— Kolon (died 1480). Letter of
divorce, 156, 3.
— Liberles (17–18th c.). Novellae,
153.
— b. Meshullām (1468). עליית גברים
and Commentary, 266, 2.
— b. Jacob Montefiore. See Monte-
fiore.
— Motro of Hebron (19th c.). Letter,
162.
— Murdach (1715). ודון יוסף, 351, 3.
— Nahmias (14th c.). Commentary
on Abōdāh, 50, 2; 262, 7; Prayer,
247, 4 b.
— Nāsi. See David Nāsi. דודא
דכל רץ, 182.
— b. Othniel (14th c.). קדוש, 130,
15 a.
— Qamhi (12th c.). ס' הוטרין, 410, 6.

- Josef Joel Rivlin (19th c.). Poem, 390.
- Sefarādi. Resp., 101 d.
- b. Shēm Tōb (15th c.). עין הקדש, 61, 1; במול עקי הדגרים, 287.
- b. Shēsheth b. Latimi (14th c.). Hymn, 448, 6.
- Gershōn b. Solomon. Resp., 124, 12.
- Taitaşāq (16th c.). Letter, 371, 1 e.
- de Trani (16-17th c.). Letter, 116 h.
- b. Verga (16th c.). שארית קדש, 322, 2.
- Walsikanaki (1841). Letter, 483, 17 c.
- Zamiro (19th c.). Letter, 161.
- Joshua b. Barūkh. טשריך, 325, 5.
- Josef b. David Levi (18th c.). ברת חמוץ, 381.
- b. Israel Benveniste (1635). קשרים, 377, 1.
- b. Josef (died 1648). פני ידוע, 109.
- Al Lorqi (15th c.). Letter, 301, 2; גרס המעלה, 445.
- Moses Marpurgo (18th c.). Letter, 469, 5.
- b. Shoeib (14th c.). Homilies, 60, 1 [attrib. Commentary on Psalms, 37].
- Segre (died 1806). משע חלי, 453; שר המבוא, 138, 1.
- b. Šiōn Segre (19th c.). Letter, 179, 6.
- Judah. Prayers, 254 b.
- Abbās (12th c.). כסא כבוד, 64; פיוט, 229.
- Anaw (13th c.). הלכות מרומ, 216, II g.
- Abravanel (16th c.). Poems, 362, V (fol. 69).
- b. Bal'ām (11th c.). קשר מרמי סקרי, 406, 1.
- b. Barzillāi (12th c.). ח' הערים, 126; Comm. on יצירה, 312.
- Briel (died 1722). On מרומ, 142, 5.
- of Corbeil (12th c.). Resp., 130, 9 f.
- b. David b. Aaron Hallēvi (19th c.). שרי חולה, 391.
- b. Elāzar Al Madāri (13th c.). Commentary on Al Fāsi, 75.
- b. Eliezer. On the Astrolabe, 425, 9.
- Hamu (16th c.). Resp., 116 h.
- Al Harizi (12-13th c.). Extracts from חזקוני, 247, 7 b-d; Poems, 362, 1; Transl. of Maimūni's Comment. on חלק, 297, 6; אגדה, 433, 2.
- Judah Hāsīd (12-13th c.). Ethical Will, 92, 3; 130, 16 c.
- b. Isaac of ברית (12-13th c.). חסידות, 65; [Resp., 135 b?].
- Levi b. Isaac Shabbethāi (1214). ספר יצירה שו"ת, 365, 2; 458, 1.
- b. Jacob Honein (Ghir. 212). ס' האר, 335, 1.
- b. Jahyā. Poems, 362, V, VII.
- b. Jāqār. Comm. on the Thirteen Divine Attributes, 487, 2.
- Aryeh b. Josef Pereš (18th c.). ארצי, 193.
- hal-Lābān. חסידות יסא, 66.
- [b. Isaac] Sir Leon (1166-1227). חסידות, 67.
- Hallēvi (12th c.). Philosophy: ס' החור, 267; Commentaries on, 268, 269. Liturgy: אהרן, 259, 2; פיוטים, 253 A. a; 493, 6. Poetry: 362, IV.
- Hāsīd b. Levi Sinai (16th c.). Resp., 480, 2.
- b. Meir Hakkōhēn. Resp., 101 d.
- Minz (died 1508). Elegy, 488 m.
- b. Moses Mosconi. Supercomm. on Ibn Ezra, 49.
- b. Moses b. Daniel Romano (13-14th c.). Translations, 278, 1; שירים, 278, 2.
- (?). Abstracts from his cabalistic works, 333, 1.
- Hannāi, קשר ברת הארץ, 423, 2.
- b. Nathan (12th c.). Talmudical Glosses, 90, 4.
- Nathan Provençal. Glosses on Lamentations, 14, 7 (Ghir. 134).
- אלתאק (16th c.). Letter, 371, I f.
- b. Qalonymos (13-14th c.). Query, 130, 3.
- Sarfāthi (16th c.?). Letter, 371, I c.
- b. Shabbathāi (16th c.). Resp., 480, 2.
- b. Simon (14th c.). חקמ, 130, 15 a.
- Leb b. Simon (1659). Comment. on Pentateuch, 30.
- b. Tabbōn (12th c.). ס' החור, 267; attrib. רמח"ק, 366, 3; 303 b.
- Zarqō (16th c.). Letters, 371, I b, II g; 463, 1 b.
- Kalman (14th c.). Glosses on Jacob b. Ashēr's Comm. on the Pentateuch, 12.

- Mendelssohn, Moses (1729-1786), *Morgenstunden*, Hebr. version, 310; Reply to Lavater, 457.
- Mendez, David Franco (18th c.). תשובת ישראל על ידי יהודה, 376.
- Michael b. Shabbethai (16th c.). Resp., 480, 2.
- Michael of Siena (18th c.). מ'כרונה, 478.
- Miriam b. Wolf b. Josef (18th c.). Obituary notice on, 343 b.
- Moise di Lazzano (18th c.). Letter, 111 a.
- Montefiore, Josef Jacob (18th c.). Writings, 59.
- Lady (19th c.). Journal, 567.
- Moses (1789-1885). Statistical accounts, 528-557; Letters and petitions to, 574-577.
- Mordecai. Query, 130, 3; מ'יט, 229, 230, A 21.
- Finzi (15th c.). Tables, 428, 3.
- Samuel Ghirondi (died 1852). Autograph works, 56-58, 160-186, 477; וסמן סודי, 481; קל ששן, 481, 5.
- Aaron Ginsburg (19th c.). חסד רמז, 561, 1.
- b. Honein. מ'ט, 431, 11 c.
- b. Isaac b. Qamhi (16-17th c.). Letter, 116 d.
- Isbān (18th c.). דורי, 257.
- Jishāqi (15th c.?). Poems, 371, II c.
- Kōhān (16-17th c.). Letter, 464.
- Hallēvi (17-18th c.). Glosses 119, 1 g; On synonyms, 119, 2 c.
- Moses ... in Florence (15th c.). מ'ט, 17, 1 a; דרשה, 17, 1 b.
- Abbās. מ'ט, 229.
- b. Abraham Catalano (17th c.). Poem, 473 b.
- b. Abraham Provinciale (died 1575). Responses and Letters, 114.
- b. Abraham Sarfāthi, Resp., 480, 2.
- Al Ashqar (18th c.). Letter, 111.
- Ashkenazi (14th c.?). Cabbalistic notes on behalf of, 358 a.
- Basula b. Abraham (Ghir., 248, 16th c.). Resp., 580, 2.
- ברטל (15th c.?). Poems, 371, III f.
- of Brussels. חזון דמשה, 103, 2 c.
- of Bunzlau (18th c.). Novellae, 153.
- Corduero (16th c.). מ'ר נטר, 324, 1; Abstracts from, 348, 1.
- Moses of Concy (13th c.). מ'ר סנדר, דגורל, 121; Glosses on, 103, 2 d; 124, 1 [see also 108].
- Hakkōhen b. Crispin. Abstr. from מ'כ, 103, 2 g.
- b. Eliezer Hallēvi (16th c.?). Query, 114.
- b. Eliezer Hayy (18th c.). Letter, 111 a.
- b. Ezra (12th c.). מ'ט, 190, C c; 196 b; Poems, 362, II, VII.
- b. Isaac Halayo (16th c.). Commentaries on Canticles and Ruth, 39.
- b. Israel Finzi (16th c.). Resp., 480, 2.
- b. Judah Benjamin Has-Sefarādi, (14th c.?). חסדו הייחד, 214, A.
- b. Judah מ'ר טעמים (14th c.). Supercomm. to Ibn Ezra, 10, 47.
- b. Josef de Trani (16th c.). Resp., 109.
- Kōhān Tordesillas (14th c.). מ'ס, דרש, 283; עזר דמשה, ibid., 2; 284.
- Latif (15th c.). Prayer, 249, 7.
- de Leon (13th c.). מ'ה הדורה, Abstr., 124, 17.
- Hal Lēvi (13th c.). [מ'ס סוהר] Compilation of ritual rules, 136.
- Meshullām hal-Lēvi (16-17th c.). Resp., 116 a.
- Hayyim Lusatto (1707-1747). Prayer, 185.
- Bonito Provinciale (16th c.). Horoscope, 124, 15.
- Maimonides (1135-1204). סוהר Index to Books XII-XIV, 156, 2; Abstracts from סוהר, 103, 2 f; from Comm. on Mishnāh, ibid., 1; סוהר, 484, 7 b; Resp., 97; 103, 4 a; אמרו חזק, 493, 2; סוהר, 481, 4; Medical, מ'ט, 439, 1; Anecdotes on, 484, 5 b; Comm. on סוהר, 95; 266, 4; 273, 2; Attributed: Letter, 431, 4; Poem, 368, d 2; חסדו חזק, 233 b.
- b. Maimun Al Bāz (16th c.). מ'ר, 335, 2.
- Mendelssohn. See Mendelssohn.
- b. Mordecai (14th c.?). Resp., 130, 3.
- b. Mordecai Provençal (16th c.). Resp., 480, 2.
- Al-Mosnino (16th c.). Poem, 362, VII.
- b. Mūsā. Comm. on the Thirteen Rules, 158, 1 a; כלי דרי דהלמוד, ibid. b.

- Moses Nahmanides (13th c.). Comm. on Pentateuch, 13, 2; on Isaiah lii. 13, 33, 2; Novellae, 80, 81, 83 b; Resp., 100 b; 103, 2 a; 124, 13; Letter, 461, A 2; Prayers, 247, 4 c; 253, A c; 495, 3; Philos., שם, דמיון, 497, 1; Polemical, שם, 451, 1; Supercomm., 54, 55, 130, 11; attrib. Homily, 485 c.
- Hannaqdān (13th c.). הנקדן 'ס, 408.
- b. Nāthān דודא (16–17th c.). Resp., 116 qq.
- Padubeno (18th c.). Query, 111 l.
- Qamhi (13th c.). סודר, 217 k, 1.
- Rapp (18th c.). Novellae, 153.
- Hayy Recanati (17–18th c.), 111 p.
- Rieti (14th c.). Poems, 124, 5 c; 488 r; ספר השירים, 124, 5 f; אגדה, שם, 488 q.
- Sachs (1858). שיר לסעודה, 401; Der Sammler and שו"ת, 414.
- Al Shēkh (16th c.). Resp., 116 kk.
- Samhūn (19th c.). Letters, 164, 183.
- b. Samuel. פוסקים, 332 f.
- b. Senior. על הכל, 150, 2.
- Söfer (1758). Resp., 148 a; 450, 2.
- Hayyim סופר (1778). Autogr. Poems, 386.
- b. Tabbōn (13th c.). Transl. of Maimūni's Comm. on שם, 484, 7 b; Comm. on Ibn Gabirol's אגדה, 297, 1; דמיון, שם, 294, 1.
- Taqū. כתב היד, 300.
- Vernon (16th c.). Letter, 116 p.
- Zaccuto (17th c.). שירי השכחה, 361; ספר השו"ת, שם, 357 f; Marriage ceremony according to, 346, 4; פוסקים, 235.
- Mūsā b. Tūbi (13th c.). See Sol. b. Immanuel Dafeira.
- Muscato, Leon (died 1573). Resp., 114.
- Naftālī. Gloss, 153.
- Hirsch Goelar (18th c.). אגדה, שם, 306.
- of Lublin. Will, 343 c.
- Nahmān b. Meir Rappoport (18th c.). דמיון, 346.
- Nāhūm Foa. שם, 248 c.
- Nāthān (17th c.?). Resp., 109.
- b. Isaac (14th c.). חקמה, 130, 15 a.
- b. Jehiel (11–12th c.). שם, 415.
- Nāthān Mar'igi (19th c.). Letters, 161, 173.
- b. Menahem (16th c.). Resp., 480, 2.
- of Aigre (15th c.). Letter, 156, 3.
- b. Moses Hannover (17th c.). שם, 346, 1.
- Ottolenghi (16th c.). Letter, 464.
- b. Simon (14th c.). חקמה, 130, 15 a.
- Spiro (died 1662). ספרו שם, 331 a; 332; Glosses on the שם, 117, 1, 4.
- Nathanael b. Aaron Jacob Segre (died 1691). שם, 463, 1.
- Kaspi (15th c.). שם, 269.
- hal-Levi (1727). Certificate, 111 c.
- Nehemiah of Worms. Liturgical Glosses, 479, 27 c.
- Hayyūn (18th c.). Letters, 469.
- Nehunyāh b. Haqqāneh. חסד ורחמים, 323, 2.
- Nessim, S. (19th c.). Letter, 183.
- Nieto, David (1654–1728). ספרו, 307.
- Nissim b. Jacob (11th c.). ספרו, 484, 9; שם, 244 f.
- b. Reuben. Autogr. Commentary on Genesis 20; Novellae and Resp., 90, 4; 93, 94, 1; 101.
- Nurlingen. See Aaron David.
- Obadiah Sforzo (16th c.). Commentary on Psalms, 35, 1.
- Oppenheim, David (18th c.). Catalogue of books, 516.
- Paltavai Gaon. Resp., 101.
- Paz (E. de). Accounts, 239, 4.
- Pereš b. Elijah (14th c.?). חקמה, 69; Glosses, 101 c; 104, 1; 130, 22; הלכות, rules, 130, 13; 152, 1; 156, 1.
- Pereš hak-Kōhēn. Commentary on שם, 487, 4; ספרו, 346, 3.
- Petrus Hispanus (13th c.). Summula, 305, 6.
- Philipson. See Teller.
- Phineas Ashkenazi (18–19th c.). שם, 143, 5; וידוע, שם, 222.
- b. Josef וידוע (19th c.). Letter, 176.
- Piperno, Abraham Baruch (19th c.). Poems, 520, 16; 522.
- Poppers. See Meir.
- Profet Dūrān (14–15th c.). שם, 405; כלים, 447; אגדה, שם, 301, 4; 446, 1; Letters, 262, 3; 431, 8.

- Purbach (1423 - 1461). *Theorica*, 423, 5.
 Qaifi. פיס, 229.
 Qalonymos b. Gershōm (14th c.).
 Query, 130, 3.
 — Naai (13th c.). מנחם, 431, 11.
 — b. Qalonymos (13-14th c.). ספר
 מוריס, 365, 1.
 Ibn Qapril. בקשה, 247, 4.
 Rabbinowicz, Meir (19th c.). מנחם
 מרדכי, 520, 3.
 Rafael Baruch b. Abraham (1810).
 קל השנים, 352.
 — Birdogo. קצור דברי שו"ת, 141, 2.
 — Kōhēn (19th c.). Discourse, 499 d.
 — Segre (19th c.). Letter, 174.
 — Josef Treves. Poems, 479, 26 b-c.
 27 b.
 Rappoport, Moritz (19th c.). Mose,
 385.
 — Nahmān b. Meir (17th c.). הסכמה,
 346, 1.
 — S. See Solomon.
 Reuben b. Jacob. Poems, 384.
 — of Modena (18-19th c.). Hymns,
 237, 1.
 Rivlin, Josef Jōel (19th c.). Poem,
 390.
 Romanini. See Aaron Magliab.
 Rumili, Elijah and Samuel Hezekiah
 (16th c.). Letter, 114.
 Saadyāh Gaon (died 942). Arabic
 version of Pentateuch, 2, 3; מ'מנחם
 Contents, 483, 9; א'ז'א. Arabic
 Midrash on Decalogue, 192; חסד
 דוד, 248 b. Prayers, 247, 11 c;
 254 a; 487, 3 b.
 Sa'adyāh b. Elijah. שו"ת (1684);
 Autograph works, 421.
 — מנחם, פיס, 190, A 3.
 Sabato Isache Ambrou. Viaggio, &c.,
 520, 13.
 Sachs. See Moses.
 Sacrobosco (1426). מנחם אפרים, 424, 1.
 Salman Kitzinger (15th c.). Resp.,
 146 z, 153.
 Samson, Jacob b. Commentary on
 מנחם, 217 a.
 Samson of Chinon (1310). מ' כרית,
 90, 2; 157.
 Samson b. Efraim (14th c.). חקטת,
 130, 15 a.
 — b. Eliezer (14th c.). ברוך שאמר,
 150, 4.
 — Kohen (16th c.). לקשים, 348, 1.
 Samson of Ostropol (died 1648).
 Novella, 153.
 — Kōhēn (1703). שו"ת סמון, 255.
 — b. Sādōq (13-14th c.). חס"פ,
 130, 22; 150, 1.
 — of Sens (12-13th c.). חסמח, 87.
 Samuel. פיסים, 233 a.
 — Archevoldi (died 1611). Poem,
 182; Letters, 464.
 — Cases (16th c.). Query, 114.
 — Hayyūn (17th c.). Letter, 116 y.
 — b. Eliyzer (17th c.). Letter, 116 aa.
 — Abohab (1646-1657). Letters and
 Respp., 112; 482, 1.
 — [אבנר] of Cremona (16th c.).
 Letter, 114.
 — b. Daniel. Letter, 461, B b.
 — b. Jacob (15-16th c.). ראשי חלק,
 217 k.
 — Judah Katzenellenbogen (16th c.).
 Respp., 464; 480, 2.
 — Kōhēn of Tiberias (19th c.).
 Letter, 164.
 — Leb Goldenberg (19th c.). Letter,
 174.
 — Schmelke b. Meir (17th c.).
 הסכמה, 346, 1.
 — b. Moses. Resp., 101.
 — b. Moses Dlugotsch (1700). מנחם
 שמואל (Preface only), 182.
 — Isaac b. Moses Hayy Finzi (1845).
 מנחם משה, 353.
 — b. Moses Kōhēn (1821). Poem,
 389.
 Samuel Mōtōt (14th c.). מנחם סמון,
 10, 48; מנחם סמון, 130, 31; 279,
 1; 303 a; 483, 10.
 — Hannāgid (11th c.). מנחם חננאל,
 474, 2.
 — b. Perahyāh (16th c.). Poem, 362,
 VII.
 — Hallēvi b. Sa'adyāh (16 c.). Resp.,
 116 a.
 — Portaleone. Commentary on צידה,
 315 a; מ' ספר, 479, 1; Commentary
 on יציר Sabb. Han. 479, 27 a;
 Letter, 479, 16 b; Glosses on Al-
 Fāsi, 480, 4.
 — b. Šarša (14th c.). מנחם יציר,
 282.
 — שלום of Genoa (1757). Letter,
 148 a.
 — Schlettstadt (17th c.). מנחם קטן,
 139, 9 a.
 — b. Solomon Isaac (16th c.). Resp.,
 480, 2.
 — b. Tabbōn (13th c.). לקוש מנחם,
 213, II; 297, 4; 479, 27 a; מנחם
 סמון, חסד דוד, transl. 297, 5.

- Samuel Taqū (16th c.). Resp., 116 a.
 — de Vechio (16th c.). Resp., 480, 2.
 — Pardo (19th c.). Letter, 176.
 — Warburg b. Jacob Manspach (1783).
 זקן שטאָל, 16.
 Sandor Nemtes (17th cent.). Sermon,
 153.
 Sanguinetti, B. P. (19th c.). Poem,
 520, 14.
 Sappir, Jacob (19th c.). Poem, 400.
 Sarasohn, Elijah (1875). סערסאָן,
 523.
 Saul Formigini (19th c.). Letter,
 173.
 — Kohen Katzenellensohn (19th c.).
 Letter, 164.
 Schoenfeld, Baruch (19th c.). Letters,
 483, 176 d.
 Şebi Hirsch. Letter, 483, 3.
 — (1845). שטיי וואָרט, 521.
 Segura, P. (1841). Sermon, 559.
 Seligmann Bing Oppenheimer (15th c.)
 סעליגמאַן, 146; ריחן, 303 b.
 Şemah. Life of Isaac Loria, 325, 1.
 — b. Abraham (16th c.). Resp.,
 480, 2.
 Shabbethai. פערס, 229.
 — פערס סטודיוס מודעס (18th c.).
 142, 2.
 — Rafael (17th c.). ... העלומס, 'ס,
 344.
 — Elhānān Treves (19th c.). Letter,
 164.
 Schajjin. See Israel.
 Shammāsh. פערס, 229.
 Sharḥel (שארעל). Poem, 493, 7 a.
 Shealtiel Gradiano. Prayer, 129, 8 a.
 Shem Tob b. Abraham b. Gāṣn
 (14th c.). Superroom. on Nah-
 mānides, 487, 6. כרר שם טוב, 13, 3;
 חסר, 'ס, 431, 17.
 — Ardutial (14th c.). See Israel
 Israeli b. Josef.
 — b. Isaac Shafrit (14th c.).
 כערס, 286, 46; אמן ברוך, 286.
 — b. Palquera (13th c.). ראשית חכמה,
 272; כרר ברוכוס חכש, 273, 1.
 Shemaryāh of Negroponte (1328).
 Letter, 305, 1.
 Silberberg, S. (1820). Letter, 483, 30.
 Simḥah. Isaac b. Moses (18th c.).
 ארר ברדיקס, 490, 3.
 — Kalimani (1771). פערס, 234, 7.
 — Luzatto (died 1663). Resp., 109.
 — Qalonymus. ריכרס סטול, 372.
 — b. Samuel (14th c.). רוקנס, 130,
 15 a.
 — b. Solomon. On יששכר, 305, 2 b.
 Simmel, Wolf (18th c.). כררס יקרב,
 151.
 Simon Ashkenāzi (16-17th c.). Resp.,
 116 ff.
 — Lēvi (16 c.). Letter, 484.
 — Simon b. Şemah Dūrān (1361-
 1444). סמאן קאן פראפאס, 62, 3;
 Resp., 103, 2 a. Poema, 362, VI;
 494, 1; פערס הרטור, 156, 4.
 Sinzheim, David. Poem, 493, 7 a.
 Ben Sirāch. Extracts, 259, 6.
 de Sola (1841). Sermon, 565.
 Solomon. פערס, 229.
 — b. Abbā Māri Jarḥi (14th c.).
 לטקן לטחיס, 407, 1.
 — b. Abraham Abigedor (15th c.).
 See Sacrobosco.
 — אברקאן (16th c.). Letter, 116 מה.
 — b. Addereth (13-14th c.). חורר
 Abstr. 103, 2 f; Respp., 100 b;
 101 a; 102, 1; 103, 1, 3; 124, 10;
 130, 1, 9 a. Commentary on Agādā,
 77, 78; Novellae, 83, 84; Prayer,
 485 d.
 — b. Ayyub (13th c.). ס' הרשעים והשלים,
 295; Medical Treatise, 440, 1.
 — Benveniste, 371, III c.
 — Bonfed, see Sol. b. Reuben.
 — Carcassoni, ריכרס, 363.
 — b. Ezekiel Feiwei (19th c.). סטור
 חורר, 526; אמן ברוך, 509; Address,
 560.
 — b. Gabirol (11th c.). סכרס הפנינים (?),
 265, 266, 1; כרר סלח, 129, 3 a;
 194 b; 213, 1 f; Poema, 362,
 III, VI; Glosses on אידורס, 479,
 27 d.
 — Elieser Ghirondi (1684). כערסס נסיון,
 489, 1.
 — Hansu (18th c.). סטסס לטקן קרס,
 412.
 — Hassān (18th c.). פערס הרשעים והשלים,
 494, 2.
 — Hēfēs. Sermon transl., 483, 18.
 — b. Immanuel Dafeira (14th c.).
 כרר ריכרס, 297, 3.
 — b. Isaac (11-12th c.). Commen-
 taries: Pentat., 2; Earlier Prophets,
 32; Psalms, 5; הרשעים 'ס Extr. 103,
 2 h; ס' הרשעים, 125; Respp., 128,
 130, 9 b; 155; 492, 6; כרר חכש,
 152, 3 c; 216, II m; *Attributed*:
 Commentary on אמן, 32, 2; 76;
 227 g (see Samson); Glosses, 101;
 Glosses on, 55.
 — b. Isaac b. Moses (1593). Poema,
 265.
 — b. Israel (16th c.). Resp., 480, 2.

- Solomon b. Josef סלמון. Letters, 363.
 — b. Judah Leb (19th c.). Poem, 393.
 — b. Labi (14th c.). Comm. on 'ס המצות והמזבח, 274, 2.
 — Levi. Poems, 362, VII; 371, I g; II f.
 — Loria (died 1573). Resp., 116 ff; Glosses on שמות, 117, 2, 4; נב, 117, 6; 107 (?).
 — Salmon Meir of Lamberg (18th c.). Letter, 111 m.
 — b. Meshullam Dafieira Diwān, 369; Letters and Poems, 363; 371, II a; אמר נוסח, 495, 2.
 — b. Moses Al-Ashkar. פוסקים, 233 a.
 — of Narbonne. Medical work, 439, 2.
 — Nissim (19th c.). Letter, 164.
 — Oliveira (18th c.). שלחן ערוך, 145.
 — Pappenheim (1740-1814). מכתב, 493, 1.
 — Parhōn (12th c.). Dictionary (Abstr.), 410, 4.
 — b. שמר. Letter, 371, I f.
 — Al-Qabīs (16th c.). Comm. on the שמות to Esther, 14; Resp., 325, 9; Cabbalistic treatises, 334, 1, 2; Prayer, 59, 1; Poem, 413, 11.
 — Al Qalāl (19th c.). מכתב ידועה, 518.
 — Rappoport (18-19th c.). Letter, 176; Historical note, 433, 20.
 — b. Reuben Bonfed (1400). Poems, 363; Letters, 369 b; 371, III b.
 — de Rossi (1563). Music, 259, 7.
 — b. Šemaḥ (Dūrān, 16th c.). כליצה, 446, 5.
 — b. Shemāyāh (16th c.). Resp., 480, 2.
 — b. Simon b. Šemaḥ (15th c.). Respp., 101.
 — Gottlieb Stern (19th c.). Supercomm. on Ibn Ezra, 51.
 — Jedidyāh Troki (1710). Writings, 189.
 — b. Verga (16th c.). שבת ידועה, 160, 2.
 — Zargā (19th c.). פנינים אמרשי, 144.
 Sommerhausen, H. (19th c.). סדר דודא, 490, 2.
 Spitz, Jōm Tōb. אנלי דמעת, 402.
 Susmann (15th c.). איסור ודירה, 137.
 Teller, Zebi Eliezer (19th c.). הידורים, 374; קשר בן נחמה, 375.
 Tirnī, Matth. Nissim (1770-1772). ידועה, שנתקדש על שמות הקדש, 387.
 Tobias. אמר נוסח (Abstr.), 433, 8.
 — b. Eliezer (11-12th c.). שידוש החרדה, 103, 2 n.
 — Isaac Baruch (1783). ס' הסתכל, 309.
 Todros Hallēvi (13th c.). Poem, 279, 4 c; שש חורים, 317.
 Toledo. שידוש, 239.
 Treves (1648). Poem, 233 4, 1.
 — Josef (16th c.). Letter, 114.
 Ullmann, Hirz (18th c.). דוכסות המוש, 308.
 Vidal Benveniste (15th c.). Poem (Vidal b. Labi), 363, VI; 367, IV; 371, II i; III e.
 Vitta Voltarra (18th c.). Letter, 111 r.
 Walsikanski, Josef (1841). Letter, 433, 17.
 Weil of Karlsruhe (18th c.). Novella, 153.
 Werbel Elijah Mordecai (19th c.). Poem, 395.
 Wessely, Hartwig (1725-1805). See Mendelssohn.
 Wolf Austerlitz. See Austerlitz.
 Zanvil of Cremona (16th c.). Resp., 114.
 Zechariah Plongian (18th c.). 'ס וזכיה, 325, 3.
 — b. Sartiḡ (15-16th c.). Commentary on Esther, 43.
 Zedekiah b. Abraham Anaw (13th c.). שובל הלשון, 127, 128.
 Zerah in France (1452). 'ס ודורו על, 490, 1.
 Zerahyāh Hallevi Gerundi (12th c.). שידוש, 431, 11 b; שידוש, 229.
 Zimmer Nathan Aryeh b. David (1885). Cabbalistic work, 356.
 Zunz, Leopold (1794-1885). Sermon 433, 18; Notes on Gottesdienstliche Vorträge, 433, 19.

B. TITLES.

- אבי העזרי, by Eliezer b. Jōšl Hallēvi, 115, 130, 2, 9 d.
אבן בן, by Shēm Tōb b. Isaac Shafrūt, 286.
אבן העזר, by Judah Leon b. Moses Mosconi, 49.
אבן רמיה, by Jōm Tōb Spitz, 402.
אביר, 466, 3.
אגרות רמיה, 465.
אגרות אל חזי סבוח, by Profet Dūrān, 446, 1.
אגרות בסוד קריאת החכמות, by Al-Farābī, 469, 4.
אגרות החכמות, by Jedāyāh Happenini, 231, 2.
אגרות המוסר, transl. by Judah al-Harizi, 433, 2.
אגרות מוסר, by Naftālī Hirsch Goslar, 306.
'אגרות מוסר, by Abraham Maimūni, 493, 4.
אגרות מסעות יחזקאל רדקי ראשית ירושלים, 466, 4.
אגרות העשרה, by Abraham b. Meir de Balme, 291.
אגרות השבט, by Abraham b. Ezra, 279, 5.
אגרות חסד, by Maimūni, 493, 2.
אגרות השו"ת המינים, by Leon of Modena, 456.
אגרות אליהו, by Elijah Ḥayy b. Moses Nāḥmū, 250, 1.
אגרות הסדרה, 413, 8.
אגרות חיים, by Abraham Zakkuto, 325, 4.
אגרות לישן הקדש הקדש, 411.
אגרות מוסר, by Tobias, 483, 8.
אגרות ראבי"ה, by Elyāqim Mehlack, 347.
אגרות חיים, by Ḥayyim Vital, 328, 2.
אגרות, by Hisdai Crescas, 281.
אגרות מוסר, by Moses Corduero, 324, 1.
אגרות, by Judah b. Jacob Ḥonein, 335, 1.
אגרות השל, by Abraham Abulafia, 316, 1.
אגרות צדיקים, by the Qaraite Simḥah Isaac b. Moses, 490, 3.
אגרות, by Qalonymos Nāsi, 431, 11 a.
אגרות, by Zerahiah Hallēvi b. Isaac, 431, 11 b.
— by Solomon b. Gabirol with Comm., 297, 1.
אגרות מוסר, by Mattathias b. Moses, 503.
אגרות הדני, 451, 2.
אגרות רבי הר"ח, Supereomm. on Raḥi, 44, 1.
אגרות מוסר, by Solomon Wolf Feiwel, 509.
אגרות, by Galenus, 440, 5.
אגרות הרמיה, by Abraham b. Daud, 274, 1.
אגרות (contents), by Saadyah, 493, 9.
אגרות מוסר, by Judah Lēb b. Simon, 30.
אגרות מוסר, by Issachar Baer b. Moses Petahyāh, 479, 2.
אגרות מוסר, by Solomon b. Meshullam Dafeira, 495, 2.
אגרות מוסר, Maḥsūr, rite of Algiers, 193.
אגרות, 130, 4.
אגרות לעקב, by Jacob Marago, 345.
אגרות, by Elijah b. Isaac Carcassoni, 134.
אגרות מוסר, by R. Susman, 137.
אגרות מוסר, by Isaac of Düren, 135.
אגרות, by the Qaraite Jedidyāh Troki, 139, 1.
אגרות, by Jacob b. Mākhir, 425, 6.
— (Commentary on), 425, 7.

בבד נזק, by *Mattathias b. Mami*, 379.

חזר (Extracts from), 124, 16.

וזר, by *David of Rooca Martino*, 301, 1.

ז'רז, by *Zachariah Plongian*, 325, 3.

ז'רז, by *Josef Qamhi*, 410, 6.

ז'רז יקז, by *Josef Murdach*, 351, 3.

ז'רז מרז, by *Mordecai Sam. Ghironi*, 178, 481, 1.

ז'רז, by *Michael of Siena*, 478.

ז'רז, by *Mordecai Sam. Ghironi*, 58.

ז'רז, by *David Majär*, 351, 1.

ז'רז, by *Isaac Israeli*, 305, 4.

ז'רז ר' זר, by *Jacob b. Meir Tam*, 92, 2.

ז'רז, by *Solomon b. Addereth*, 484, 5 a.

ז'רז, by *Israel Modena*, 479, 17 b.

ז'רז, by *Jacob b. Isaac Finzi*, 479, 6.

ז'רז, by *Abraham Broda*, 87.

ז'רז, 231, 1 a.

ז'רז, by *Hayyim Vital*, 331 b.

ז'רז, by *Mattathias Nissim Tirni*, 387.

ז'רז, by *Joshua of Gerona*, 129, 2.

ז'רז, by *Abraham Abulafia*, 322, 1.

ז'רז, by *Hirs Ullmann*, 308.

ז'רז, by *Abraham b. Ezra*, 419, 2.

ז'רז, by *Mordecai Aaron Ginzburg*, 561, 1.

ז'רז, by *Zerah*, 490, 1.

ז'רז, 494, 3.

ז'רז, *David Näsi*, 483, 1 b; *Jacob b. Hödajäh*, 130, 17; *Jacob Tam*, 130, 18; 492, 5.

ז'רז, by *Abraham b. Hiyya*, 422.

ז'רז, by *Duran of Lunel*, 460.

ז'רז, 142, 2.

ז'רז, 479, 7 d.

ז'רז, 479, 7 e; 495, 1.

ז'רז, by *Petrus Hispanus* (?), 305, 5, 6.

ז'רז, by *Gershom Hefes*, 495, 4.

ז'רז, by *Hayyim*, 383.

ז'רז, transl. *Sebi Elieser Teller*, 374.

ז'רז, by *Abraham b. Ezra*, 404.

ז'רז (Comm. on *Gen.*), 266, 4.

ז'רז, 429.

ז'רז, by *Isaac Israeli*, Extracts, 130, 7.

ז'רז, by *Josef*, 438, 1.

ז'רז, by *Josef Solomon of Candia*, 484, 2 a.

ז'רז, *Fragm.*, 316, 4; *Commentaries on*; see *Isaac b. Abraham*, *Isaac the Blind*, *Samuel Portaleone* (313-315).

ז'רז, attrib. to *Jacob Tam*, 247, 2; 497, 3.

ז'רז, by *Bahyäh b. Asher*, 506.

ז'רז, by *Immanuel b. Isaac b. Sion Ricchi*, 154, 1.

ז'רז, 471, 4; *Isaac Loria*, 326.

ז'רז, by *Menahem Azariah b. Fano*, 338 e.

ז'רז, by *al-Ghazali*, 292, 2.

ז'רז, by *Menahem Azariah of Fano*, 338 d.

ז'רז, by *Judah Hallövi*, 267.

ז'רז, by *Joshua Josef b. David Levi*, 381.

ז'רז, by *Abraham b. Ezra*, 423, 6.

ז'רז, by *Jacob b. Makhir*, 425, 7.

ז'רז, transl. by *Jacob b. Elieser*, 501.

ז'רז, by *Mordecai Samuel Ghironi*, 180, 1.

ז'רז, by *Josef b. Judah has-Sefaradi*, 159.

מלך סור שלם בקצו, 472 a.

כללים על הסדרים, 412, 9.

ס', כלום הגים, by Profet Dürān, 447.

בנק רגים, by Jacob Hallévi Sappir, 400.

כאמ נכד, by Judah Abbās, 64.

ס', כרחם, by Samson of Chinon, 157.

הכשרון, by Samuel Gumpertz, 483, 27.

כתב חמים, by Moses Taqu, 300.

כתבים ומצאות, by Isaac, 462.

כרובה כמנהג קטריא, 156, 6.

כרועס סטס, by Solomon Gottlieb Stern, 51.

כרר מלטה, by Solomon b. Gabirol, 129, 3.

כרר שט סור, by Abraham of Cologne, 13, 1.

כרר שט סור, by Shem Töb b. Gaon, 13, 3; 487, 6.

לוחה וסמס, 417, 4.

לוח לחכמת הקבלה, by Josef Chiqatilla, 319, 1.

[לוחות]. See Abraham Zakkuto, 426, 2; Jacob Poel, Mordecai Finzi, 426, 2, 3, and 431, 432.

לוח חן דרה לירך, by Abraham Belais, 571.

לוח סן השטים, by Jacob Semah, 340, 1.

לוח שטים, by the Qaraite Solomon Jedidyah Troki, 189, 2.

למנהג על השטתה, by Aaron Maaliyah Romanini, 403.

לקוש אורח, by Samuel b. Tabbōn, 479, 27 a.

לקוש רוד, by David b. Rafael Meldola, 120.

לקוש הקדמות לחכמת הקבלה, attrib. to Solomon al-Qabis, 334, 2.

לקוש ששנים, by Mordecai Samuel Ghironi, 180, 181.

לקושם, by Abraham Galante, 348, 1.

לקשים מלים, by Hayyim Vital, 327, 3; 426, 5.

לשק שטיאל, by Samuel Warburg, 16.

לשק ורג, 413, 4.

לשק לוחים, by Solomon b. Abba Māri Jarhi, 407, 1.

לשק צדחה, 414 b.

סאריני חכמת, by Hisdai Crescas, 288.

סאורח טון, by Nathan Spiro, 331 a; 332.

סאורח עינים, by Isaac b. Samuel of Acco, 323, 1.

סאמר במספר החכמות, by al-Farābi, 393.

סאמר גים, by Menahem Asariah of Fano, 338, 1 a.

סאמר הודר, by Isaac Loria, 333, 1.

סאמר קצר במלאת השיר, 158, 2.

ס', סאמרם.

סבוא במלאת, by Bernart Alberti, 441, 3.

סבוא הדקות, by Benjamin b. Judah, 407, 2; 410, 1.

סבוא החלום, by Samuel Hannāgid, 474, 2.

סבדור חגינים, by Solomon b. Gabirol (?), 32, 3; 265; 266, 1.

סבד משרים, by Josef Karo, 325, 6.

סבדח יעקב, 151.

סגולה עמוקה, 346, 2.

סגולה עמוקה, by Maimūni, 481, 4.

סגולה אחשווש, by Anselmo Astruc, 279, 2.

סגולה סתרים, by Maimūni (see סגולה עמוקה).

סגולה סתרים, by Niasim b. Jacob, 484, 9.

סגולה סתרים, by Samuel Mōšē, 48.

סגן אדון, by Aaron Berekhya of Modena, 459.

סגן רוד, by David b. Judah Messer Leon, 290.

סדור חזנותה, by Isaac Levi b. Jacob, 517, 2.

סדרש הגדול, 8.

סודש רבה, 469, 3.

סודה מסטר, by Sa'adyah b. Elijah Shuraki, 421, 9.

ס', הסודר, by Ephraim of Modena, 304.

סודי שור, Moses Mendelssohn's Mor-

- genstunden*, transl. by Josef Herzberg, 810.
- מזמור דעה, ס' 431, 18.
- מזמור עכרנה, by Immanuel b. Solomon, 870.
- מזמור רן, by David Nieto, 307.
- מזל דיושע, 483, 1 d.
- מזמור המרכבה, 325, 8 a.
- מזמור דכא, by Mordecai Samuel Ghirondi, 56, 57.
- מזמור ס' (Abstr.), by David Qamhi, 479, 12.
- מזמור סלל יתי, by Samuel Sarja, 282.
- מזמור ס' (by Isaiah of Trani), 132.
- מזמור ס' (by Immanuel b. Isaac b. Siōn Riochi), 154, 2.
- מזמור ס' (by Hesekiah b. Isaac Bequda), 448.
- מזמור ס' (by Mordecai Samuel Ghirondi), 187.
- מזמור ס' (by Solomon b. Semah), 446, 5.
- מזמור ס' (by Amrām Ammār), 119, 2.
- מזמור ס' 483, 1 c.
- מזמור ס' (by Asher of Lunel), 217 g.
- מזמור ס' 136 a; 146; 148; 149.
- מזמור ס' (by Solomon Hayy al-Qal'i), 518.
- מזמור ס' (by Judah Hallāvi b. Isaac Shabbethai), 458.
- מזמור ס' (by Josef Kōhān), 520, 11.
- מזמור ס' (by Solomon b. Judah Leb in Wilna), 393.
- מזמור ס' (by Abbā Māri), 371.
- מזמור ס' (by Meir Rabbīnowicz), 520, 3.
- by Salmon Wolf b. Eisek Feiwal, 526.
- מזמור ס' (by Abraham b. Ezer), 419, 1.
- מזמור ס' (by Isaac Aryeh Gelberg), 392.
- מזמור ס' (by Profet Duran), 405.
- מזמור ס' (by Josef Rabbīnowicz), 486, 6.
- מזמור ס' (by Solomon Eliezer Ghirondi), 489, 1.
- מזמור ס' 441, 2.
- מזמור ס' (by David Meldola), 507.
- מזמור ס' 136 a.
- מזמור ס' (by Moses of Coucy), 121; Glosses on, 124, 1.
- מזמור ס' (R. Israel), 259, 1.
- מזמור ס' (Glosses on 122-4 (see עמוד הגולה).
- מזמור ס' (by Meir al-Guades), 444 a.
- מזמור ס' (by Sacrobosco, transl. by Solomon b. Abraham Abigedōr), 424, 1.
- מזמור ס' (by Hanōkh b. Solomon al-Qustantini), 324, 2.
- מזמור ס' 129, 9.
- מזמור ס' (by Moses b. Habib), 418, 4.
- מזמור ס' 418, 1.
- מזמור ס' (by Elijah Sarasohn), 523.
- מזמור ס' (by Samuel Mōtē), 130, 31; 279, 1; 483, 10.
- מזמור ס' (See גולה הנש).
- מזמור ס' (by Tobias b. Isaac Baruch), 309.
- מזמור ס' 451, 5.
- מזמור ס' 486, 2; 500.
- מזמור ס' (by Berekhyah b. Natronai), 502.
- מזמור ס' (by Maimūni), 156, 2.
- מזמור ס' (Horoscope), by Abraham Zakuto, 426, 4.
- מזמור ס' (by Solomon Hanau), 412.
- מזמור ס' (by Abraham Zakuto), 486, 1.
- מזמור ס' (by Joshua b. Baruch), 325, 5.
- מזמור ס' (by Meir Poppers), 333, 2.
- מזמור ס' (by Eliezer Sopino), 45.
- מזמור ס' (by Menahem Samson Basla), 428, 1.
- מזמור ס' (by Raahi), 152, 3 c; 216, II m.
- מזמור ס' (by Jehiel Melli), 479, 11.
- מזמור ס' (Four Essays), 499.

- 'הנקד', by Moses Hannaqḏān, 408.
 הנקד, 'הנקד, 325, 7.
 כגולות, 346, 3.
 כדור ברזל החזרה, by Menahem Azariah of Fano, 233 k.
 כדור נחל החלל, 426, 3.
 כדור הגשע'ל' השליח, by Mordecai Samuel Ghirondi, 183.
 כדור וסירות ישראל, 222.
 כדור אליזה, by Mordecai Samuel Ghirondi, 184, 2.
 כדור כל הברכות, 129, 8.
 כדור טיבת הגשע, 156, 3.
 כדור השליח, by Elijah Hazzeqēn, 211; 214 A.
 כדור עזרה, attrib. to Ibn Ezra, 129, 7.
 כדור חטאים ואמוראים, 130, 8.
 כדור 'הסדרים, by the pupils of Rashi, 125.
 כדור הברכות, attrib. to R. Azriel, 487, 4 d.
 כדור החסמים, by Ben Ashēr, 294, 3.
 כדור 'ל'א' אחיה, by Moses b. Maimūni al-Baḡ, 335, 2.
 כדור ליל, by Isaac Todros, 485 g.
 כדור המרגל, by Isaac Loria, 327, 4.
 כדור קריה שמע על הנסתר, 487, 3 c.
 כדור שמע ישראל, 323, 3.
 כדור הזמורה, 316, 3; Commentary on, 316, 5.
 כדור, 279, 4 a.
 כדור 'ההדחות (Extr.), by Moses di Leon, 124, 17.
 כדור 'סמ"ג. See מצות תגורל 'סמ"ג.
 כדור 'סמ"ג, by Jacob, 492, 1.
 כדור 'סמ"ג. See מצות קטן 'סמ"ג.
 כדור 'סמ"ג, 413, 10.
 כדור רצנישטא, attrib. to the Patriarch Jacob, 329; 348, 2.
 כדור בית ה', 260, 1.
 כדור 'העבור, by Abraham b. Ezra, 420.
 כדור 'העבור, by Nathanael Kaspi, 269.
 כדור 'העבור, by Abraham Catalano, 473 a.
 כדור 'העבור, by Jacob Semah Hayyim, 341.
 כדור 'העבור, by Menahem b. Jacob Lon-
 sano, 336.
 כדור 'העבור, by Moses Kohēn Tordesillas, 283, 1.
 כדור 'העבור, by the same, 283, 2; 284.
 כדור 'העבור, by Isaac Pulgār, 285.
 כדור 'העבור, by Isaac, 458, 2.
 כדור 'העבור, by Josef b. Shēm Tōb b. Shēm Tōb, 61, 1.
 כדור 'העבור, by Mordecai Samuel Ghirondi, 182.
 כדור 'העבור, by Josef b. Meshullam (?), 266, 2.
 כדור 'העבור, by Isaac of Corbell, 122, 123; 124, 1.
 כדור 'העבור, ענין שורה הדתי מלכות, 279, 8 a.
 כדור 'העבור, ענין הגולות, by Menahem Azariah of Fano, 327, 2.
 כדור 'העבור, ענין שורה, by Nathanael b. Aaron Segre, 482, 1.
 כדור 'העבור, ענין שורה, by Aaron b. Elijah, 260.
 כדור 'העבור, by Hayyim Vital, 351, 2.
 כדור 'העבור, by Moses . . . in Florence, 17, 1 a.
 כדור 'העבור, 130, 33; 417, 1.
 כדור 'העבור, by Nathan b. Jehiel, 415.
 כדור 'העבור, by Absalom, 380.
 כדור 'העבור, by Davidson, 520, 7.
 כדור 'העבור, by Judah b. Barzillai, 126.
 כדור 'העבור, by Shēm Tōb b. Gaōn, 431, 17.
 כדור 'העבור, by Nahmāni, 495, 3.
 כדור 'העבור, 482, 2.
 כדור 'העבור, by David Silva b. Abraham, 238 a.
 כדור 'העבור, פירוש איסור כהל איסור מוסק, 479, 24.
 כדור 'העבור, פירוש הגשע, 156, 5.
 כדור 'העבור, פירוש חזקא, by David Qamhi, 324, 3.
 כדור 'העבור, פירוש הכרובה, by Simon b. Semah, 156, 4.
 כדור 'העבור, פירוש על כדור מרגל, 479, 23.
 כדור 'העבור, פירוש ספר הענין (attrib. Hammāi Gaōn), 316, 2.
 כדור 'העבור, פירוש על ד' פורקים של סדר, 273, 2.

- [פרש' חז"ל] Commentary on the Maḥzor, by Eliezer b. Nathān, 361.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Seligmann Bing Oppenheim, 146 a.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Isaac b. Elijah (the younger), 92, 1.
 פרש' חז"ל, transl. by Jacob Anatoli, 294, 5.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Elyākim Mehlsock (contin.), 496.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Maimūni, 439, 1.
 פרש' חז"ל (by David Qamḥi), 409.
 פרש' חז"ל, 479, 2.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Šebi Hirsch Gelberg, 392 b.
 פרש' חז"ל [by Josef b. Azariah], 129, 130.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Naftali Hirsch of Lublin, 343 c.
 — by Judah He Ḥasid, 92, 3.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Abraham b. Ḥiyya, 423, 1.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Isaac b. Latif, 275, 2.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Shem Tōb b. Isaac Shafrit, 46.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Josef b. Abraham b. Siyāh, 318.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Mordecai Samuel Ghirondi, 161-164.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Abraham b. Daud, 474, 3.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Meir Jacob Margolouth, 520, 4.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Rafael Baruch b. Abraham, 252.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Mordecai Samuel Ghirondi, 481, 5.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Solomon Zarqā, 144.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Eliezer b. Nathan, 475, 1.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Joshua b. Israel Benveniste, 377, 1.
 פרש' חז"ל, 485.
 פרש' חז"ל, 590, 2.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Mordecai Samuel Ghirondi, 179.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Jehiel, 124, 5.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Josef b. Jacob Montefiore, 59, 3.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Josef Esobi, 249, 6.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Jacob Roman, 377, 2.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Rafael Birdogo, 141, 2.
 פרש' חז"ל, 142, 1.
 פרש' חז"ל [Bahyā b. Baqūda], 264.
 פרש' חז"ל, 426, 3.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Judah Hannāsi, 423, 2.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Judah Briel, 142, 5.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Judah b. Bal'am, 406, 1.
 פרש' חז"ל, 561, 2 a.
 פרש' חז"ל (transl.), by Zebi Eliezer Teller, 375.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Eliezer b. Jōel Hallēvi, 115; Abstracts, 483, 15.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Isaac Abravanel, 484, 3 a.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Shem Tōb Palqēra, 272.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Israel Latif, 275, 1.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Judah (or Samuel) b. Tabbōn, 266, 3; 424, 2.
 פרש' חז"ל, 472, 6.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Jacob Poitou, 479, 4.
 פרש' חז"ל, 311.
 פרש' חז"ל (Glosses on שו"ת), 119, 1.
 פרש' חז"ל (Poem), 483, 29.
 פרש' חז"ל, 442.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Solomon Ḥassān, 494, 2.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Leon of Modena, 455, 1.
 פרש' חז"ל, 487.
 פרש' חז"ל, 4 a.
 פרש' חז"ל, by Josef b. Virga, 322, 2.

תולדות ישו הנצרי, by Jacob Sobela, 449.

See also 450.

תורה אחת, 561, 2 b.

תורה הבית, by Solomon b. Addereth, 216, II i.

תחכמוני, by Judah al-Ḥarizi, 247, 7.

ת' החכמה, by Ḥayyim Vital, 426, 1.

תעלומות ומקורות החכמה, by Shabbethai Rafael, 344.

תספוד ישראל, by Jonathan Eibenschütz, 143.

תסלה לעצירה נשמים, 493, 3.

תסלה אליהו הנביא, 214 A.

תסלה היחוד, by Moses b. Judah b. Benjamin ha-Sefarādi, 214 A.

תסלה היחוד לר' נחמיה בן חקטא, 323, 2 ; 487, 5 a.

תקוני התשובה, by Menahem Azariah of Fano, 339, 1.

תקנות, by R. Gershōm, 451, 4.

תקנות הקהלות, 136 c.

תקנות הקהלות מאשכנז, 130, 15.

תשב"ץ, by Samsōn b. Šādōq, 130, 22.

תשובה, by Moses Safer, 450, 2.

תשובה מנאמי נרבוני, 136 a.

תשובות הנאונים, 96, 99.

תשובת ישראל על די יהודה, transl. by David Franco Mendez, 376.

C. WRITERS.

Abner, 258.
 Abraham Samson b. Israel Levi Pobini
 in Turin, 346.
 — b. Judah of אקרוי, 157.
 — David b. Samuel Abraham in
 Ancona, 486.
 Coronel (N. N.), 133.
 David נחמיה אברש, 426.
 — b. אל קיסר Al Qisr, 8.
 — b. Nissim Häröfö b. Vivas, 7.
 Efraim b. Sebi Hirsch b. Leb, 115.
 Eläzar, 267.
 Elḥānān Fos, 136.
 Ezra b. Isaac b. Ezra b. Isaac, of Fano,
 316.
 Goldberg (Alexander), 501.
 — (B.), 263, 267, 300, 405, 420.
 Hezekiah Rafael b. Ḥayyim, 276.
 Immanuel Hayy in אימאלי, 505.
 Isaac b. Eliezer hak-Kōhēn, 213.
 — b. Josef Ḥayyim in Morocco, 328.
 — — of Portugal, 12.
 — Nigre, 321.
 — b. Samuel Hezekiah, 302.
 — Shushān b. חז, 459.
 Isaiah b. Jacob of סרדק, 45.
 Israel b. Abraham, 6.
 — Simon Schajin, 527.
 Jacob b. Gershon hak-Kōhēn, Ash-
 kenazi of Neustadt, 218.
 — Hajjāj, 191.
 Jair b. Shabbethai, 413.
 Jehiel Ashkenazi, 152.
 Josef Eppensack, 87.

Josef Menahem Treves, 454.
 — Mordach, 351.
 — b. Solomon Mūsā, 335.
 Joshua Baruch Isaiah Aryeh b. Jehiel
 Josef Jonah of אמרייה, 325.
 — b. Josef David in Troki, 189.
 Kirchheim (R.), 475.
 Meir b. Isaac, 123.
 Menahem, 47.
 — b. Elijah de Rossi, 269.
 Mishäel, 43.
 Mordecai b. Abigedör, 271.
 — מרדכי, 228.
 Moses b. Elias, 415.
 — b. Shem Tōb b. Habib in שמשיה,
 71.
 — of Tortosa, 292.
 Nathan Neta Rabbiniowicz, 82.
 Nathaniel b. Shabbethai דורי in Turin,
 114.
 Nissim b. Abdal Raḥmān סרירי b. b.
 Solomon b. Ḥazzān שסר, 323.
 — סרירי b. Abraham, 68, 84.
 Sāliḥ b. Josef b. Sa'adyah אשלי, 1.
 Samuel b. Isaac, 86.
 Sebi b. . . , 437.
 — Hirsch Mordecai Brandes, 370.
 Shabbethai Kōhēn, 319, 1.
 Shalōm . . . b. יסר, 296.
 Shoenblum (Benjamin Wolf), 313.
 Solomon b. Isaac b. Moses משה, 265.
 — b. Josef, ויסמא, 71.
 Vidal Bonet Lunel, 103 a.

D. OWNERS.

- Aaron אהרן, 48.
 — Benjamin b. Nehemiah בן־ימין, 322, 2.
 Abendana, 112.
 Abraham אברהם (?), 318.
 — אברהם, 385.
 — Firmicino, 482.
 — b. Jōab אהרן, 215.
 — Josef Solomon Graziano, 84, 85, 90, 128, 484.
 — Landadio, 431.
 — Leb b. Sarah, 72.
 — Maestro in Venice, 234.
 — b. Mahalel Aziz in Ancona, 431.
 — Monson, 65.
 — b. Moses Nigre, 321.
 — of Nizza, 444.
 — Sultana, 367.
 — di ? אהרן, 68.
 Amram, 290.
 Angelo Salvador Raffael Luzatti, 142.
 Ashkenazi b. Eliezer, 465.
 Baruch, 305.
 — b. Josef Naftali Kōhēn, 12.
 — of אהרן, 254.
 Bendix Marcus, 140.
 Benjamin Consolo, 254.
 — Pesaro, 47, 72.
 — Solomon, 222.
 Bresslau (M. J.), 516.
 Carmoly (E.), 306, 429, 494.
 Daniel דניאל (Salonica), 351, 1.
 David Meldola, 290.
 — Melli, 83.
 — b. Nissim Hārōfe b. Vivas, 7.
 — Piazza in Ferrara, 340.
 — b. Rafael Meldola, 290.
 Edlein, daughter of Moses מרים in Augsburg, 227.
 Efraim Finzi, 88.
 El'azar (Rimini), 214.
 Elhānān b. Abraham אהרן, 215.
 — of Portaleone b. Menahem, 24.
 Eliezer אהרן, 258.
 — b. Isaac, 410.
 — אהרן, 409.
 Elijah Camerino, 254.
 Elyakim Finzi b. Hoses, 88.
 Emmanuel b. Uziel of Camerino, 215.
 — Colonna of Turin, 346.
 Firmicino : Abraham, Rafael, Josef, Gerahōn, Moses, 482.
 Gabrielle Cesaro, 18.
 Hayyim אהרן, 318.
 — Josef David Azulai, 64, 86.
 — Pardo, 229.
 Heidenheim, 273.
 Heyum Hirsch in Harburg, 242.
 Hirsch Leb Bilig, 194.
 Hiedai b. Moses, 15.
 Ibn אהרן of אהרן, 216.
 Isaac b. Elijah Hārōfe, 431.
 — Rafael Finzi, 134.
 — Jequithiel b. Mordecai Kaphan Kelheim, 12.
 — Luzatto, 100.
 — Marlow (אהרן ?), 123.
 — of Modena, 264.
 — b. Moses, 321.
 — Shabbethai אהרן, 32.
 — Florenzo di Benedetti, 142.
 — Israel אהרן, 62.
 — Zakkuto, 69.
 — Solomon Segre di Vercelli, 331.
 Isaiah Heyum Hirsch, 242.
 — Leon Jona (?), 248.
 [Israel ?] אהרן b. Eliezer Hayyim, 228.
 Israel Goldblum, 350.
 Jacob b. Abraham Kōhēn, 23.
 — b. El'azar of Modena, 215.
 — Joshua Baruch in Nizza, 233.
 — Rimini, 214.
 — Roderik, 89.
 — Sinai of Cologne, 100.
 — Trabuti, 35.
 Jacobo el Comeno, 367.
 Jahya b. Aaron, 2.
 Jehiel Josef, 248.
 Jōab אהרן, 213.
 Jōel Hefes, 205.
 Josef Firmicino, 482.
 — b. Hārōn, 292, 1.
 — hak-Kōhēn, 426.

Josef Hayy Mondolfo, 254.
— b. Judah, 232.
— Reines, 244.
— Benzikri, 127.
Judah Isaac Hores, 94.
— כץ, 49.
— Samuel b. Menahem Sinai of
Cologne, 100.
— מארקוס, 254.
— Lëb b. Tobias, 15.
— Zerahyāh Azulai, 127, 128.

Lazarus Emanuel in Amsterdam, 16.
Lazzaro Lanson Bachi, 142.
Leiser ריינש b. Abraham b. Simon
Oppenheim, 243.
Leon Colonna, 100.
Levi לוי? 318.
Luzatto, S. D., 98, 134, 197, 204,
210, 217, 407, 419, 425, 439,
445.

מאק, 200.
Marco di Dona Luza[tt], 266.
Maaliyah Finzi, 424.
— כהנא, 29.
Meir Cohen Belinfante, 254.
Menahem b. יצחק b. Samson, 121.
— Sinai, 315.
[The Midrash of] Mordecai מאק, 84.
Moise Baruch Caranaglio, 235.
— Soave, 108, 340.
Mordecai, 354.
— Hayyim b. Elijah of Mordo, 236.
— Samuel Ghirondi, 29, 104, 131,
134, 138, 253, 259, 485, 489.
Moses Cohen Belinfante, 254.
— רייז, 237.
— Firmicino, 482.
— Meir Drucker, 194.
— Judah b. Israel, 290.
— Montefiore, 341.
— b. Nāhmān, 213.
— Nāhmias, 88.
— of מירי, 254.
— b. Samuel מאש, 116.
— b. Shem Tob b. Habih, 71.
— Senior, 20.

Nissim Fermio, 431.

Pelegrin Padous, 482.
Pereš b. Tobias, 15.

Qalonymos b. Jacob, 208.

Rafael ראפאל, 48.
— b. Gerahōn Firmicino, 482.
— David Pardos, 45.
— תי, 215.
Reuben Josef מרטי, 253.

Sa'adyāh b. Josef, 1.
— Hallevi, 20.
Samson, 100.
Samuel . . ., 136, 266.
— Beer, 462.
— רוני, 149.
— מארין, 105.
— . . ., 217.
— Hayyim Cohen Belinfante, 254.
— b. Josef מאש, 348.
— מסאק, 49.
— . . . סדי, 2.
Senior Salmon Seniorson, 341.
Shabbethāi, 17.
— b. Judah Ashkenazi, 236.
— b. Mahlālī Pimonto, 213.
— b. Mordecai Hallevi, 61.
שאל b. Aaron, 2.
Simon b. Moses Auerbach, 232.
Solomon b. Abraham Kōhēn, 23.
— — מאנז, 215.
— Bassano, 53.
— b. David דוד, 210.
— of Dubno, 20.
— b. Nathanael, 367.
— Senior, 20.
Steinschneider, 439.
Stella Dafano, 284.
Suleimān b. David b. Mūsā Al
Damāri, 8.

Uri Levi, 193.

Yahyāh. See Jahja.

Zunz, 17, 136, 189, 190, 193, 197,
198, 199, 210, 227, 231, 232, 242,
243, 272, 273, 280, 292, 295,
296, 333, 352, 427, 443, 484,
490, 516.

E. CENSORS.

Alessandro Scipione, 48, 218.
Antonio Franc Enrique, 194.

Bernard Huescas, 320.

Camillo Jagel, 92, 122, 128, 217,
282.

Clemente Carretto, 13, 14, 218.

Domenico Ierosolimitano, 29, 34, 48,
88, 94, 218, 228, 367.

Giovanni Domenico Carretto, 76,
228, 302.

Giovanni Domenico Vistorini, 123.

— Montif, 128.

Girolamo da Durallano, 85, 128.

Hippolite of Ferrara, 320.

Laurentius Franguellus, 10, 48, 123.

Luigi da Bologna [del Ordine de
S. Domingo], 14, 128, 203, 217,
320, 409.

Marchion, 214-217.

Renatus of Modena, 122, 128, 217.

HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD.

MACMILLAN & CO.'S PUBLICATIONS.

LIBERAL JUDAISM. An Essay. By CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE.
Crown 8vo, 3s. net.

Jewish Chronicle.—"Mr. Montefiore has written so attractive and forcible a book that it must arrest general attention. . . . The book is at once timely and well conceived."

Times.—"A work of extraordinary interest. . . . It must be regarded mainly as a personal confession of faith; and we do not know where it would be possible to point to a better statement of what religious theism means to a liberal believer in it."

MANUAL OF JEWISH HISTORY AND LITERATURE.

Preceded by a brief Summary of Bible History. By Dr. D. CASSEL. Translated by Mrs. HENRY LUCAS. Second Impression. Pott 8vo, 1s. 6d. net.

Jewish World.—"Before Mrs. Lucas's excellent translation there was no good text-book which, in a moderate compass, presented the main facts of later history with clearness and precision. . . . As regards the book's accuracy and value, the many editions that have been printed in Germany, and the well-known name of the author, are a sufficient guarantee."

JEWISH LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By ISRAEL ABRAHAMS.
Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

Jewish Chronicle.—"With a full equipment of modern scholarship, he has reconstructed for us and for posterity every aspect of mediæval Jewish life, and his results are indispensable to every future historian of the Middle Ages."

**LES JUIFS EN ROUMANIE DEPUIS LE TRAITÉ DE
BERLIN (1878) jusqu'à ce jour.** Les Lois et leurs Conséquences. Par
EDMOND SINCERUS. 8vo, 5s. net.

Jewish World.—"A book that ought to command much attention, and which has evidently been written with much authority."

ASPECTS OF JUDAISM: being Eighteen Sermons by ISRAEL
ABRAHAMS and CLAUDE MONTEFIORE. Second Edition, including two
additional Sermons. Fcap. 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

Jewish Chronicle.—"The study of a work by these two authors is like an intimate acquaintance with a charming and cultured person—it is a liberal education in itself, a study fertile in interest, and fruitful of good. . . . There are not many books published in the present day of which it can be said that they will do no harm, and unlimited good. But of this book it is possible to say so, and higher praise cannot be given."

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS FROM FRENCH HISTORY.

By Baron FERDINAND ROTHSCHILD. With Seventeen Photogravure Portraits.
8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

Times.—"Baron Ferdinand Rothschild has made a study of the leading personages in French History, and he has produced in *Personal Characteristics from French History* an extremely entertaining collection of their more famous utterances and *bon mots*; or, as he prefers to call them, their 'replies.' . . . There is not a dull paragraph in the entire book."

THE JEWISH YEAR. A Collection of Devotional Poems for
Sabbaths and Holidays throughout the Year. Translated and Composed by
ALICE LUCAS. Fcap. 8vo, gilt top, 2s. 6d. net.

Jewish World.—"Of the book as a whole, it is almost impossible to speak too highly, within the bounds of moderation. . . . It should find a place in every Jewish home. . . . One of the best volumes of its class ever given to the community."

MACMILLAN & Co., Ltd., LONDON.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE
Jewish Historical Society
of England.

JEWISH HISTORY. An Essay in the Philosophy of History.

By S. M. DUBNOW. From the Authorized German Translation.
Globe 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.

JEWISH WORTHIES SERIES. Vol. I.

MAIMONIDES. By DAVID YELLIN and ISRAEL ABRAHAMS.

[Ready in May.]

MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL'S MISSION TO OLIVER

CROMWELL. Being a Reprint of the Pamphlets published by Menasseh Ben Israel to promote the Readmission of the Jews to England, 1649-1656. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by LUCIEN WOLF, Past-President and Vice-President of the Jewish Historical Society of England. With Portrait. Super Royal 8vo, 21s. net.

Jewish Chronicle.—"Mr. Wolf's introduction is a fascinating piece of work, and is unquestionably the most important contribution to Anglo-Jewish history that has yet appeared in any language. . . . In fact, the first thought suggested by Mr. Wolf's work is that it is beyond criticism. Owing to his careful preparation, Mr. Wolf is entitled to speak with almost undisputed authority on a subject which he has practically made his own. . . . From every point of view, then, this interesting volume should command the attention of scholars and the votes of the public. It is a book deserving of the highest praise, both for the freshness of its materials and for the vividness with which they are presented. Mr. Wolf is gifted with historic imagination and a splendid nervous style, and his work, which every student of the seventeenth century will have to read, is an admirable example of critical research combined with literary skill."

THE ETHICS OF JUDAISM. By M. LAZARUS, Ph.D.

Translated from the German by HENRIETTA SZOLD. In Four Parts.
Part I, Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net. Part II, Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

Jewish Chronicle.—"The first two volumes issued by the Jewish Historical Society under its new and wider powers deserve a very cordial reception. . . . Miss Davis's translation of some of the best poems of Mediaeval Jewish writers, and Professor Lazarus's interesting presentation of the principles of Jewish ethics, are equally admirable."

SONGS OF EXILE. By Hebrew Poets. Translated by

NINA DAVIS. Royal 16mo. Gilt top. 2s. 6d.

Pilot.—"Very tuneful translations. . . . There is enough character here to persuade us that we are listening not only to Miss Davis but to the poet himself, and there are not many translations that give this impression."

MACMILLAN & Co., Ltd., LONDON.

The Jewish Quarterly Review.

EDITED BY

I. ABRAHAMS AND C. G. MONTEFIORE.

VOL. XV.

JULY, 1903.

No. 60.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
EA; YAHVEH: DY AUS; ZETZ; JUPITER. By Prof. A. H. KEANE ...	559
IS THERE A JEWISH LITERATURE? By the Rev. S. LEVY, M.A. ...	583
THE WISDOM OF BEN SIRA. II. By the Rev. Dr. C. TAYLOR ...	604
PRIMITIVE EXEGESIS AS A FACTOR IN THE CORRUPTION OF TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE ILLUSTRATED FROM THE VERSIONS OF BEN SIRA. By J. H. A. HART	627
AN EARLY COPY OF THE SAMARITAN-HEBREW PENTATEUCH. By the Rev. GEORGE MARGOLIOUTH	682
THE LOST TRIBES, AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE SEARCH FOR THEM ON THE RETURN OF THE JEWS TO ENGLAND. By ALBERT M. HYAMSON	640
THE ARABIC PORTION OF THE CAIRO GENIZAH AT CAMBRIDGE. (With Four Facsimiles.) By Dr. H. HIRSCHFELD	677
HAPAX LEGOMENA IM ALTEN TESTAMENT. By Dr. A. S. YAHUDA	698
PROFESSOR BLAU ON THE BIBLE AS A BOOK. By E. N. ADLER ...	715

London:

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED.

NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

Price 3s. 6d. Annual Subscription, Post Free, 11s.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS.

A TEXTBOOK OF NORTH-SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS. By the Rev. G. A. COOKE, M.A. 8vo, cloth. With Fourteen full-page Plates. 16s. net.

NOTES ON THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE BOOKS OF KINGS. With an Introduction and Appendix, by the Rev. C. F. BURNEY, M.A. 8vo, cloth, 14s. net.

A COMPENDIOUS SYRIAC DICTIONARY. Founded on the *Thesaurus Syriacus* of R. PAYNE-SMITH, and edited by J. PAYNE-SMITH (Mrs. Margoliouth). Part IV, completing the work. 8s. 6d. net.

LONDON: HENRY FROWDE,
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AMEN CORNER.

THE BIBLE FOR HOME READING,

EDITED, WITH COMMENTS AND REFLECTIONS FOR THE
USE OF JEWISH PARENTS AND CHILDREN,

BY

C. G. MONTEFIORE,

Part I. To the Second Visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem.

Second Edition, Crown 8vo, 4s. 6d. net.

Jewish World.—"A book that every Jewish father and mother should carefully study and keep as a reference book while training their children in the most important of all subjects of instruction."

Part II. Containing Selections from the Wisdom Literature, the Prophets, and the Psalter, together with Extracts from the Apocrypha.

Crown 8vo, 5s. 6d. net,

Jewish Chronicle.—"The scholarship, the spiritual insight, the attractive style which distinguished the first part of Mr. Montefiore's *Bible for Home Reading* are displayed in their fullest development in the second part, now happily published. But, good as the older book was, the new is even better. Mr. Montefiore had indeed a great responsibility. How wonderfully he has risen to the occasion, how splendid a use he has made of the opportunity, we shall endeavour to show. But we cannot refrain from saying that this book is the despair of a reviewer. One cannot hope to do justice to such a work when its 800 pages are full to overflowing of learning simply utilized, of moral truths reverently enunciated, of spiritual possibilities forcibly realized, while over all there hovers a charm indefinable, yet easily and inevitably felt by any reader of the book. We will, however, try to indicate some of the excellences of Mr. Montefiore's book, the publication of which is the most important literary event of recent years, so far as the English-speaking Jews are concerned. . . . As masterly as it is spiritual, as scholarly as it is attractive."

MACMILLAN & Co., Ltd., LONDON.

THE JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW

JULY, 1903

EA ; YAHVEH : DYAUS ; ZEYΣ ; JUPITER.

I. GLASER'S THEORY.

Is it any longer possible to determine the original force and inter-relations of these Babylonian, Hebrew, and Aryan names of the or a deity? This secular question has recently been again raised by the Himyaritic scholar, Dr. Eduard Glaser¹, who endeavours to show that all five terms are philologically one, the archetype and primary form being the Indian *Dyaus*, whence the others are directly or indirectly derived. It may at once be stated that the main contention breaks down completely, and that for the same reason that has made shipwreck of so many similar theories—neglect of some of the essential factors of the problem. With characteristic frankness Dr. Glaser admits that he is no "Kenner des Indischen," while on the other hand he strangely overlooks the Italic field which will be seen to present an insuperable objection to the acceptance of his general views. These are nowhere formulated in very precise language; indeed are often expressed somewhat vaguely, and even with marked

¹ *Jehowah-Joris und die drei Söhne Noah's*, Munich, 1901.

symptoms of doubt and hesitation. But their general tenor may be deduced from a number of passages which will be found interspersed with other matter between pages 19 and 25 of the monograph, and may here be conveniently brought together.

Of the term יהוה he considers that "die ältesten Formen sind ה' (dazu die verlängerte Form יהי) und י' (dazu יהי), denen sich als vollständigere Formen *Jaweh* (durch Hinzufügung der Silbe ה zu י') und *Jehōweh* (יהי + ה) anschliessen." Thus Glaser takes *Yah* to be the oldest form, without, however, explaining the process and *raison d'être* of the later developments, which have been so ingeniously set forth by Mr. J. H. Levy in a recent number of this *Review*. This conclusion I may here say that I all the more readily accept since it is both highly probable in itself, and also harmonizes completely with my own views regarding the *provenance* and true relations of *Yahveh* (*Yah*).

Glaser continues: "Diese Form [*Yah* or *Yô*, *Yau*, perhaps also *Yû*] hat gar nichts Grammatisches an sich, ja es kann nicht einmal, wenigstens nicht mit stichhaltigen Gründen, behauptet werden, dass sie semitischen Ursprungs ist. *Jah* ist jedenfalls älter als die israelitische Geschichte.... Andererseits erinnert der babylonische Gott *Ea*, der vielleicht *Ejah* oder *Ijah* lautete, an *Jah*." Here also I am in full accord, as it is part of my thesis that *Yah* is non-Semitic, and identical with the pre-Semitic Sumerian god *Ea* of Chaldaea.

Then: "Eines springt sofort deutlich in die Augen: die Aehnlichkeit des lateinischen *Jovis* und der ersten Silbe von *Jupiter* mit *Jhoweh* oder *Jōweh*, bezw. mit *J(a)hû*. Man erklärt bekanntlich den Componenten *piter* in *Jupiter* in der Regel als indisches *pitar*, latein. *pater*, 'Vater,' und erblickt im ersten Componenten *Ju* eine verwandte Bildung mit *Zeus* = indisch *Dyâus* (*Jovis* + *pater*, aus *Diovis* + *pater*, aus indisch *Dyâuspitar*, dazu *Dios*, Genitiv von *Zeus*). Da *Dyâus* sowol an *Zeus* wie auch an *Jovis* (*Djâuis*, *Jâuis*) genügend deutlich anklingt, so dürfte der Zusammenhang

des griechischen und des römischen Gottesnamens mit dem indischen Dyāus als feststehend anerkannt werden.... Wenn dem aber so ist, dann frage ich: warum soll das nur für Jovis und Jupiter gelten, warum nicht auch für יהוה, יהו und י? Ich finde dass z. B. יהו viel genauer noch als das lateinische Ju dem indischen (D)yāu(s) entspricht. Für mich steht also fest, dass auch der israelitische Gottesname lautlich genau in demselben Verhältnis zu dem indischen Dyāus steht wie der römische, aber etwas weniger genau als der griechische.... Dass auch der babylonische Gott *Ea* oder *Ia* lautlich mit (D)yā(us) identisch ist, bedarf kaum einer besonderen 'Betonung'.... Ebenso fest steht dass der indische Himmels-gott Dyāus, der semitische יהוה, der griechische Zeus und der römische Jovis oder Jupiter ursprünglich ein und derselbe Gott sind."

Here we part company, and I now propose to show that nearly the whole of this etymological superstructure stands on a baseless foundation; that the Indian, Greek, and Latin terms have nothing in common beyond a common proto-Aryan source, from which all three spring independently one of the other; and that the Hebrew term does not, and could not, derive from any of them, but comes directly from the Babylonian which stands first in the group of names heading this article.

II. DYĀUS.

The last three members of the group are by comparative philologists almost unanimously referred to a root *div*, to shine, which in the Aryan mother-tongue had already developed several simple and compound derivative forms. In India these are represented by such terms as देव *deva*, a god, a demon; दैव *daiiv*, divine; दिवस् *divas*, sky, day; *Dēva-patir*, father of the gods; *divas-pati* and *dyu-pati*, lord of heaven (Indra), and lord of day (the Sun).

Here it has to be noted that the initial voiced dental persists not only in these and all the other numerous

Sanskrit derivatives, but also in the numerous neo-Sanskritic tongues, as well as in the Iranic and Letto-Lithuanian branches of the Aryan linguistic family. Thus Hindi दिव् *div*, the sky; Zend *daēva*, and Pers. دیو *dev*, a demon; Lettic *Deivs*, God; Lithuanian *Dievs* and *Dievas*, God. But of an initial *d* there is no trace in *Yahveh* which consequently could not come from any of these sources directly. Glaser feels the difficulty, and is only able to suggest that "falls die genannten Nebenformen von Dyaus im indischen Schriftthum nicht nachweisbar sind [which is the case], dann müsste man irgend ein benachbartes Land als das Bindeglied zwischen der indischen Form einerseits und der hebräisch-römischen anderseits betrachten." But the only possible "Bindeglied" between India in the East, and Mesopotamia and Canaan in the West, is Irania, which is above excluded by the persistence of *d* both in ancient and modern Persian, and also amongst the Lithuanians, who, as I hold, came originally from the Iranian tableland. What then becomes of the assumption "dass auch der babylonische Gott *Ea* oder *Ia* lautlich mit (D)yâ(us) identisch ist, bedarf kaum einer besonderen Betonung"? The "connecting link" does not exist, and the whole argument falls to the ground.

Moreover, the Hindu Dyaus never assumed concrete shape as the name of the Deity, the *Ens Supremum*, as is admitted by Glaser himself, who quotes the remark of Lefmann, that "Dyâus und Prithivî gelangten auf indischem Boden zu keiner festen, bestimmten Gestalt," adding that "Dyâus anscheinend als concreter Gott überhaupt nicht aufkam." Dyaus was in no sense the head of a pantheon, like *Zeus* and *Jupiter* in Greece and Italy. He was rather analogous to the Egyptian *p-nutir*, τὸ θεῖον, the *divinum aliquid*, the first faint concept of a godlike unity or essence underlying the confused hierarchy of lesser deities, and suggestive at most of a tendency towards monotheism. The concept seems best expressed by Max Müller's *heno-*

*theism*¹, a phase of belief in which each deity seems to stand somewhat apart, one a little more or a little less powerful than another, according to the realm of nature over which he presides, but without any fully recognized supreme headship. And the nearest approach to such a headship was, not Dyaus, but *Indra*, the ruler of the visible heavens, the "rex deorum," the "Hindu Jove" as he has been called, whose dwelling was *Indra-puri*, "Indra's city," the Hindu Olympus, abode of the Immortals.

Hence the claim of Indra to rank as the absolute god-head has been allowed by some Sanskritists, and Eichhoff² amongst others remarks that "les écoles philosophiques de l'Inde résumaient l'idée monothéistique primitive par les noms de *Dévalévas*, le dieu des dieux, *Prajápatis*, le maître des créatures, et mieux encore par *Sân*, celui qui est." This is true enough. But *quid inde?* Here the question turns on the primary concept, not on the mostly fanciful interpretations of the relatively recent "écoles philosophiques," and although the notion of *Sân*, the self-existing, might seem to come nearest to that of *Yahveh*, as later understood, we shall see that such was not the original concept of the Hebrew *Yah*, any more than it was of Dyaus and Indra. Thus on all grounds—phonetic, theogonic, and even geographical—Dyaus, and with him all Hindu influences, is excluded absolutely, and the source of the intruding *Yahveh* must be sought elsewhere.

III. ZEYΣ AND JUPITER.

In Greece and Italy the organic initial Aryan dental has been, so to say, broken into fragments, doubtless by contact with the pre-Aryan, Pelasgic and Ligurian, inhabitants of those lands. While holding its ground in certain well-

¹ "If we must have a general name for the earliest form of religion among the Vedic Indians, it can be neither monotheism nor polytheism, but only *henotheism*" (*Hübert Lectures*, 1878, p. 230).

² *Gram. générale indo-européenne*, p. 256.

defined connexions, the *d* has in others been diversely modified, here disappearing before an inherent vowel (*i*, *y*), there passing to a distinct palatal *y*, written *j*, and elsewhere further shifting to a voiced or sonant sibilant *z*, as in the Eng. *citizen*, where *z* stands for the palatal *y* of the Fr. *citoyen*. This assibilation of *d* before *i*, or a weak palatal, is widespread both in Hellas and Italy, where it had certainly been established in prehistoric times. Thus the Gr. ζυγόν, beside the Skr. *yugā* and the Lat. *iugum*, may very well represent a proto-Aryan *dugum*, *dyugum*, from *duo* (two yoked together). So also Gr. ζα intensive stands for an original *ḍa*, as in δάσκιος (*σκιά*), beside ζάθεος (*θεός*). Compare also the southern (Apulian) Oscan *zicolom* = *diem*, *ziculud* = *die*, as in *eisucen ziculud zicolom xxx* = "ex illo die in diem trigesimum" (*Tabula Bantina*, l. 17). Hence the inflected cases δῖός, δῖτ, δῖα postulate an original *ḍis*, probably a contracted form of *ḍyeús*, which passes normally to *Zeús*, voc. *Zeū*, as in the Homeric *Zeū πάτερ*. Thus this familiar compound runs on all fours both with the Skr. *Dévapitr*, as in *mūrdāni Dēvapitr iva* (Bhār. III), and with Lat. *Diespiter*, *Diespater*, *Diesptr*, as in an archaic inscription from a tomb at Praeneste (Palestrina):—

Micos aciles uictoria hercles
diesptr iuno mircurios iacor, &c.¹

These practically identical compound forms show, not that all are "aus indisch Dyāuspitar," as affirmed by Glaser (see above), but that such compounds had already been developed in ur-Aryan times, and were introduced independently by the first Aryan immigrants into India, Greece, and Italy. From the recent pre-Mykaenean (Pelagian?) researches of A. J. Evans and others in the Aegean lands, it would now appear that the proto-Hellenes and the proto-Itali cannot have reached their Mediterranean seats from the Indo-European cradleland much before

¹ Lattes, *Le iscrizioni paleolatine*, &c., no. 122, now in the Vatican Museum.

2000 B.C. Even the Asiatic Aryans "invaded India by the north-west gate only some 4,000 years or less ago¹." But we shall see that Yah had already about that date been introduced into the Hebrew theogony, and occurs in still older Cuneiform inscriptions deciphered by Delitzsch as the equal of the great Semitic god *ilu* (*El*) of Babylonia. Hence neither *Yah* nor *Yahveh*, nor any of the other variants, can be derived from any Graeco-Italic forms ($\Delta I \Sigma$, $D I \Sigma$) in which initial *d* still everywhere persisted. The *iuno*=Juno (from an earlier *Diuno*) following the *Diespiter* of the above-quoted Praeneste inscription shows that this is a relatively late document, not older in fact than or "about 250 B.C."² And we have the still later Horatian *Diespiter igni corusco nubila dividens* (*Od.* i. 34), and *Diespiter neglectus* (*Od.* iii. 2).

A cursory reference to Oscan, Umbrian, and the other Italic dialects akin to Latin, will make it abundantly evident that the initial dental still also held its ground nearly everywhere throughout the peninsula well into the historic period, that is, long after *Yahveh* had been enthroned in Palestine. I am desirous to lay the greater stress on this branch of the subject, since it has been so strangely neglected by Glaser.

In the Umbrian *Tabulae Iguvinae*, which cover the period from about 500 to 100 B.C., the dental has everywhere passed into the palatal, except of course in the forms corresponding to *deus* and the adjectival derivatives. Hence we have *Iuvepatre* (dat. case), *Iupater* (always voc. case), *Iuve Krapuvi*=*Iovi Grabovio*, *Tefri Iuvi*, *Tuse Iuvie*, &c., beside *dei Grabovi*, *di Grabovie*, &c. But in Oscan, Sabine, and Samnite documents, as in Latin itself, the *d* persists down to quite late times. Thus, in the Samnite *Tabula Agnonensis*, now in the British Museum, *diuvei*=*iovi* occurs four times³. The oldest Capuan (North Oscan)

¹ T. H. Holland, *Anthrop. Jour.*, XXXII, 1902, p. 99.

² R. S. Conway, *The Italic Dialects*, Cambridge, 1897, vol. I, p. 310.

³ Conway, *op. cit.*, I, p. 192.

heraldic dedications (about 300 B.C.) have *diuv-* normally for the later *iuv-*, as in *diuvilam tirentium*; *ek diuvil*; *diuvia*, &c. So also in the fragment from Bruttium:

διουφεῖ Φερσσοπεῖ ταυρομ,

while even in the archaic Latin of Praeneste we have *fortuna diouo*, where *diouo*=*dious*=*Iovis*, Gen. case, with loss of final *s*, but retention of initial *d*. We know also from a passage in Varro about the Sabine god Sancus that the Sabine dialect retained the dental to the last: 'Aelius Dium Fidium dicebat *Diovis* filium,' &c. (*de Lingua Lat.* 5. 66). In the same place he gives *diuom*=*caelum*, as if the etymological association of Jupiter with the sky were still remembered. That the association was still felt, even in the time of Servius, is clear from that writer's comment on *Aen.* ix. 570 "Sane lingua Osca Lucetius est Iupiter dictus a luce. . . . Ipse est nostra lingua *Diespiter*, id est, *diei pater*." This was something more than a popular etymology, for after all *Diespiter* really was the personification of the bright sky, the day. The relation, however, of *dies* to *deus*, as of Skr. *dina* (Hind. दिन *din*) to *dyaus*, is not so clear, while the corresponding Greek form appears to have been early merged in *Δις, and then lost with it, at least in the nominative case.

It thus appears that in all the known Italic tongues the real form was some variant of *dies*, *deus*, and that the dental nearly everywhere survived till three or four centuries before the new era. Hence Glaser's assumption of "die Aehnlichkeit des lateinischen [bezw. italischen] *Jovis* und der ersten Silbe von *Jupiter* mit *Thoweh* oder *Jôhweh*, bezw. mit *J(a)hû*," that is, with *Jahveh*, is highly unscientific, and at variance with the elementary laws of comparative philology. It is as if we should compare the modern *bishop*, *vescovo*, and *évêque* with each other without any reference to *ἐπίσκοπος* parent of all. Glaser would be the last person to do this, and I feel convinced that, had he not overlooked the Italic horizon, he would never have

committed the philological heresies which abound in his learned essay.

IV. EA.

Some reparation, however, is made by the admission that "die in den semitischen Ländern nachgewiesenen Formen *Ea*, יה, יהוה, יהו, י &c., sich als unsemitische, somit als Lehnworte erweisen." As these terms are thus declared to be non-Semitic "loan-words," and as we have seen that they cannot have been imported from India, Irania, Greece, Italy, Lithuania, or any other Indo-European land, nothing remains except the Hamitic Egypt, which is not in question, and the pre-Semitic Akkado-Sumerian Babylonia, which is very much in evidence. In fact by this simple process of elimination alone a strong *prima facie* case is already made out for the Sumerian god *Ea*, as the true "begetter" of *Yah*. For it might be asked, if not from this source, whence? But the claims of *Ea* rest on much more solid grounds than this *a priori* argument, and we shall now see that they are supported by theogonic, phonetic, even historical and geographical considerations, which taken collectively may be regarded as conclusive.

It might at the outset be objected that *Ea* is excluded, because he was not even the head of the Babylonian Olympus, being overtopped by Bel (Bel-Merodach), whereas "Yahweh ist der mit eiserner Konsequenz aus dem Götterkampf der damaligen Welt herausgeschmiedete Monotheismus" (Glaser). It is true that monotheism is mainly the outcome of a struggle between rival gods, but the struggle was a slow one, and the concept of pure monotheism, as distinguished from monolatry, was not realized till later (prophetic) times. W. Robertson Smith rightly speaks of "Semitic monolatry"¹ (worship of *one* God), and not of *Semitic monotheism* (belief in only one God).

¹ *Old Test. in Jewish Church*, Lect. X, p. 273. But he also speaks of "the heathenism of the great mass of the nation," Lect. V, p. 139; and further that the popular religion of Israel itself "was clearly modelled on the forms of Semitic heathenism" (ib., p. 285).

The popular notion that, not only the Israelites but all the Semites, were monotheists from the first, that monotheism was with them, so to say, a racial character, is a delusion which involves its advocates in endless contradictions. Thus Renan, after telling us that "the glory of the Semitic race is this, that from its earliest days it grasped that notion of the deity¹," refers to the incident in the career of Mohammad, where he is reproached by the Koreish Sheikh, Otba, with causing disturbances and outraging *their common tribal gods*. Baring-Gould also writes that "the desert made the Arab *monotheistic*," and almost in the same breath that "Mahomet subverted the Ssabian *polytheism*²."

In point of fact this polytheism, characterized by the grossest anthropomorphism, and associated with the most revolting practices, prevailed throughout all the Semitic and Sumerian lands. "Before the time of Allah or of Yahveh every hill-top had its tutelary deity; the caves and rocks, and the very atmosphere swarmed with 'jins'; Assyrian and Phœnician pantheons, with their Baals and Molochs, and Astartes, and Adonais, were as thickly peopled as those of the Hellenes and Hindus, and in this, as in all other natural systems of belief, the monotheistic concept was gradually evolved by a slow process of elimination. Nor was the process perfected by all the Semitic peoples—Canaanites, Assyrians, Amorites, Phœnicians, and others, having always remained at the polytheistic stage—but only by the Hebrews and the Arabs, the two more richly endowed members of the Semitic family. Even here a reservation has to be made, for we now know that there was really but one evolution, that of Yahveh, the adoption of the idea embodied in Allah being historically traceable to the Jewish and Christian systems"³.

¹ *Hist. gén. des langues sémit.*, I, 3.

² *Origin, &c., of Religious Belief*, pp. 105, 118.

³ A. H. Keane, *Man Past and Present*, p. 502. Cf. also Delitzsch: "Trotz

But Yahveh himself, like all other supreme entities, had to undergo his normal evolution, which, as we shall see, was not perfected till prophetic times. At first he represented merely the monolatric concept, and his identification with the Babylonian *Ea* thus offers no difficulty from the theogonic point of view. Assyriologists will remember that during the early Semitic rule, that is, under the South Arabian dynasty founded at Ur by Sumu-Abi, *Ea* was only a secondary deity, being subordinate, as king of the waters, to Anu and Bel-Merodach, rulers aloft. But it was not always so, and originally, that is, in pre-Semitic Sumerian times, *Ea* must have been the chief god, since he was the father of Merodach himself, that is, the Amar-uduk, "Brightness of the Day," who acquired the place of eminence by his triumph over the Mummu-Tiāmat of the Babylonian Dragon-myth. In this contest *Ea* behaves badly; he trembles with fear and, in prosaic language, runs away. But later he retrieves his honours in the Deluge-myth in which he plays the leading part, though now under the watchful eye of Merodach. He foretells the coming catastrophe to Xisuthros (Hasisadra), the Chaldaean Noah, instructs him how to build the ship, prescribes its dimensions, and so on. Now this Babylonian version of the myth is referred to the time of Khammu-rabi (Amraphel), one of Sumu-Abi's successors at Ur, where he ruled as vassal of the Elamite king Laghghamar, who has been identified by Pinches with the Chedorlaomer routed by Abram (Gen. xiv).

This identification has been questioned¹; but in any

allem . . . blieb POLYTHEISMUS, krasser Polytheismus, drei Jahrtausende hindurch die babylonische Staatsreligion" (*Babel und Bibel*, 1902, p. 49).

¹ In his excellent *Early History of Syria and Palestine* ("The Semitic Series," 1902), Dr. L. P. Paton accepts the record as genuine, and even bases on it an argument for the authenticity of some of the earlier parts of the Hexateuch, remarking that "the theory that a Jew of the exile derived the history of Gen. xiv from [late] Babylonian sources is fraught with grave difficulties." He, however, infers that the Abram of the incident was unconnected with the Abraham, father of Isaac, &c., whom

case Sayce is justified in asserting that "the monarchs who ruled at Babylon when Abram was born [not later than 2000 B.C.], claimed the same ancestor as did Abram's family, and worshipped him as a god. The [Semitic] kings who succeeded to the inheritance of the old [pre-Semitic Sumerian] Babylonian monarchs of Ur were thus allied in language and race to the Hebrew patriarch. Nor is this all. We find in the contracts which were drawn up in the reigns of the kings of Ur and the successors of Sumu-Abi, not only names like Sabâ, 'the Sabæan,' but names also which are specifically Canaanitish or Hebrew in form. Thus Mr. Pinches has discovered in them Ya'qub-il and Yasup-il [Jacob and Joseph], and elsewhere we meet with Abdiel and Lama-il, the Lemuel of the Old Testament. Even the name of Abram (Abi-ramu) himself occurs among the witnesses to a deed which is dated in the reign of Khammu-rabi's grandfather, and its Canaanitish character is put beyond question by the fact that he is called the father of 'the Amorite¹.'"

We also know from the Tel el-Amarna tablets that in the age of Abram and long before it most of Western Asia was dominated by the Babylonian arms and culture. Over 2,000 years prior to the exodus Sargon I had reached the Mediterranean, and Hommel tells us that Sinai is so called from the Moon-god Sin, who forms an element in the name of Sargon's son and successor, Naram-Sin, "Beloved of Sin." Hence "in migrating from Babylonia to Canaan, Abram was merely passing from one part of the Babylonian empire to another. The same manners and customs, the same law, even *the same theology and literature* prevailed in both. The Babylonian divinities, Anu and Dagon, Hadad and Nebo, Istar or Astoreth, were worshipped in Canaan; and at Harran, where the patriarch he does not regard as an historical person, but as "the collective name of a group of Aramaean peoples, &c." This, like his explanation of Yahveh, as the "God of Sinai and of Midian," seems to me paradoxical, and opposed to all intrinsic and external evidence.

¹ *Early History of the Hebrews*, p. 62.

rested on his road to the west, was a temple of the Moon-god, second only to that of Ur, and founded like it by Babylonian hands¹. Lakhmu, one of the *primaeval* Babylonian gods, was enthroned at Bethlehem; Anat, consort of Anu, occurs in the name Shamgar ben-Anath of the Song of Deborah, and *Ur* itself, meaning "city," is said to be the first element in *Jerusalem*, that is *Uru-Salem*, "city of Salim," god of peace². This was the god Ninip who was still worshipped by the Jebusites on Zion in pre-Davidic times, long after Jerusalem had ceased to be a Babylonian stronghold.

It was therefore inevitable that Ea also should be found amongst the אֱלֹהִים, which accompanied Abram when he moved from Ur westwards, and may have even been the very penates which were afterwards stolen by Rachel from his kinsman, Laban, who had remained behind at Haran (Padan-Aram) when the patriarch continued his journey to Canaan. They were in fact those "other gods" which were "served" by Terah and his sons Abram and Nachor when they "dwelt on the other side of the flood [Euphrates] in the old time": וַיַּעֲבֹד אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים (Josh. xxiv. 2)³.

¹ Sayce, *Genesis* (Temple ed.), p. x. See also Delitzsch, *Babel u. Bibel*, p. 28.

² So at least Sayce and Hommel, interpreting some Tel el-Amarna documents. But Cheyne, a safer and far keener critic, though not an "Assyriologist," thinks that "we cannot at present grant that Salimmu [Salim] is the name of a god, much less that his priest [Melchizedek] was the king of Jerusalem" (*Founders of O. T. Criticism*, p. 239). The LXX also makes τ = χώρα, *terra, regio*, not *urbs*; with which cf. Jer. xxiv. 5: בְּאֶרֶץ כַּדְדִּים = *terra Chaldaeorum*.

³ This passage is fatal to the vehement special pleading of Hommel on behalf of the "highest and purest monotheism" which he ascribes to the patriarchs, and to all the proto-Semites generally (*Anc. Hebrew Tradition*, pp. 76, 80, 88, 292, &c.). Here the Vulg. and A.V. have "servierunt" and "served" somewhat euphemistically; but LXX the uncompromising καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν θεοὺς ἑτέροις. No doubt there are interpolations in Joshua, such as chap. xv shown by a comparison with LXX to be from Neh. xi. But it is unthinkable that a later scribe or monotheistic editor would wantonly put words into Joshua's mouth, needlessly stigmatizing the father of his people and of his religion as idolatrous at first.

But although only one amongst many, Ea must still have been held in high esteem, not only as a member of the oldest Babylonian triad—Anu, Bel, Ea—but also because of the conspicuous part he had played in the Story of the Flood, a document which was necessarily known to Abram, and was no doubt brought by him with other reminiscences from “Ur of the Chaldees.” Here I should like to point out that the historic character of Abram, so strenuously denied by Wellhausen, Cheyne, and most of the “higher critics,” seems clearly established by this very expression “from Ur of the Chaldees.” In the Hebrew it is *Kasdim* (קַסְדִּים) which was the form current in the time of Abram’s contemporary, King Khammu-rabi. Later it became successively *Kardu* and (during the captivity) *Kaldu*, whence the LXX ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῶν Χαλδαίων, and the Vulgate *de Ur Chaldaeorum*. If therefore the “Abramic Myth” were an exilic creation, or a עֲשֵׂיָה, the eponymous hero must have been described as migrating from *Ur-Kaldim*, and not from *Ur-Kasdim*, a form already obsolete as a geographical expression in post-exilic times. Hence although *Kasdim* still persists in Isaiah (chaps. xiii, xliii, xlvii, xlviii), in Ezekiel (i, xi), and in Jeremiah (chaps. xxiv, xl, xli), Daniel substitutes שִׁנָּר (Shinar, i e. *Shumir* or *Sumir*, the original name of the pre-Semitic South Mesopotamia) for the land (chap. i. 2). Daniel’s קַסְדִּיָּא (v. 7, and elsewhere) does not mean “Chaldaeans” in the ethnical sense, but I think always “wise men” or soothsayers. Sayce, however, suggests that *Kasdim* “most probably represents the Assyrian *Casidi*, ‘conquerors,’” in reference to the Semitic conquerors of Sumir and Akkad, while “the Greek word *Chaldaeans* is derived from the *Kaldâ*, a tribe which lived on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and is first heard of in the ninth century before our era. Under Merodach-Baladan the *Kaldâ* made themselves masters of Babylon, and became so intimate a part of the population as to give their name to the whole of it in classical times” (*Fresh Light from the*

Ancient Monuments, p. 50). It is curious to find Herodotus using this term both in the sense of a people (τούτων δὲ μετὰ τὸν Χαλδαίῳ, vii. 63) and of the priests or ministers of the god Bel (ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἔοντες πῆες τοῦτον τοῦ θεοῦ, i. 181, and elsewhere). The explanation of this puzzle is that the Chaldaeans long after losing their political power retained their renown as the depositaries of ancient Babylonian lore. Ceasing to be a tribe or a nation, they became the astrologists, wizards, and soothsayers of the eastern world.

Returning to Ea, it is reasonable to suppose, on the specified grounds, that he would be generally well received as a superior deity, eclipsing Merodach himself, and gradually taking a foremost place amongst the local gods, until he became at last the national god of Israel. Merodach, it should be remembered, had the great disadvantage of being intimately associated with Bel, and as the Baalim of evil repute were already numerous enough amongst the Amorites, Philistines, and Canaanites, a reformer like Moses might on this account also have been induced to give the preference to Ea (Yah), introducing him, perhaps somewhat suddenly, at the psychological moment some time during the exodus, and thus would be explained the rather startling announcement in Ex. vi. 3.

This is the more probable since on three tablets in the British Museum, dating from the time of Khammu-rabi and his father Sin-mubalit, Delitzsch has recently found *Ea* already identified with *ilu* (*el*), the most general name for the deity amongst all the early Semitic peoples. Subjoined is one of the passages, with this eminent Semitic scholar's transliteration ¹:—

𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗𒂗
Ia ah- ve- ilu
𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗𒂗
Ia hu- um- ilu

¹ *Babel und Bibel*, p. 47. There is an error in the Cuneiform text as here

It would be impossible to overrate the value of these texts in the present connexion. They at once establish the original form of *Yahveh* (*Ia* or *Ea*) which has been arrived at independently by different processes of reasoning by Glaser and Levy. And they also show that so early as the time of Abram, if not earlier, this Akkado-Sumerian divinity had already been recognized by the first Semitic conquerors of Babylonia as equal in rank or identical with the great god Ilu himself. Hence his adoption by Moses during the exodus was after all but a natural revival, and had merely the effect of perpetuating the relations between Elohim and Jahveh, as already accepted in a general way by the Semitic forefathers of the Israelites while they still sojourned in Padan-Aram. Well may Delitzsch exclaim that these fragmentary Cuneiform tablets are priceless documents recording names "welche religionsgeschichtlich von weittragendstem Interesse sind — die Namen: *Jahve ist Gott* . . . dieser Jahve ein uraltes Erbteil jener kanaänischen Stämme, aus welchen dann nach Jahrhunderten die zwölf Stämme Israels hervorgehen sollten" (ibid.). The very expression—"Yah is El"—strikes a Biblical note, and might have served as the archetype for the numerous analogous formulas which pervade Holy Writ from the Pentateuch to the Prophets.

In any case all these deities—I am sceptical about De Lagarde's *El*—"Goal"—had probably at first been merely the *δαίμονες ἐπιχώριοι*, the *genii loci*, that is, the tribal, district, or territorial gods, who were the potent champions of the national cause, and shared the fate of their votaries. How completely bound up they were with the political vicissitudes of the times, down even to the very close of the pre-exilic period, is well seen in Is. xxxvi and xxxvii, where Sennacherib's herald, Rabshakeh ("Head Sheikh"), scornfully asks the men seated on the wall, "Ubi est Deus Emath et Arphad? Ubi est Deus Sepharvaim?" But

reproduced; but this is corrected in the above transcript from an *erratum* supplied by Delitzsch on a separate slip.

farther on these territorial *gods* have become the *kings* of these places: "Ubi est rex Emath, et rex Arphad?" &c. As who should say, we have vanquished the gods with the kings of Sepharvaim and of Samaria, and so will it be with Hezekiah also and his god, Yahveh! This belief in the potency of the *genius loci* still survives even amongst Christian peoples, and Prince Kropotkin tells us that the Siberian Cossacks hold the district gods of the heathen "in a sort of awe. They don't think much of them, but these gods, they say, are wicked creatures bent on mischief, and it is never good to be on bad terms with them¹."

V. YAHVEH.

Even Yahveh, despite his high Babylonian pedigree, formed no exception to the general law of upward development, but, like all the other θεοὶ ἐπιχόριοι, passed successively from the polytheistic through the monolatric to the monotheistic phase, this last not being reached till some time before the captivity. The process itself is in accordance with the inflexible laws of nature, which does nothing in a hurry, since "slowly and as by instinct mankind struggles towards the light" (Matthew Arnold).

Yahveh's transition from *Ea* (read also *Aé* and *Ia* in the Cuneiform documents) presents no phonetic difficulty, such as that of Glaser's break-neck jump from *Dyaus* to *Ea* and *Yah*. There are no troublesome initial dentals or sibilants (*d*, *ç*) to be explained away, and we know that the form *Yahu* (nom. case) was already familiar to the Assyrians, one of the lexical Cuneiform tablets giving this word as meaning a god in Hebrew, and identifying it with the Assyrian word *Yahu* = "myself." "Wherever," aptly remarks Sayce, "an Israelitish name is met with in the

¹ *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, I, p. 238. Cf. also the Thracian Zalmoxis at once both god and king (Herod. iv. 94, and Plato, *Charmides*, V); and "the gods who dwell in the land of Assur," quoted by Sayce from an Assyrian document (*Assyria*, p. 76).

Cuneiform inscriptions, which, like *Jehu* or *Hezekiah*, is compounded with the divine title, the latter appears as *Yahu*, *Jehu* being *Yahua*, and *Hezekiah* *Khazaki-Yahu*¹."

This venerable Assyrian etymology seems almost to anticipate Mr. Levy's explanation of the Tetragrammaton יהוה, the self-subsisting, where, however, the Aramaic *hewê* appears to be employed instead of the equivalent Hebrew יהוה="He is" (*v* or *w* for *y*). The substitution itself is highly suggestive, as implying that the Tetragrammaton in its present form can date only from the post-exilic period, when Ezra and the other priestly scribes were already much better acquainted with the northern (Syriac) than with the southern (Hebrew) language of the western Semites. No doubt the Aramaic יהוה (for the Hebrew יהוה) alone occurs in all the pre-exilic writings when used as a separate name. But it never occurs when this word forms one of the elements in compound names, where the *y* is always final (paragogic or inflexional, not radical). The reason is because these—אֲחִיזַבְדִּי, בְּנִיָּה, and many others—are genuine national names, formed in Israel before the spread of Aramaic influences southwards, and left untouched, or at least rarely tampered with, by the post-exilic scribes of Aramaic speech. On the other hand, the exclusive use of יהוה merely lends additional support to the now generally accepted view that, as they now stand, all the pre-exilic texts are post-exilic recensions by Aramaic-speaking scribes.

It may be incidentally remarked that such popular and theogonic etymologies, as are here in question, were common enough in those early times, as shown, for instance, by the surprising transformations of the Babylonian god Dagon. This deity was originally associated with Anu, god of the sky, but was later supposed to be a fish-god, a sort of merman, because in Hebrew דָּג meant *fish*. But in Canaan-

¹ *Fresh Lights from the Ancient Monuments*, p. 75. Cf. also *Asri-Yahu* = *Asariah* = *Ussiah*, the Jewish king reduced by Tiglath-Pileser, c. 740 B.C.

itish 𐤀𐤃 meant *corn*; therefore in passing still westwards he became a rural deity, guardian of the crops, brother of El and Baal, inventor of bread-corn and the plough.

Coming now to the theogonic evolution of Yahveh, it is important to note that a main result of the literary analysis of the "higher criticism" is that the Yahvistic document, formerly supposed to be the later portion of the Pentateuch, is now regarded as the earlier¹, and is ascribed by some to a southern Jew, who flourished in the ninth century B.C., and held grossly anthropomorphic conceptions of Yahveh. The two Elohist portions, now almost inextricably interwoven with J, are attributed to some northern scribes, who wrote in the eighth century with a marked theological bias. Then there was a still later "Prophetic or Pre-Deuteronomic Redaction" by a writer or writers whose chief aim was to effect some sort of reconciliation between the contradictory J and E records. Deuteronomy and the other avowedly priestly documents are exilic or post-exilic, as indeed are all of the general and final recensions.

It follows that in its present form the great bulk of Biblical literature is post-Davidic, and consequently that much of the J and E phraseology occurring in the reputedly early texts is of but secondary importance for our purpose, and to be received with extreme caution whenever a "Tendenz" may be reasonably suspected. Some of the language employed by the post-exilic scribes may no doubt be the honest reflexion of unbroken esoteric tradition, oral or even written, for the Tel el-Amarna tablets alone are sufficient evidence of a widely-diffused knowledge of letters in pre-Mosaic and even in pre-Abramitic times. But there are passages bearing on the points here at issue which may be unhesitatingly rejected as the echoes, not of early traditions, but of contemporary theological teachings.

¹ Thus De Lagarde: "The abstract is everywhere later than the concrete; therefore Elohim (as a singular) is later than Yahvé, &c." (quoted by Cheyne, *Founders of O. T. Criticism*, p. 184).

Such I hold to be Gen. xxi. 33, where the strange association of Yahveh with the *asherah* devoted to the orgiastic rites of Semitic heathendom¹ throws an unexpected light on the above-quoted passage from Josh. xxiv. 2; such Deut. x. 17, Exod. iii. 14, and especially the *אֲשֵׁרָה* of Exod. vi. 3; and in general all those expressions which betray the transparent intention of endowing the Abramitic and Mosaic Jahveh with the attributes of pure monotheism. Such expressions are anachronisms, standing in violent contrast to the crude anthropomorphism which breaks out continually in the closest connexion both with Yahveh and Elohim throughout the whole of the pre-exilic period from Genesis to Ezekiel. Sayce, who is himself at times distinctly iconoclastic, rejects the theory of development in the Jewish religion, declaring it to be "a mere product of the imagination," and commits himself to the statement that the "belief in Yahveh displayed in the Song [of Deborah] is as uncompromising as that of later Judaism. Yahveh is the God of Israel who has fought for his people, *and beside him there is no other God*."² It is the here italicized words which do not occur in the text, that are the "product of the imagination." For Deborah Jahveh is merely a national deity, the "God

¹ In later times, when Israel was slowly emerging from the crude polytheistic state, all these *rituals*, whether *effigies* (Judges iii. 7; 2 Kings xxiii. 6, &c.), or *groves*, of the goddess Astarte, as above, had to be destroyed. Hence the injunction, *lucos igne comburite*, in Deut. xii. 3, and elsewhere.

² *Early History*, pp. 301-2. It may be pointed out that the development theory so rashly denied by Sayce is fully admitted by the late Dean Farrar, who refers to the teraphim, the golden calf, the betylia, the brazen serpent, &c., as proving "most decisively that a pure monotheism was the result of a slow and painful course of God's disciplinary dealings amongst the noblest thinkers of a single nation, and not, as is so constantly and erroneously urged, the instinct of the whole Semitic race; in other words, one single branch of the Semites was under God's providence *educated* into pure monotheism only by centuries of misfortune and series of inspired men" (Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, III, p. 986).

of Israel," who needs aid and curseth the people of Meroz "because they came not to the help of Yahveh," for whom also "from Heaven fought the stars; in their courses they fought against Sisera." This is rank astrology, and Sayce himself admits that the Judges belonged to an age when "the Baalim seemed to have gained the mastery over Yahveh" (ibid., p. 288). And commenting on the altar raised by Gideon to *Yahveh-Shalom* on the ruins of that of his rival Baal, he also admits that "it is true that between Yahveh and Baal the Israelite of the day saw but little difference¹. Yahveh was addressed as Baal, or 'Lord,' and the local altars that were dedicated to him in most instances did but take the place of the older altars of a Canaanitish Baal. Mixture between Israelites and Canaanites, moreover, had brought with it a mixture in religion. Along with the titles, Yahveh had assumed the attributes of a Baal, at all events among the mass of the people" (p. 308).

What "a mixture in religion" may mean is not quite clear. But when we are told that the cult of the zealous Yahveh was thus contaminated by the cult of Baal, god of the conquered Canaanites, we are reminded of the *Graecia capta* which *feros victores cepit*. But Sayce goes further, and after wrestling with the exceedingly anthropomorphic episode of Jacob and the ladder, calls Yahveh "the God of the locality" (p. 81), just as Cato (quoted by Dionys. Hal. ii. 49) calls Sabus, the eponymous hero of the Sabines, *ὁ Σάγκου δαίμονος ἐπιχωρῶν*, "son of the local god Sancus"! Moreover, in Judges xvii, Yahveh becomes an idol, a molten image of silver, worshipped jointly with the teraphim in the house of Micah; on which Sayce again writes: "The

¹ W. R. Smith's reference to another such incident in the history of Gideon is instructive: "Gideon erects a sanctuary at Ophrah, with a golden ephod—apparently a kind of image—which became a great centre of illegal [idolatrous] worship" (op. cit., Lect. VIII, p. 220). Still later the very Temple itself was invaded by the worshippers of the Babylonian Tammuz, identified with the Phœnician Adon and the Greek Adonis (Ezek. viii. 14).

ordinary Israelite, including a Levite who was the grandson of Moses, takes it for granted that Yahveh must (sic) be adored in the shape of a twofold idol. Nay more; by the side of the graven and molten images, which were meant to represent the god of Israel, we find also the images of the household gods or teraphim, whose cult forms part of that which was paid to the national deity" (ibid., p. 281). Here "the national deity" again becomes, like Ea, one of the numerous gods whom Abram brought with him from Ur to Haran. And this cult, which he shared with the other teraphim, "survived to the latest days of the northern kingdom; it was practised in the household of David (1 Sam. xix. 13) and is even regarded by a prophet of Samaria as an integral portion of the established religion of the State (Hos. iii. 4)" (ibid., p. 281).

We read further that, in the time of the Judges, "though officially the Baal of Israel was Yahveh, the mass of the people worshipped *the local Baal of the place in which they lived*¹. Yahveh was scarcely remembered even in name (sic); his place was taken by the Baalim and Astaroth of Canaan" (ibid., p. 333). Now a protest must be raised against this distinction between "the Baal of Israel" and the other Baals. It was not recognized by the later redactors, for whom the very word Baal was such an abomination that it was eliminated, for instance, from the *Yobaal* of Judges ix. 26, the Massoretic text substituting בן־עבד, "son of a slave," for the true form preserved in the LXX. So also *Adoni-jah* and *Jeho-shaphat* take the place of *Adoni-baal*, and *Baal-shaphat*, although elsewhere we have בַּעַל־שָׁפַט, where Baal is actually declared to be Yah, as

¹ All did so, and W. R. Smith points out that even "to Isaiah Jehovah's presence with his people is still a *local thing*. It could not, indeed, be otherwise, for the people of Jehovah was itself a conception geographically defined, bound up with the land of Canaan, and having its centre in Jerusalem" (op. cit., p. 355). And at p. 379: "It was as natural for an Israelite to worship Jehovah as for a Moabite to worship Chemoah." In other words, the tribal territory and its tutelary deity were co-extensive geographical expressions.

if in the protracted struggle between the two rivals the the national god of Canaan had at one time overcome the national god of Israel. In any case even David looked on the sway of Jahveh, not as absolute but as geographical, strictly limited to Israel, since when driven into exile he said to Saul that "it was not only from his country that he was driven, but from the God of his country as well. In leaving Judah for Gath he had transferred his duties from Israel to Philistia, from Saul to Achish [king of Gath], from Yahveh to Dagon¹." Hence, whenever the Israelites were overcome in battle, Yahveh was also considered to be overcome, and in the inscription on the Moabite Stone King Mesha is able to boast that, after vanquishing Astaroth and Nebo [the Babylonian god of prophecy worshipped on Mount Pisgah], he took from them the arels [champions?] of Dodah and Jahveh, and rended them before Khemosh².

As this Moabite chief is identified with the Mesha of 2 Kings iii, we are still only at the monolatric stage in post-Solomonic times, for he was the contemporary of Jehoram of Israel and Jehoshaphat of Judah. One is at times inclined to ask whether the pure monotheistic concept has ever been fully realized except by a narrow esoteric circle, whether even in these latter days Yahveh is not still for many the God of the "Congregation of Jacob" rather than the *Ens Supremum* in the strict sense of the term. Thus the truly lovable and large-minded Moses Mendelssohn (grandfather of the composer) writes in his famous reply to Lavater: "Our rabbis unanimously teach that the Law is obligatory on our people alone." All others are to conform to the laws of nature and of reason, and those that do so "are called virtuous and the children of eternal salvation³." This is quite in the spirit of Ruth's

¹ Sayce, *Early History*, p. 390.

² Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, p. 367. Khemosh was the chief god of Moab.

³ M. Samuels, *Memoirs of M. Mendelssohn*, p. 54.

"Thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God"—a beautiful lesson of universal love and forbearance, if not under an all-pervading Jahveh, then, perhaps, in Spinoza's all-diffused *natura naturans*.

An affirmative reply may now be given to the question at the opening of this essay.

DYAU, a vague personification of the sky, has no kind of relation to Yahveh, but is connected through their common Aryan origin with ZETΣ and JUPITER, more concrete personifications of the sky. These two are equally unconnected with

JAHVEH, who is to be identified in every way with the Babylonian primæval god EA.

These relations are indicated by the bracketing of the two separate groups at the head of this article.

A. H. KEANE.

IS THERE A JEWISH LITERATURE?¹

Is there a Jewish literature? I should be indeed bold to appear before a Jewish literary society and venture to answer such a question in the negative. But I found it no easy matter to indicate in a brief headline the aim and scope of my lecture. Perhaps I should go further and frankly acknowledge that had I succeeded in hitting upon a title which would in succinct form have given away my argument, my task would have been ended. It is necessary then that I should state at somewhat greater length the real problem I am raising and trying to solve. Our question may be conveniently expressed as follows: Granted that the Jews possess a literature which is peculiarly their own, is that literature best or correctly described by the term "Jewish" literature? It is when the problem is put in this form that without any hesitation my reply must be given in the negative.

Obviously the theme resolves itself into an exercise in definition. Definitions may be odious, but they are necessary evils and useful instruments in the progress of science. I well remember how the late Professor Croom Robertson used to shed a piercing light on momentous disputes in psychology and philosophy by a rigorous analysis of the meaning of the terms employed by the different schools of thought. *The Dialogues of Plato* are practically searches after definitions, and we have the high authority of the late Professor Sidgwick for believing that the discussion

¹ A Lecture delivered before the North London Jewish Literary and Social Union, January 8, 1903.

itself may prove of greater value than the particular definition finally selected¹.

Let us then to-night turn logicians, and ask ourselves what we mean by the terms "literature" and "Jewish." As logicians we must begin with "literature," the class name, before we deal with "Jewish," the specific attribute.

I presume that originally "literature" denoted a body of writings composed by individuals who were of a common race, formed a common nation, and wrote and spoke a common language. Thus Greek literature consisted in the first instance of the best productions in prose and poetry of born Greeks, who were constituents of the same Greek confederacy and who used the Greek language as their medium of intercourse.

Let us now take an illustration nearer home. English literature, on the same analogy, represents the highest expression of the great thoughts of born Englishmen, members of the English nation and writing in the English language. In the words of Stopford Brooke, "the history of English Literature is the story of what great English men and women thought and felt, and then wrote down in good prose and beautiful poetry in the English language²."

Here we see at once ambiguities created by lapse of time and change of circumstances. In the first place, we have to extend the meaning of the term "English" to include Scotchmen, Welshmen, and Irishmen, who possess this attribute in common of using the English tongue. Nevertheless we still hear of the sensitiveness and wrath of the Scotch at Carlyle being included in a series of biographies called "*English Men of Letters*." In the second place, so many new and varied elements have in the march of events been introduced into and absorbed by the English nation, that in our definition of English literature we find ourselves ultimately compelled to eliminate the criterion of birth

¹ Sidgwick, *Principles of Political Economy*, p. 59. Cf. Keynes, *Scope and Method of Political Economy*, p. 152.

² Stopford Brooke, *Primer of English Literature*, p. 5.

and race. And this in spite of Stopford Brooke, who in the definition quoted above and in the following passage retains the race qualification. "It is this sameness of language, *as well as the sameness of national spirit*, which makes our literature one literature for 1,200 years ¹."

But what is an Englishman? It may not be amiss to quote in this connexion a few lines from Daniel Defoe's satire on *The True-born Englishman*.

Thus from a mixture of all kinds, began
That heterogeneous thing, an Englishman.

A true-born Englishman's a contradiction;
In speech an irony, in fact a fiction;
A banter, made to be a test of fools,
Which those that use it justly ridicules;
A metaphor, invented to express
A man akin to all the universe.

And now the difficulties begin to crowd upon us thick and fast. If Englishmen live in foreign lands and write books in English, must their works be excluded from English literature because they were not written within a specified area of soil? Must we shut out brilliant dispatches from our ambassadors at foreign courts? Must we ignore certain literary productions of men like Lord Curzon, Lord Milner, or the late Lord Dufferin, on the sole ground that they were not composed in this little island? Or take the case of the late P. G. Hamerton, the art critic, who wrote French and English with equal facility and felicity. Is English literature entitled to annex his French as well as his English works, on the plea that the author was an Englishman; or should French literature be permitted to claim them, because the language used was French? How shall we deal with foreigners like Max Müller, who happen to be responsible for better English than is written by many native Englishmen? Then the

¹ Stopford Brooke, *Primer of English Literature*, pp. 6, 7.

growth of the Empire suggests still further points of inquiry. What place, if any, shall be assigned in the ranks of English literature to colonials like Sir Gilbert Parker, who write excellent English but have not been born in England?

It may be urged that I am providing you with an unnecessarily lavish display of illustration, but I believe this to be the best method of showing the many-sidedness of the problem. The difficulties I have indicated lead inevitably to the conclusion that the definition of literature has to be narrowed in one direction and enlarged in another; narrowed in one sense by abandoning the criteria of birth, race, and nation, and widened in another sense by regarding language as the sole test in marking the boundaries of a literature. We have thus what logicians call a decrease in connotation or intension, but an increase in denotation or extension, because the number of persons possessing the attribute of using a given language is larger than the number of persons possessing the additional qualification of being born members of the nation using that language. A literature then comprises the corporate mass of compositions in any given language, irrespective of the birth, race, or nation of the authors.

How does all this bear upon the problem with which we started, Is there a *Jewish* literature? Holding as I do most strongly that the language in which the works are written is the sole and all-important criterion in any definition of literature, I am constrained to challenge the statement made by Karpeles at the very beginning of his work, entitled *Geschichte der jüdischen Literatur*. "The history of Jewish literature," he says, "embraces the collective writings of Jews from the dawn of history until the present age, without any reference to the form, *language*, or contents of those writings¹." I am prepared to agree with Karpeles in laying no stress on form and contents, but I am diametrically opposed to him when he ignores the Hebrew

¹ Op. cit., p. 1.

language as the essential feature in any definition of Jewish literature. I go further and maintain that the epithet applied to the literature must invariably be identical with the epithet applied to the language. No language, no literature. No *Jewish* language, no *Jewish* literature. There is a *Hebrew* language, so we must speak of *Hebrew* literature. The two views may be contrasted thus. Karpeles would include in Jewish literature whatever is written by Jews, be the language what it may, "Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Arabic, Spanish, Italian, French, German, and many other languages¹." I would include in Hebrew literature only such works as are written in Hebrew, be the author Jew or Gentile. In other words, the definition given by Karpeles is built on a *racial* foundation; my definition rests on a *linguistic* basis.

Of course, if we could legitimately speak of a *Jewish* language, we should have a perfect right to speak of a *Jewish* literature. But I contend we are not justified in assuming that the term "Jewish" has ever been, or can ever be used as a synonym for "Hebrew" as applicable to language. As far as my memory serves me, there is only one instance in the whole of Hebrew literature where there is even a near approach to a trace of such a usage. The passage I have in mind is 2 Kings xviii. 26, 28, "Then said Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, and Shebnah, and Joah, unto Rabshakeh, Speak to thy servants in the Syrian language; for we understand it: and speak not with us in the *Jews' language*, in the ears of the people that are on the wall. . . . Then Rabshakeh stood, and cried with a loud voice in the *Jews' language*, and spake, saying, Hear ye the word of the great king, the king of Assyria." But even this apparent exception is open to a simple explanation. The word יהודית, "Jewish," does not mean the *Jewish* language, but the *Hebrew* language spoken by Judaeans, i.e. inhabitants of the kingdom of Judah. There is no implication that the language spoken in the kingdom

¹ Op. cit., p. 2.

of Israel was different from that current in the kingdom of Judah, but the universe of discourse is limited, and includes only the Hebrew language of the kingdom of Judah and the Assyrian language of the enemy then at the gate. As far as I can recall my reading, this is the only example in the whole of Hebrew literature, where the Hebrew language is called anything but עברית, "Hebrew," an expression which is absolutely unambiguous.

Not only are we thus precluded from using "Jewish" and "Hebrew" as convertible epithets, but we are entitled to go much further and stoutly maintain that the term "Jewish" never has had applicability to language, but has always borne a *racial* signification. The name "Jew" dates from the division of the kingdom, and originally denoted a Judæan, a member of the kingdom of Judah, in contrast to an Israelite, a constituent of the kingdom of Israel. After the exile, the Ten Tribes lost their identity, and the term "Jew" became the indiscriminate appellation of every born Hebrew.

On the other hand, "Hebrew" has always had a much wider connotation, with a distinct reference to language as well as race.

The history of Hebrew literature would thus be the story of what born Hebrews living in Palestine thought and felt, and then wrote down in good prose and beautiful poetry in the Hebrew language. But we feel at once the narrowness of this provisional definition and are unable to accept it as final. Problems arise similar to those which confronted us in our examination and criticism of Stopford Brooke's definition of English literature. Are Hebrew writings composed by Hebrews outside Palestine to be included in Hebrew literature? This question is not so absurd as may appear at first sight. We may recall the interesting commentary of the *Mechilta* on the first few verses of the Book of Jonah. "Now the word of the Lord came unto Jonah . . . saying, Arise, go to Nineveh, that great city, and cry against it; . . . but Jonah rose up to flee unto Tarshish from

the presence of the Lord¹." "How could Jonah imagine" asks the *Mechilta*, "that he could flee from the presence of the Lord? Is it not written, 'Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me².' But Jonah believed that the spirit of divine prophecy would not rest upon him *outside the borders of Palestine*, therefore he rose up to flee unto Tarshish from the presence of the Lord³." We should also remember the reason given in the Talmud for not saying Hallel on Purim. "Hallel is not recited in gratitude for God's mercy shown to Israel *outside the land of Palestine*⁴."

It is conceivable then that Hebrew literature might have to be bounded by national and territorial limits, that Jonah's notion of divine inspiration might have to be extended to the language in which the prophetic utterances were made, and that we might have to exclude from Hebrew literature compositions in Hebrew which were not racy of the soil of Palestine. But happily a more universalistic doctrine has prevailed. "In every place where I cause my name to be remembered I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee⁵." Every work, written in Palestine or outside Palestine, provided it be written in the *Hebrew* language, is blessed by its inclusion in Hebrew literature. Thus the prophets of the Exile are to be found in the Hebrew canon of the Bible, and the Talmud of Babylon and all other Hebrew works of all lands and of all ages find their place in Hebrew literature.

As a result of these developments, our provisional definition of Hebrew literature must be subjected to the following important modifications. It is not an essential condition that a Hebrew work to be included in Hebrew literature must have been written in Palestine.

¹ Jonah i. 1-3. ² Ps. cxxxix. 6-9. ³ *Mechilta*, ed. Friedmann, 1 b.

⁴ *T. B. Megillah*, 14 a.

⁵ Exod. xx. 24.

Furthermore, a Hebrew work to be included in Hebrew literature, need not have been written by a born Hebrew. It is a mere accident that in the past the racial element has persisted in the fact that Hebrews alone have written and write Hebrew. In the event of Gentiles using Hebrew as their medium in expressing their thoughts, we should have to find room for their works in Hebrew literature. To my mind this is not a startling suggestion, nor would it be a remarkable innovation. It would simply be the logical outcome of a traditional habit continued through centuries. We bind the Targum of Onkelos the Proselyte with our copies of the Pentateuch. It would be but a small step forward to include in Hebrew literature the Hebrew works of Gentiles who do not go the length of becoming proselytes.

I therefore claim that as against Karpeles, I have established my two propositions, first, that the expression "Jewish" literature is incorrect, and that we must substitute for it "Hebrew" literature; and secondly, that Hebrew literature comprises the corporate mass of works written in *Hebrew*, be the authors Jews or Gentiles. In other words the *linguistic* test is more logical and scientific than the *racial* criterion. *The Hebrew language is the basis of Hebrew literature.*

Now what do we mean by the Hebrew language? Just as by English we understand the old well of English pure and undefiled, into which from time to time there have been mingled supplies from many and varied streams, so by Hebrew we mean the language of the Bible, with the addition of those terms and phrases which Hebrew has in the course of ages absorbed and assimilated. The earliest form of the Hebrew language is very different from modern Hebrew in form, pronunciation, and appearance, but nevertheless the language written by the prophets and psalmists is the same language as that in which modern Hebrew works are written, just as much as the tree planted a hundred years ago is the same tree to-day¹.

¹ Adapted from Stopford Brooke, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

After having criticized Karpeles' definition of Jewish literature, I am all the more glad to have the opportunity of quoting the authority of his name in support of my definition of the Hebrew language. "The designation 'neo-hebraic' literature" he says "is wrong, and owes its origin to the prejudice which thinks a division must be made between the *old* Hebrew and *later* Hebrew literature¹." In the October 1902 number of the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW Professor J. D. Wijnkoop has given more emphatic expression to the same view. "Hebrew" he writes "could not elude that general law, that every civilized language in the course of centuries undergoes great alterations. In addition to new subjects, different modes of reasoning, and foreign conceptions, brought about by greater communication and more extensive intercourse, it seems that a considerable part of these changes must be attributed to an ever-increasing tendency and desire on the part of those who use the language, to express their thoughts with greater precision and lucidity. With this end in view, they create for themselves new forms of speech, extend the stock of words, and seek new constructions . . . Later Hebrew, far from being a language having no connexion with the older tongue, ought on the contrary to be considered only as a direct continuation of it, indeed as *a language which is constructed upon the foundations of classical Hebrew*²."

I said before that the Hebrew language is the basis of Hebrew literature, and that we should therefore speak of *Hebrew* literature, and not *Jewish* literature. Well, what is the practical value of this correction? What advantage does this conclusion yield? *Cui bono*? If we use the term "Hebrew" literature instead of "Jewish" literature, I think we are provided with an instrument for overcoming the most intricate difficulties of classification. To which literature shall we assign works written by Jews in languages other than Hebrew? For instance, where shall we place

¹ Karpeles, op. cit., p. 2.

² J. Q. R., XV, 37, 38, 49.

Zangwill's *Dreamers of the Ghetto*? Karpeles would include it in *Jewish* literature, because written by a Jew, and English people would claim it as a contribution to *English* literature, because written in English. Now it is inconvenient as well as unscientific to have such overlapping in definition. How can we get rid of this anomaly? By rigorously insisting upon the adoption of the expression "Hebrew" literature. Zangwill's *Dreamers of the Ghetto* is written in English, therefore it is English literature. It is *not* written in Hebrew, therefore it is *not* Hebrew literature. Mr. Israel Abrahams' *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* is written in English, therefore it is a contribution to English literature. On the other hand, Mr. David Yellin's Hebrew translation of this work is a contribution to Hebrew literature. The German edition of Graetz is a contribution to German literature; the English translation is a contribution to English literature, and the Hebrew translation by Harkavy and Rabinowicz is a contribution to Hebrew literature.

In addition to works written by Jews in languages other than Hebrew, but which are not Hebrew literature, because not written in Hebrew, there are many works written by non-Jews in languages other than Hebrew, but which are nevertheless of vital and perennial interest to Jews. How shall we deal with them? How, for example, shall we classify the contributions made by Cheyne and Driver to our knowledge of the Bible? Here again my test holds good. The works of Cheyne and Driver are not Hebrew literature, because not written in Hebrew. They are English literature, because written in English.

I hope no one thinks I am arguing against a cosmopolitan taste in literature, and recommending that, even if we could, we should restrict our reading to works written in the Hebrew language. There are of course many contributions made both by Jews and non-Jews to the literatures of the world, which are not Hebrew literature because not written in Hebrew, but which we may nevertheless study with

advantage, either as Jews or as children of the world. But I am now pursuing quite a different line of thought. I am engaged in the task of definition and classification, and endeavouring to introduce precision into the employment of terms, and I maintain that the use of the Hebrew language is the sole criterion of what should or should not be regarded as Hebrew literature. History proves my contention. That which has persisted in Hebrew literature has always been that which has been composed in the Hebrew language or translated into the Hebrew language. Jews have always been wanderers over the face of the globe, and when circumstances made them cease to have a living interest in Greek, they dropped the study of the Jewish-Hellenistic literature. When Jews no longer needed Arabic in their intercourse with their neighbours, they ignored the Arabic literature of the Jews. All that Jews ultimately remember and love is that which was originally written in Hebrew or preserved in Hebrew translations. I doubt very much whether Jehudah Halevi's *Cuzri*, Bachja's *Duties of the Heart*, and Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* would have so many Jewish readers in modern times, had those works not been accessible in Hebrew translations instead of the Arabic in which they were originally composed.

The deeper we go into the problem, the more convinced we shall become of the inaccuracy of the expression "Jewish" literature, and the correctness and consistency of the term "Hebrew" literature.

But our study would be incomplete did we not take into consideration another aspect of the problem and inquire whether after all we cannot retain the expression "Jewish literature" and understand by it, the literature *about* Jews and Judaism, in whatever language and by whomsoever that literature may have been written.

At first sight this interpretation would appear to be thoroughly defensible, but I think that even this definition will on closer inspection be found to break down completely.

In the first place, if, as we are logically bound to do, we consistently adhere in the discussion to the *generic* meaning of the word "literature," we shall fail to find a strict analogy to justify us in explaining "Jewish literature" as the literature *about* Jews and Judaism. By Greek literature we understand literature written *in* Greek, and not literature written *about* the Greeks. By English literature we do not mean literature written *about* the English, but literature written *in* English, which may or may not have been written *by* Englishmen and which may or may not have been written *about* the English people. H. A. Taine's *Histoire de la Littérature anglaise* is without doubt a contribution to *French* literature, but according to the suggested interpretation of Jewish literature, it should be regarded as *English* literature, because it has reference to English literature. On the other hand I should classify H. van Laun's English translation of this work bearing the title, *History of English Literature* as English literature, because written *in* English. In English literature we do not include works *on* English literature which are composed in languages other than English. Otherwise English literature would have to annex German tomes on Shakespeare, although written in German. But the English translation of Ten Brink's treatise on *Early English Literature* belongs to English literature, because in English. Saintsbury's English work on *French Literature* is English literature, because written *in* English, and not French literature although written *about* the French. Grote's *History of Greece* is English literature, because written *in* English, and not Greek literature because written *about* the Greeks. Similarly, Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Bolton King's *History of Italian Unity*, and Bodley's *France*, are all contributions to English literature, and do not belong to Dutch, Italian, or French literatures respectively.

No definition of literature which does not rest on the linguistic test can give a satisfactory solution to the following intricate case. In previous numbers of the JEWISH

QUARTERLY REVIEW, Steinschneider wrote a series of articles in English on "The Arabic Literature of the Jews." A German continuation of these essays has lately appeared under the title of *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*. Is the English work German literature because written *by* a German? Is the German work German literature because written *in* German? Are both works Arabic literature, because written *about* Arabic literature? Are both works Jewish literature, because written *about* Jews? I contend that the English work is a contribution to English literature, the German treatise is a contribution to German literature, and that neither belongs to Arabic or Jewish literature, although written *about* the Arabic literature of the Jews.

In the second place, we can object to the definition of Jewish literature as literature about Jews and Judaism, because if adopted and rigorously applied it would lead to the exclusion of certain forms of literature which Karpeles must maintain to be Jewish literature because written by Jews, and which from my point of view I should have to include in Hebrew literature because written in Hebrew. There are many works written in pure Hebrew and by Jews which are certainly not literature *about* Jews or Judaism, but which according to this meaning of Jewish literature must not be regarded as Jewish literature. There are, for instance, treatises in Hebrew on medicine and other branches of science, secular poems and dramatic compositions, which have not the remotest relation to Jews or Judaism, and which should accordingly be shut out from Jewish literature. But I urge that a Hebrew poem on the game of chess¹ is Hebrew literature, because written in Hebrew. Karpeles would include it in Jewish literature, because written by a Jew. But if the expression "Jewish literature" is defended and retained in the sense of literature *about* Jews or Judaism, we should find ourselves in the strange position of having to exclude such a composition from Jewish literature on the ground that its subject is not Jews or Judaism,

¹ Cf. Nina Davis, *Songs of Exile*, pp. 127-131, 141, 142.

although it is written in Hebrew and by a Jew. What an absurd conclusion.

There is another shade of meaning attached to "Jewish literature" to which similar objections apply. I refer to the interpretation of Jewish literature as literature inspired by Jews or Judaism. This argument can be more conveniently discussed under two headings, (a) translations direct from the Hebrew, and (b) adaptations from the Hebrew and developments of Jewish ideas.

As regards (a), translations direct from the Hebrew, if we accept the proposed interpretation of Jewish literature, we should have to assign to Jewish literature all the versions of the Bible in the world, because they have been inspired by the Hebrew Bible. The Authorised and Revised Versions of the Bible in English and Milton's translations of the Psalms would thus belong to Jewish literature.

Let us take another definite example. Some years ago the late Professor Kaufmann contributed to the *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* an article entitled "*Der Führer Maimuni's in der Weltliteratur*," in which he gave a masterly treatment of all the editions and translations of the *Moré Nebuchim*, and traced the influence of this work on subsequent philosophic thought. Are the translations referred to Jewish literature because inspired by Jewish thought, or should they be ascribed to the literatures of their respective languages?

Let us now examine a few cases where we can have no bias to affect our judgment in answering the question. Is Pope's *Iliad* a contribution to English literature because written in English, or Greek literature because based on the Greek? Bentley, the great classical scholar implied what his decision would have been, when he said that Pope's *Iliad* was good Pope but indifferent Homer. Does Jowett's *Dialogues of Plato* belong to English literature because in English, or to Greek literature because translated from the Greek? To my mind, it appears much more

reasonable in all these cases to return the translations to the literatures of the respective languages in which they have been written.

(b) If by Jewish literature we understand the literature of Judaism, i.e. the literature inspired by Jews and Judaism, we should have to incorporate in Jewish literature every commentary on the Bible in the world of every language and of every age, from the early church fathers, through the mediaeval monks, to modern exegetes like Delitzsch, Cheyne, and Driver. It would be a curious anomaly to describe Christological interpretations of the Bible as Jewish literature, a conclusion we cannot resist if Jewish literature means literature based on Hebrew thought. If we accept this definition, we should also have to include in Jewish literature works like Herder's *Geist der hebräischen Poesie*, Renan's *Life of Jesus*, and Huxley's *Science and Hebrew Tradition*, because they are all dependent on Jewish ideas. To take Jewish literature in this vague and wide sense would make it impossibly vast, almost co-terminous with the literatures of the world, and we should find Jewish literature collapsing by reason of its own weight.

What lies at the root of all the misconceptions in the attempts to arrive at a satisfactory definition of Jewish literature which I have endeavoured to brush aside is, I believe, the confusion in thought arising from the fact that disputants do not consistently adhere in the discussion to one precise meaning of the word "literature." To describe a literature by its subject, contents, or source of inspiration, is to adopt a *specific* meaning of "literature," and not the *generic* connotation clearly implied when we speak of the literatures of the world, based on the languages in which those literatures have been written. Errors creep in when against all the rules laid down by logic, the *generic* meaning of literature is not maintained throughout the argument, and is not carefully distinguished from the *specific* meaning of literature, and thus the first Law of Thought, the Law

of Identity, is subtly violated. Literature has without question a *specific* nuance of meaning which would justify the expression "Jewish literature" in the sense of literature about the Jews or inspired by Judaism, in the same way that psychological literature means the literature on psychology in every language. But there is an important difference between bibliography and literature. In the specific sense of literature, Jewish literature may mean literature written in Hebrew, the language of the Jews; literature written by Jews in any language; and literature inspired by Jews or Judaism and written in any language by anybody. But in one and the same discussion to confuse these various possible explanations of Jewish literature, and without a word of warning or qualification to interpret them all as absolutely equivalent or synonymous, is to break all the principles of logical definition and division. It is as though we classified the literatures of the world into Greek (i.e. written *in* Greek), Latin (written *in* Latin), French (written *in* French), German (written *in* German), English (written *in* English), mathematical (*about* mathematics), chemical (*about* chemistry), Jewish (*about* Jews), Christian (*about* Christians), and Shakespearean (*inspired by* Shakespeare), where the *fundamentum divisionis* is surreptitiously but unmistakably altered.

The term "*Jewish literature*" thus stands once more condemned for its ambiguity, and we must therefore revert to my criterion of the Hebrew language as the basis of our definition of Hebrew literature.

There remains but one more question. How are we to deal with "Yiddish" literature? Not being written in pure Hebrew it would at first sight appear that Yiddish literature should be excluded from Hebrew literature, and not being written in the languages of the world, it should equally not be included in the literatures of the world. Where then is its place? Here we seem to have a case which does not conform to the requirements of my test,

and if it could be proved that it could not be made to fit in with my scheme, my definition of Hebrew literature would perhaps have to be seriously modified if not entirely abandoned. But far from weakening my argument, I think the problem of classifying "Yiddish" literature strengthens my contention.

But first, what is "Yiddish"? The word is derived from the German *jüdisch*, "Jewish," and usually denotes a strange compound of corrupt Hebrew and mediaeval or provincial German spoken by Jews, particularly in the Eastern countries of Europe¹.

Is there a "Yiddish" literature? As there is a "Yiddish" language, we cannot reasonably deny the existence of a "Yiddish" literature.

In what relation then does "Yiddish" literature stand to Hebrew literature? Just as dialect literatures are included in the literatures of the major languages, so Yiddish literature should be included in Hebrew literature, *whenever it is written and printed in Hebrew characters*. The meaning and importance of the qualification in italics will become apparent later on. There is a Provençal language, and therefore a Provençal literature, but the minor Provençal dialect literature is absorbed by the major French literature. There is a Kailyard school of fiction whose works are captured by English literature, and in general, dialect literatures find their proper position in the literatures of their major languages. Similarly, Yiddish literature, *when written and printed in Hebrew characters*, must be regarded as a peculiar dialect literature of Hebrew, and should therefore be included in the major Hebrew literature. In support of this argument it should be remembered that those who speak and write Yiddish, entertain not the slightest doubt that Yiddish literature forms a branch of Hebrew literature².

¹ Cf. Leo Wiener, *History of Yiddish Literature in the Nineteenth Century*; Karpeles, op. cit., II, 1000 ff.; *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Dialecta."

² Yiddish is thus affectionately termed *Mammi-loshon*, a hybrid of Polish and Hebrew, meaning *Muttersprache*, mother-tongue.

They attach to Yiddish a sanctity almost equal to that with which they regard Hebrew, and some go to the extreme length of calling Yiddish a "heilige Sprache." Hence it happens that in the East End of London there is an institution, called the "Yiddishe" Talmud Torah, where the instruction is imparted in "holy" Yiddish, in opposition to the "English" Talmud Torah, where the teaching is given in "profane" English.

The case of Yiddish literature is thus extremely interesting, because it is an instance of a literature in a transitional stage, clinching and solving the whole problem with which we are concerned. We should not forget that although by "Yiddish" we usually understand Jüdisch-Deutsch, Kayserling has pointed out the existence also of a Jüdisch-Spanish and a Jüdisch-Portuguese literature¹, and Bacher has described specimens of Hebrew-Persian literature². Yiddish literature thus represents the early efforts of Jews to enter into the literatures of the world. As long as Yiddish works are written by Jews and printed in Hebrew characters we have an indication that the authors in their own judgment do not yet feel themselves outside the domain of Hebrew literature³. But as soon as works in Yiddish appear in non-Hebrew characters, Yiddish literature begins to cross the border, and a further stage is reached when Jews compose works in the pure languages of the world. Here we enter new territory, the divorce becomes absolute, the literary productions of the Jews in the languages of the world fall outside the scope of Hebrew

¹ e.g. *J. Q. R.*, XV, 112-114.

² *J. Q. R.*, XIV, 116 ff.

³ Since this article was written, the view adopted here has had a curious corroboration. Jews able to write Yiddish in Hebrew characters have been defined as prohibited immigrants into Cape Colony, because they were unable in the words of the Immigration Act "through deficient education to write out and sign in the characters of any European language, an application to the satisfaction of the Minister." See *The Jewish Chronicle*, Feb. 13, 1903. My argument is not affected by the subsequent recognition of Yiddish as a European language. See *The Jewish Chronicle*, April 10, 17, and May 8, 1903.

literature proper and have to be ascribed to the literatures of their respective languages. So that once more the language test is found to be the supreme and determining factor.

We have an excellent modern illustration of the principle just enunciated. Morris Rosenfeld has issued a volume of Yiddish poems, which for reasons already stated, I claim should be placed under the heading of Hebrew literature. But Rosenfeld's attempts in English verse and the English translations from his poetry made by Mrs. Henry Lucas¹, belong to English literature because written in English.

We may now summarize the whole discussion by tabulating the cases which have to be considered when marking the boundaries of either Hebrew or Jewish literature.

(i) Works written by Jews in Hebrew on any subject whatsoever.

(ii) Works written by Gentiles in Hebrew on any subject whatsoever.

(iii) Works written by Jews in languages other than Hebrew, but bearing on, or inspired by, Jews or Judaism.

(iv) Works written by Gentiles in languages other than Hebrew, but bearing on, or inspired by, Jews or Judaism.

(v) Works written by Jews in languages other than Hebrew, *not* bearing on or inspired by Jews or Judaism.

As indicated at the beginning of my paper, no barring limit is imposed as to time and place of composition, and every case given assumes the addition of the phrase "written in any country and in any age."

As a result of the definition with which he starts, that whatever is written by Jews is Jewish literature, Karpeles includes in Jewish literature (i), (iii), and (v). He entirely ignores the consideration of problems (ii) and (iv), gives very inadequate and by no means proportionate treatment to (iii) and (v), and inconsistently describes the activity of some Gentile writers who properly fall under category (iv), e.g. the Buxtorfs².

¹ J. Q. R., XII, 89-91, 264, 265.

² Op. cit., II, 103a.

Be the conclusion I reach right or wrong, I claim my method to be the more complete one. I have dealt with all the possible cases, and in consequence of basing Hebrew literature on the Hebrew language, I exclude classes (iii), (iv), and (v), and define Hebrew literature as consisting of (i) and (ii), i.e. the corporate mass of works written in Hebrew by Jews or Gentiles on any subject, in any country, and in every age. This I regard as the only real and consistent meaning to be attached to Hebrew literature, and the only way by which we can attain a well rounded-off discipline to justify us in placing Hebrew literature among the literatures of the world.

Must we then entirely abandon the epithet "Jewish"? Such a course was proposed by H. Filipowski, who in 1867 founded *The Hebrew National*¹. The aim of this journal was to exclude the words "Jew" and "Jewish" from all articles, and thus drive them out of existence, and invariably to substitute for them the term "Hebrew."

But the paper had but a brief career; only three numbers were issued without the desired result having been achieved.

As the term "Jewish" seems to possess abundant vitality, can we not make some concession to popular usage? I have already explained why I think the expression "Jewish" literature to be erroneous, but I am prepared to sanction the expression "Jewish" history, because the word "Jewish" has a racial signification, and "Jewish" history may correctly be interpreted as the history of the Jews. But would it not be inconsistent to speak in the same breath of "Jewish" history and "Hebrew" literature? By no means. Classical scholars supply us with a strictly parallel case when they distinguish between *Roman* history and *Latin* literature. There were Romans as a people, but there was no Roman language. The language of the Romans was called Latin. Similarly, we Jews form a race, but we have no Jewish language. Our language is called Hebrew. We are thus

¹ Jacobs and Wolf, *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica*, No. 1283, p. 150.

entitled to speak of "Jewish" history but "Hebrew" literature. Nevertheless I prefer the term "Hebrew" as the epithet to be applied both to our history and our literature, and without attempting to resuscitate Filipowski's journal, I should like to advocate the revival of his idea. As Jews we are Hebrews, and Hebrew is perhaps the nobler term¹. Besides it is an unnecessary inconvenience to use two adjectives where one will suffice. Why speak of "Jewish" history and "Hebrew" literature, when the one epithet "Hebrew" can be correctly and legitimately applied to both history and literature? Even as applied to history, "Hebrew" is the better term, because it covers the longer period of the annals of our race. *Hebrew* history begins with Abram the Hebrew²; Jewish history commences with the Exile, or at the earliest, with the division of the kingdom.

And now I must draw my argument to a close. All I claim for my paper is that it is the first consistent attempt to define the scope of what has hitherto been erroneously known as *Jewish* literature, but which I maintain should more correctly be called *Hebrew* literature. The solution of the problem I have suggested may or may not be the right one, but at all events I have proved to my own satisfaction, and I hope to yours also, that there is a real, deep, important, and by no means trivial meaning to be attached to the question with which I commenced, Is there a Jewish literature?

S. LEVY.

¹ Cf. Zangwill, on *Hebrew, Jew, Israelite*.

² Gen. xiv. 13.

THE WISDOM OF BEN SIRA.

(Continued from p. 474.)

II.

3. *Additional Notes on Chapters III-XVI.*

IN what follows use is made of the readings and notes of Dr. Peters, Dr. Strack, and Mr. Cowley.

The full and learned treatise of Dr. Norbert Peters on the Hebrew Text of Ecclus. (1902) gives a list of previous editions and other "mehr oder minder benutzte Litteratur" (pp. vii-xi), including Mr. Cowley's *Notes on the Cambridge Texts of Ben Sira* (*J. Q. R.*, XII, 109-111); Prof. Bevan's review; the present writer's *Studies in Ben Sira* (*J. Q. R.*, X, 470 f., 1898), but not his article quoted herein as *J. T. S.* See p. 441 of this volume.

Prof. Dr. Hermann L. Strack has recently brought out an excellent and inexpensive edition of the Text from the *Facsimiles*, with short critical notes. A copy of it reached me immediately after the completion of Part I of this article.

Mr. Cowley's article begins thus (*J. Q. R.*, XII, 109): "The following notes are the result of three days' study of the Hebrew fragments in the possession of Dr. Schechter. I went very carefully through the MSS., comparing them with the printed text in the *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, edited by Prof. Schechter and Dr. Taylor, and noting every point in which there was reason to differ from the reading adopted by the editors. The text is, however, so accurately reproduced that there is very little to alter in it, and

the proposed changes are mostly unimportant, or concern passages in which the reading must remain a matter of individual opinion. . . . With regard to MS. A, it is worth mentioning that, though the writing is distinct and usually well preserved, some letters . . . are often hardly distinguishable."

But the recension of the text attributed to the two Cambridge editors is, except in a single folio, the work of one editor only. In the Preface to the Cambridge edition I wrote (p. vi), "Of the Text in manuscript I have as yet read only the ninth folio (ch. 49. 12—50. 22), which was published as the first of Dr. Schechter's Genizah Specimens in No. 38 of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (Jan. 1898)." I had read this folio, the last but two of MS. B in the *Facsimiles*, before it was published as a specimen, and contributed a conjecture or two to the first edition of it¹; but I took no part in the first decipherment of the other Cambridge fragments. Here and there I speculated about readings in them, but only with reference to the printed text as prepared by Dr. Schechter for our edition, the originals not being at the moment accessible.

In this paragraph Mr. Cowley's notes are in italics. Chap. v. 4. For ארך read ארך. There is a dot above the *alef*, but it does not appear why. In the next line there is one over תבטח. Line 14 of the page has triads of dots right and left of it, but those on the left are given to the right of line 15 in the printed text. Another dotted word is מראש at the end of A (p. 474). vi. 7. For בניסח read בניסח. vii. 16. For תחשובך read תחשובך. 21. After בנפש there is a hole: a letter may be lost. After it Dr. Schechter writes אל, Dr. Peters ואל. xii. 14 marg. For ען read ען; it should be one line higher: perhaps a variant for חן. xiii. 6. For צריך read צריך. The yod may be a repetition from עליך in the line above. xiv. 13.

¹ See in particular my reading of ל . א כלי זכר, repeated in the footnote on Sir. l. 9 in *Camb. B.S.*, but not adopted in the "Notes on the Text" (p. 64).

For חמח read תמיה. Part of מו is torn away. 16¹. *For לפני above the line read לפני*; the correction is not quite distinct, and so is repeated in the margin. 18 c marg. *For ארחות read מרחות*. The scribe wrote and drew a line through ארחות בן, and then wrote בן זריות כ'. 27. *For ובמענותיה read ובמענותיה*. xv. 3. *For read והאכלתהו*.

Mr. Cowley's other notes on A are given separately below. xxx. 19 marg. *For read perhaps*.

ממני, and note that Schechter gives ממני as an alternative (Camb. B. S., p. 54). xxxv. 20. *For מ read ה*...

All this illustrates the remark, "When the writing is indistinct *mem* may be read as or for *hé*, ..." (p. 471).

Sir. iii. 17. *And thou shalt be more beloved than one that giveth gifts*. Dr. Peters goes a step in the direction of the proposed emendation of Gr. (p. 442), and reads:—

καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου δεκτὸν ἀγαπηθήσῃ.

Here δοτικόν, for Heb. *giving gifts*, makes better sense, and some scribe would doubtless have corrupted it into the familiar δεκτόν.

Having written thus far I looked at Sir. iii. 17 simply from the point of view of form and rhythm, and seemed to see that it would be improved by the omission or detachment of בני at the beginning and a shortening of נתן מתנות at the end. With Prof. Israel Lévi's objection to ἀνθρώπου δοτικόν in mind I then thought of reading in Heb., as with allusion to Prov. xix. 6:—

וְתִתֶּנְךָ אִישׁ אִישׁ מִן־

This meets the said objection to ἀνθρώπου δοτικόν, which is as follows: "Mais cette explication ne résoudrait pas la difficulté; pourquoi, si G. avait eu sous les yeux notre leçon, aurait-il jugé nécessaire de mettre le mot *homme* et n'aurait-il pas rendu les deux termes hébreux? Au contraire, si l'hébreu portait אִישׁ אִישׁ ou חסר אִישׁ (cf. Prov. xi. 17 et LXX), on comprend que S. ait cru bon d'expliquer cette expression hébraïque."

Just above this in *L'Ecclésiastique* I found something which I had previously overlooked. M. Chajes is there quoted as saying: "Peut-être G. avait-il sous les yeux חן א"ש et S. a-t-il lu חן[ט] א"ש, comme Prov. xix. 6 וכל הרע חן לא"ש. Cf. Prov. x. 24 ויהן, traduit dans LXX par δεκρή = חן." The supposed reading of Syr. is what I take to have been that of Gr. and Ben Sira.

On Prov. xix. 6 we read in Field's *Hexapla*, "*Et qui vivis est amicus viro doni (liberali)*. O'. πᾶς δὲ ὁ κακὸς γίνεται δνείδος ἀνδρί (alia exempl. γίνεται ἐν δόσει ἀνδρός). Σ. καὶ πᾶς φίλος ἀνδρός δομάτων." Every one loves חן א"ש. The phrase is an idiomatic one, which Ben Sira was likely to have adopted, and its original context suggests the use which I suppose him to have made of it. Sir. ii. 5 ἀνθρώποι δεκτοί, perhaps for חן א"ש רצון, may have contributed to the corruption of δοτικόν into δεκτοῦ in the next chapter. Compare again Prov. xxii. 8 f. ἀνδρα . . . δότην . . . ὁ δῶρα δούς (*J. T. S.*, p. 572). From חן א"ש would have come Heb. חן א"ש an exegetic paraphrase.

Syr. in Prov. xix. 6 חן א"ש, "*Et flagitiosis largitur munera*," חן א"ש with no word for א"ש; but in Sir. iii. 17, "And more than a man that giveth gifts they shall love thee":—

חן א"ש חן א"ש חן א"ש חן א"ש חן א"ש

This and Gr. attest Heb. חן א"ש, after which (I think) can only have stood חן. Thus we come again to:—

חן א"ש חן א"ש חן א"ש חן א"ש חן א"ש

From this may have come חן א"ש or the like in any language, cf. Prov. *l.c.* R.V. and A.V., "And every man is a friend to him that giveth gifts," the A.V. only with marg., "Heb. a man of gifts." To a retranslator Syr. would have suggested א"ש or נבר, and not merely Heb. חן א"ש. In Gr. there may have been other readings, now lost. A good word for א"ש would have been ἀνδρα, after which one may think of δότην as the archetype of Lat.

gloriam. Thus the whole clause may be given with alternatives as:—

καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων (al. ἀνδρα) δοτικὸν (al. δότην) ἀγαπηθήσῃ.

Sir. iii. 18. Following Gr., and taking account of the rhythm, I proposed (p. 442) to omit עולם and read:—

מעם עצמך ככל נדולת.

Peters, here and in chap. xxxv. 8, קעם for מעם. In *Camb. B. S.* I wrote (p. xvi), that Ben Sira “uses עולם (iii. 18, xvi. 7) for *world*, cf. Eccl. iii. 11 *also he hath set the world in their heart*”; but I now doubt the genuineness of עולם here and in chap. xvi. 7 (pp. 471, 472), and its use in the sense *world* cannot be inferred from Sir. xlv. *init.* Heb. [עולם] שבה אבות, Gr. πατέρων ἕμνος, with nothing at all for עולם. The piel of מעם is transitive in Ecclus., as I suppose it to be in Eccles. xii. 3 ובטלו הסחנות כי קעם (J. Q. R., IV, 538).

Sir. iii. 21, 22. Raising no question about the text of these important verses, Strack gives them thus, without note or comment:—

21 פלאות ממך אל תדרוש ומכוסה ממך אל תחקור;
22 במה שהורשית התבונן ואין לך עסק בנסתרות;

To these and verse 23 *a* correspond the following verses in the Latin of Walton, which are numbered below as in the Polyglot:—

- (22) *Altiora te ne quaesieris,*
Et fortiora te ne scrutatus fueris:
Sed quae praecepit tibi Deus illa cogita semper,
Et in pluribus operibus eius ne fueris curiosus.
- (23) *Non est enim tibi necessarium*
Ea quae abscondita sunt videre oculis tuis.
- (24) *In supervacuis rebus noli scrutari multipliciter,*
Et in pluribus operibus eius non eris curiosus.

“The Latin of Walton is supported by the *Speculum* attributed wrongly to Augustine, which in verse (22) gives

only the variants, *ne perscrutaveris: dominus: non eris curiosus*" (Hart).

Of variants in the Greek notice in verse 21 *μη ζητεῖς ἀναισθήτως, μη ἐξέταζε ἀφροσύνη* (*J. T. S.*, p. 574); and in verse 22 *διανόου δόλως*, A. V. "But what is commanded thee think thereupon *with reverence*."

Peters, adopting the misquotation of Talmud Babli, *Chag.* 13 *a*, noticed on page 444, writes on verse 21, "Gr., Syr., Bab. Talm. *Chag.* fol. 13 *a*, und Midrasch Rabba בראשית VIII (bei C.-N. p. xix [בחוק und בחוק]) treffen aber in חוק st. ומכוסה zusammen"; reads in that verse קשה for פלאות, and חוק for מכוסה; and reads in verse 22 צורך (LXX *χρεία*) for עסק.

The *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, art. *Sirach*, quoting Bacher and Lévi as authorities, again repeats the misquotation of Talm. Babli and the baseless textual theory evolved from it (IV, 4648, 1903). A footnote gives Bacher's suggestion that חרע is "an erroneous completion of the abbreviation 'חר', which should be read חדרש." But it is admitted that Job xi. 8 *מִן־חֵרֶץ מִן־חֵרֶץ* accounts for עמוקה in the Talm. Jerus. citation (2), page 443. What more then is wanted to account for the words חרע מה next before עמוקה there, and for חרע בל along with אל חדרש in Gen. Rab. viii. 2?

The two aspects of פלאות were remarked upon in Part I of this article (p. 445). Their difficulty is indicated by the parallelism of חוק and נפלא in Sir. xxxix. 20:—

אין קמן ומעם עמו ואין נפלא חוק סמנו:

"Ben Sira's saying about the *secret things* was evidently founded upon Deut. xxix. 28 (29):—

הנסתרות ליהוה אלהינו והנגלות לנו ולבנינו עד עולם

which would have suggested also his dative לך" (*J. T. S.*, p. 573). Probably the Greek of Sir. iii. 21 f. was influenced by Deut. *l.c.*, which is to the effect that "for us and for our children" it suffices to do what is plainly laid down in the Torah, and there is no need to be concerned about *τὰ κρυπτά*.

But the further notion that one ought not to pry into such things would sooner or later have grown out of the saying 'הנחתוריו כו'. This notion was probably in the mind of Ben Sira; and the mediaeval prejudice against free speculation and research seems to have rested in part upon his saying in Sir. iii. 21 f. as a Scriptural basis.

St. Augustine, in lib. xi. 12 (14) of his *Confessions*, prefaces his reply to the question, "What was God doing before he made heaven and earth?", with the remark that he will not reply as some one was said to have replied "ioculariter," namely that "*Alta scrutantibus gehennas parabat*," where (I suppose) there is an allusion to Sir. iii. (22) Lat. *Altiora te ne scrutatus fueris*.

Chaucer, in *The Miller's Prologue*, writes:—

A 3163 An housbond shall nat been inquisitif
Of goddes privetee, nor of his wyf.

Here, again, we may see a reference to Ben Sira, who (according to the Latin) teaches that a man should not be *curiosus* in the "abscondita" which are God's secrets. Chaucer's lines show plainly that the notion was a familiar and popular one. The variants in the Greek (p. 609) indicate that it was thought foolish and impious to try to be wise beyond what was written.

[במה ש' Messrs. Cowley and Neubauer in their *Original Heb. of Ecclus.* (p. xix) quote as probably the true form of verse 22:—

באשר הרשית[ה] התבונן לא יש לך עסק בנסתרות:

The *hé* which I have bracketed may be a dittograph, and אן is preferable to ש' לא, but it may be that our author wrote באשר and not ש' במה. "Whether, or how often, Ben Sira used the Biblical ש' *relatif* is an unimportant detail" (*J. T. S.*, p. 580), which M. Lévi makes much of; but perhaps he is right in his general objection to it in *Ecclus.*, where it may always be accounted for as a variant for the full form אשר.

עס] Syr. *ܠܥܬܝܠܐ ܕܝܢܐ*, "*Et ne sit tibi ausus in occulta*," as a paraphrase for 'אין לך עס כו', *thou hast no business with the secret things*; and *ܠܡܠܚܝܬܐ* for הורשית. Gk. *χρῆτα* is a not impossible rendering of עס as well as of צורך (p. 462), but Gr. *ποσσεράνη* is not an exact translation of Heb. הורשית.

Sir. iii. 31 *Whoso doeth good, it shall meet him in his ways* (?). Heb. *מעל טוב יקראנו בדרכיו*.

Cf. Sir. xii. 17 *If mischief hath befallen thee*. Schechter, in *Camb. B.S.*, giving a different sense to קרא, "Is. xli. 2 *צדק יקראו לרגלו*. The Gr. probably read *κρῖν* for יקראנו." Strack, "cf. Is. 41. 2." Peters, "*ῥηται* ist nicht Variante, sondern Erklärung der im Sinne von *rufen* gefassten יקראנו, das auch Syr. erklärend übersetzt (*es ist bereit auf seinem Wege*). Statt *בדרכיו* verlangt Syr. direkt . . . und Gr. indirekt . . . בארחו."

"If the Hebrew stood alone no change would be wanted." Thus I wrote (p. 446), thinking only of the sense of the verse as I understood it; but the first half of it would run better with a shorter word for יקראנו, thus:—

מעל טוב עתיד בדרכיו.

Sir. iv. 30. With *אריה* from C and *מחירא* from A I proposed (p. 448) to read:—

אל תהי כמחירא בביתך מחירא בעבדך;

This gives an assonance in the style of Ben Sira with a play upon words perhaps suggested to him by Amos iii. 8, "A lion hath roared, who will not fear?"

Prof. Dr. Eberhard Nestle in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible* (IV, 547 b, 1902) gives the verse according to A and C, and continues as follows:—

"Can there be any doubt that A agrees with S and C with G? Compare especially the second clause, where S has two words, A has also two, C for one word of G has one word. What is more natural than the conclusion that A and C are not the original, but dependent upon S and G,

retranslations, as Margoliouth affirmed of B? But we must not be too rash: we ask, How would a late Jewish translator hit upon כחפח to render so obscure a word as φαντασιοκοπή? כח is rare in Biblical Hebrew (Gn. 49⁴, Jer. 23³²); it suits the context very well; it might be easily confounded with פחד 'fear,' and thus explain the rendering of S, and it is a favourite word with Sirach (see H 8² 19² 41¹⁷ mg. 42¹⁰ mg., S 19² 23⁴ 6-16-17); it may therefore have preserved the original. This supposition gains probability from a comparison of Zeph. 3³⁻⁴ 'her princes are lions in her midst . . . her prophets are בַּחֲזִיִּים,' where the two words stand together just as here in clause a and b. Schechter has shown that the whole text of H is full of allusions to the OT."

In a footnote he adds, "The passage is discussed with a different result by Taylor (*J. Th. St.* i. 576). He considers אריה *aryeh* and כחירא *mithyaré* to be the original; S may have turned the latter into כחירא; 'the synonymous כחפח with a clerical error accounts for כחפח C.' The first two suppositions are natural, but when, where, and why should כחירא have been turned into כחפח so as to arrive at כחפח?"

(1) The change to כחפח being merely hypothetical, take an example of an actual change from one word to another quite different in form. On Sir. xlv. 19 Heb. בְּבִדּוֹ לֹא נָתַן בְּבִדּוֹ מִזֶּם Peters writes, "Ομοιος des Gr. ist verderbt aus μῆμος (Lé.) . . . Zu מִזֶּם . . . giebt Rd. das Synonymum דְּוִי, das in Bhb. nur noch Ps. l. 20, oft in Nhb. steht." How are such variants as דְּוִי for מִזֶּם to be accounted for? An explanation is suggested in the last paragraph of *J. T. S.*, the article quoted in Nestle's footnote:—

"But to conclude, I wish chiefly to suggest for consideration the hypothesis that *oral teaching and tradition* are partly responsible for the present imperfections of a text of which complete transcripts were never everywhere accessible."

In the course of oral teaching based upon sayings of Ben Sira synonyms, parallels and paraphrases would be used to

bring out or improve upon the sense of the original, and traces of such teaching may very well have found their way into the text of Ecclus. as we have it.

(2) "The whole text of ס is full of allusions to the OT," of which some are and some are not Ben Sira's. In the margin to the left of Sir. xxxv (xxxii). 3 $\text{הַצֶּנֶעַ שָׁל לִכּוֹ}$ stands the variant לִכּוֹ for שָׁל , the other variant having disappeared. The corruption הַצֶּנֶעַ and the pseudo-correction לִכּוֹ are from Micah vi. 8 $\text{וְהִצַּנְעָ לִכּוֹ}$. The missing variant was probably the true reading בְּהִצַּנְעָ , cf. Sir. xvi. 25 וּבְהִצַּנְעָ . The above-mentioned variant דִּוְיָ may be said to be a corruption of Ben Sira's דִּוְיָ due to Psalm l. 20. For a number of variants of this class oral teaching may be assumed to be accountable, since in such teaching Biblical parallels would have been freely quoted.

(3) In his article, *A Further Fragment of Ben Sira* (*J. Q. R.*, XII), Dr. Schechter wrote on a fragment of the MS. C, "The writing is in a large hand, but its decipherment is sometimes rendered difficult by the fact that the sign ו may stand for *vaw*, *yod*, and even *resh*" (p. 456); with reference to chap. iv. 30 Gr. he writes, "It is, however, possible that originally it read וּמַחֲמִיר " (p. 462); and he notes that chap. v. 13 מַחֲמִיר is a corruption of מַחֲמִיר (p. 463). So מַחֲמִיר , unless it can be shown to be the word wanted, may have come in as a clerical error.

[מַחֲמִיר] Evidently יִרָא goes well with אִירָא as in Amos iii. 8. The hithpael (though with a different construction) occurs in chap. xii. 11 $\text{לְהִתִּירָא מִמֶּנּוּ}$, but perhaps only as a variant. Gesen. s.v. יִרָא , "*Hithpa.* semel legitur in cod. Hebraeo-Samaritano Gen. XLII, 1, ubi pro hebr. לֵאמֹר תִּתִּירָא Cod. Sam. habet תִּתִּירָא ."

[מַחֲמִיר] Words from מַחֲמִיר , according to Mandelkern, are found in the Bible in the four places, Gen. xlix. 2, "*Unstable as water*"; Jud. ix. 4, "wherewith Abimelech hired vain

¹ Here again we have " ח for ט " (vol. XV, p. 467). Compare chap. xxxiv (xxx). 14 $\text{אֵל תִּשְׁמֵחַ יְדִי}$, marg. חֲשִׁיחַ with ח for ט .

and *light* persons"; Jer. xxiii. 32, "Behold, I am against them that prophesy false dreams, saith the Lord, and cause my people to err by their lies and by their *lightness*"; Zeph. iii. 3, 4, "Her princes within her are roaring *lions*... Her prophets are *light* and treacherous persons." Here אֱלֹהִים and מְרִיטִים are antiparallels. The "*light*" prophets cringe to the "*lions*" instead of being lionlike and withstanding them. Neither from the Bible nor from Ecclus. itself is it obvious to me that מְרִיטִים would have had the sense wanted in Sir. iv. 30. The hithpael seems to be found there only.

Nestle cites for Heb. מְרִיטִים passages read thus by Strack:—Sir. viii. 2 מְרִיטִים הַחַח וְהַבֶּן; xix. 2 לֵב (מְרִיטִים) לֵב; xli. 17 marg. מְרִיטִים, על מְרִיטִים, for מְרִיטִים; xlii. 10 מְרִיטִים, for מְרִיטִים (מְרִיטִים).

For Syr. ܡܪܝܬܝܬ he cites Sir. xix. 2, xxiii. 4, 5, 21, 22 (*ap.* Walton), where the sense of the root is clearly *lascivus fuit*. See also Payne Smith's *Thesaurus*, where it is noted that the ethpaal is used for יִתְעַלְלֵי in Jud. xix. 25.

כלב "So Syr. Cf. Septuagint, 1 Sam. xxv. 3 (*Keri* כלב). Gr. כלב, see Ed." (Camb. B. S., p. 42). Strack, "Syr. כלב, Gr. כלב," without a query, although C reads כֹּאֲרִיָּה. If this last was the original word it may have been altered to כלב under the influence of Gen. xlix. 9 כֹּאֲרִיָּה וְכֹלְבִּיָּה or the like; and כלב or כלבי may have been misread כלב as by Syr., the *kaf* of comparison being turned into the initial of כלב.

Syr. ܡܪܝܬܝܬ, *et severus ac terribilis*, looks like another trace of "*lion*" in the previous hemistich; for Syr. ܡܪܝܬܝܬ corresponds to Heb. מְרִיטִים, cf. "Syr. ܡܪܝܬܝܬ *iratus* pro Heb. מְרִיטִים 1 Reg. xx. 43, xxi. 4" (Gesen.); and the מְרִיטִים of a king is like the roaring of a lion (Prov. xix. 12).

Nestle's parallel of מְרִיטִים and מְרִיטִים in Zeph. l.c. is remarkable, but it might be thought to have led up to the reading מְרִיטִים as a corruption rather than to attest its genuineness. There may be much more to be said about the reading of the difficult verse Sir. iv. 30; but for the present I conclude provisionally that C כֹּאֲרִיָּה belongs to the true text, and

I think מְחִירָא a not unlikely word for Ben Sira to have set over against it in the other hemistich.

Sir. vi. 2 *Fall not into the hand of thine appetite ; That it should consume thy strength like an ox (?)*. 3 *It shall eat thy leaves and uproot thy fruit ; And leave thee like a dry tree.* Heb. for the second and third of the four hemistichs :—

ותעבה חילך עליך: עליך תאכל ופריך תשרש.

Peters, with reference to Ryssel's conjectural פֶּשֶׁר, writes that "פֶּשֶׁר erklärt sich befriedigend, so dass eine Änderung . . . unnötig ist." The *prima facie* incongruity of פֶּשֶׁר raises the question of the genesis of the saying. An ox does not root up like a boar; and if an ox could reach to strip a tree "clean bare" (Joel i. 7), this would not make it יבשׁ. Ben Sira takes up the phrase "a dry tree" because of its use in Isa. lvi. 3 אֵי עֵץ יבשׁ; and he takes כֶּשֶׁר from Num. xxii. 4, "Now shall this company lick up all that are round about us, as the ox licketh up the grass of the field." Then *shor* suggests *shoresh*, and he uses שֹׁרֶשׁ in the sense of Job xxxi. 12 בָּלַל תְּבוּאֹתַי חֲשֹׁרֶשׁ, "*in omni fructu meo radices evelleret*, i. e. *radicitus exstirparet fructum*." Yet another metaphor is suggested by בָּעַר (Isa. v. 5).

Peters reads **וּתְבַעַר חֵילָךְ כְּשׂוֹר** in Heb., and accounts for Gr. *ἵνα μὴ διαρπαγῇ ὡς ταῦτος ἡ ψυχὴ σου* by Prov. vii. 22 **כִּי כְשׂוֹר וְשׂוֹסֶר דֵּל בִּזְיוֹת שְׂפָאָהֶן אֵינָם**. I would suggest in Heb. rather **וּתְבַעַר כְּשׂוֹר חֵילָךְ**, on the ground that with this order (as in Gr., Syr.) **כְּשׂוֹר** would easily have fallen out after the similar letters **בַּעַר**. Sir. xxxvi. 30 (p. 449) having now turned the scale in favour of **וּתְבַעַר** as the original reading of Heb., **וּתְבַעַה (?)** may be accounted for as a variant by the argument of Camb. B. S., page xx n.

Sir. vii. 18 וְאֵחָד הָלַי. A good form of the verse would be, with חַיִּים as suggested on page 453:—

אל תִּמִּיר אֹהֶב בַּמַּחִיר וְאַחַ תִּמִּים בַּכֶּתֶם אֹפִיר :

Peters adopts Nöldeke's ואח תלים (p. 452). Syr. ראיח לך

would then (I suppose) be explained by a confusion of tongues; but it may be worth while to give another explanation of it as from חמים. Retranslating and abbreviating we get אִישׁ יֵשׁ לָךְ; [לָךְ] אִישׁ; אִישׁ. Gen. vi. 9 נֹחַ אִישׁ (cf. Sir. xliv. 17 נֹחַ בֵּן) a little before חמים would account for אִישׁ, as Micah vi. 8 elsewhere for לֶכֶת (p. 613); and Syr. may have read אִישׁ as for יֵשׁ לָךְ in place of חמים.

Sir. vii. 23. "For לָהֶם read לָהֶם" (Cowley). So the word is to be read, but it is not said how it was written.

(1) In the *segol* under the ה, according to the facsimile, two of the dots have been run together, so as to make a short line sloping to the left with the remaining dot to the left of it. Compare the pointing of Sir. x. 9 נִי, where the scribe seems to have written י instead of י (p. 459) and afterwards to have run the two dots of the *shva* together. Peters reads נִי, Strack defectively נִי.

(2) The ל is pointed with a long קמץ, written not in the modern way but in the form of a *pathach* with a dot under it (*J.F.*, chap. iii. n. 19), as in the last line of the page containing נִי. For chap. xiv. 9 קָעַם it is said, "read קָעַם" (Cowley). But, although the pause form is not wanted, there is a dot on the line under the *ayin*, which may have been meant to be separate from it as in ע in the last line of the page.

Sir. vii. 31 (?) לָחֶם אֲבִירִים. See pages 453 f., 626.

Strack gives לָחֶם אֲבִירִים, with the footnote, "Ps. 78. 25"; and in his Glossary אֲבִירִים (לָחֶם). From the facsimile (line 3) it seems to me not impossible that the scribe wrote אֲבִירִים. Perhaps the word is clearer in the MS.

Sir. vii. 35 אֵל חֶשֶׁא לֵב מֵאֲחָב. See page 455, where it was proposed to read with *yod* for *hé* as an emendation:—

אֵל חֶשֶׁא לֵב מֵאֲחָב כִּי מִמֶּנִּי תִאָּחַב :

In line 6 of the same page, i.e. three lines below (?) אֲבִירִים, stands certainly (I should say) מֵאֲחָב, although Peters reads

it אורב with *daleth*; and so Strack in his text, but with the footnote, "Cod. מאורב (?)." The facsimile shows that there is a crease in the paper, and this has brought the ה close to the ב. The versions may have read אורב (Peters), or מאורב (Lévi); but in the facsimile I can only see אורב.

The R.V. renders chap. vii. 32-35 thus:—

- 32 Also to the poor man stretch out thy hand,
That thy blessing may be perfected.
33 A gift hath grace in the sight of every man living;
And for a dead man keep not back grace.
34 Be not wanting to them that weep;
And mourn with them that mourn.
35 Be not slow to visit a sick man;
For by such things thou shalt gain love.

"Après l'aumône, la charité envers les morts, la consolation des gens en deuil, vient, en G. et en S., le devoir de visiter les malades" (Lévi). Thus Gr. and Syr. bring in sickness after death and mourning. Edersheim inappositely remarks on verse 34, that "The same sentiment is expressed in Rom. xii. 15, but there more truly and beautifully." How would it be more true to say Χαλπειν μετὰ χαίροντων in a context relating to death and mourning? The proposed reading מאורב, *from an enemy*, in verse 35 satisfies the requirements of sense and rhythm.

Sir. x. 9 . . . *For that while he lives his body is exalted?*
10 . . . *A king to day, to morrow he falls.* 11 *When a man dies he inherits worms.*

The contrast of בחריו יורם (ver. 9) with במת כ' (ver. 11) shows that יורם is not to be connected organically with רמה worm (p. 460). In verse 10 יפל falls confirms the interpretation of יורם, *is exalted*.

"For יורם again see verse 23 יורם כל איש יורם" (p. 458). Here Lévi had written, "La restitution de M. Adler, que nous avons gardée faute de mieux, est, d'ailleurs, sujette à caution. En tout cas, on ne saurait y voir חסם," i.e. in

place of ירם. Strack, following Peters, reads חסס (Syr. *ܚܠܐ*, Gr. *ἀμαρτωλόν*), but partly in brackets thus:—

אין לבנות דל משכיל ואין לבבד כל איש (חסס):

The Syriac (*ap.* Walton) is a plausible paraphrase:—

Non est quod pauper iustus ignominia afficiatur;
Nec quod dives iniquus honoretur.

Gr., showing no trace of “dives”:—

οὐ δίκαιον ἀτιμάσαι πτωχὸν συνετόν,
καὶ οὐ καθήκει δοξάσαι ἄνδρα ἀμαρτωλόν.

Looking again at the last word of the verse in the facsimile, in the middle of line 9 of the page, I read it as before ירם with Mr. Elkan Adler, and “en tout cas” not חסס. “*Litera ultima est aut ס aut כ*” (Strack). The former and final *mem* are sometimes scarcely to be distinguished in the MS. Here I should read *mem*, but in any case the traces of letters before it decide against חסס. The letter next before the last was (I think) a *resh*. Supposing it traced backwards, what remains is the apex at the end of it. This might belong to some other letter, but not to a כ; for a good example of which see the first letter of the page, where the apex is a short straight line making about half a right angle with an edge of the paper. A כ in the next line is less unlike the supposed כ of חסס, but the first letter of the word in question cannot have been *cheth*. Reading it as *yod* we have the letter ending where it should end, with a curve to the left, whereas *cheth* begins with a straight stroke, sloping (as in חסס in the first line of the page) to the right. After the *yod* there is just room for the *vau* wanted to complete ירם.

I take the proposed חסס to be, not a simple reading of the text as we have it, but a compromise between the Hebrew and the Versions. Syr. *ܚܠܐ* is a possible rendering of חסס; but Ben Sirā would not have written *איש חסס כ'* with כל (Strack) or without it (Gr., Syr., Peters), giving the needless and inappropriate advice not to honour a man of

violence, or not to do so in all cases. Variants in *Ecclus.* being sometimes synonyms (p. 612), Gr. and Syr. together might be thought to suggest a word from *עלה*, as *מעולה*, *העלה*, *נעלה*, in place of *יורם*, some word connoting high estate being required by the parallelism. On the interpolation in the A.V. (p. 458) see the article next after this (p. 627 f.).

[יחיד] On Sir. xliii. 9 Bacher suggests that "Ben Sira wrote perhaps *עדי מזהב* . . . or *עדי מזהב*" (*J.Q.R.*, XII, 102).

[רמה] Under רמם II, *putrescere*, Mandelkern gives Ex. xvi. 20 חולעים ויבאש; and then for רמה, *vermis*, Ex. xvi. 24; Isa. xiv. 11; Job vii. 5, xvii. 14, xxi. 26, xxiv. 24, xxv. 6. Under רמם I, *altum esse*, he gives *inter alia* Job xxiv. 24 רמו מעט ואינו. Probably Ex. l. c. and Job (cf. p. 460) suggested to Ben Sira the contrast of רמם I or רום with רמם II and רפה.

Sir. xii. 5 *d* and xxxi. 10 *d*. "For רע read רעה" (Cowley). In the former verse (p. 462), without referring to the facsimile, I read conjecturally, with כִּי for Gr. γὰρ and רעה for רע:—

כִּי פִי שָׁנִים רְעָה חֲשִׁינִי.

Sir. xii. 10 *Never trust an enemy; for like as brass his wickedness cankereth.* 11 *And if he humble himself, and go crouching; Set thy heart to fear him. Be to him as one that divineth a secret . . .; And know thou the end of his jealousy.* 12 *Suffer him not to stand beside thee; Lest he thrust thee away, and stand in thy place.*

In vol. XIII of the *WZKM*, or "Vienna Oriental Journal" (1899), Prof. Dr. G. Bickell has an article entitled, "Der hebräische Sirachtext eine Rückübersetzung." In the first paragraph he writes, that the impression left upon him by the Oxford *Original Heb. of Ecclus.*, namely "dass wir es hier nicht mit einem Originaltexte zu thun haben," was made a certainty by the Cambridge *B.S.* "Um diese Ueberzeugung vor den Fachgenossen zu begründen, mögen einstweilen zwei, wie ich glaube, entscheidende Beweise genügen, da mir durch besondere Gefälligkeit der Redaction

gestattet ist, diesen Aufsatz noch in dem vorliegenden, eigentlich bereits abgeschlossenen, Hefte erscheinen zu lassen, und ich daher möglichst wenig Raum zu beanspruchen wünsche." Writing rapidly, Dr. Bickell has made some statements which wanted further consideration.

The first proof is from the Acrostic at the end of Ecclus., which we must pass over for the present. The second is from the "Hexastich" xii. 10, 11, "welches zugleich zeigt, dass neben der durchgängigen Abhängigkeit von der Peschitto doch auch die griechische Uebersetzung, oder vielmehr irgend ein Ausfluss derselben, wahrscheinlich ein syrischer, gelegentlich benutzt wird." Briefly, Heb. is a retranslation from Syr. and Gr.

The Hebrew for the Hexastich is:—

אל תאמין בשונא לעד 10
 כי כנשת רעו יחליא:
 וגם אם ישמע לך ויהלך בנחח 11
 תן לבך להחירא מסנו:
 היה לו כמגלה רז ולא ימצא להשחיתך
 ודע אחרית קנאה:

For this the Greek of B, with variants, is:—

- 10 μὴ πιστεύῃς τῷ ἐχθρῷ σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα·
 ὥς γὰρ ὁ χαλκὸς λούται, οὕτως ἡ πονηρία αὐτοῦ.
 11 καὶ ἐὰν ταπεινωθῇ καὶ πορεύηται συγκεκυφώς,
 ἐπίστησον τὴν ψυχὴν σου καὶ φύλαξαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.
 καὶ ἔσῃ αὐτῷ ὥς ἐκμεμαχὼς (al.-μάσσων) ἔσοπτρον,
 καὶ γνώσῃ ὅτι οὐκ εἰς (Syro-hex. ὅτι εἰς) τέλος κατίωσε
 (al. -ίωται).

The Syriac is to the effect:—

- 10 Ne unquam fidas inimico;
 Quoniam similis est aeri sibi contiguum (ܐܝܪܐ) contaminanti.
 11 Etiamsi tibi pareat, et ante te demissus incedat;
 Adverte tamen animum tuum, ut eum pertimescas.

Sis illi quasi secretum declarans, nec te poterit depravare;

Imo finem odii eius (אליא) reprehendes.

(1) In the Hexastich, according to Bickell, Heb. follows "im Ganzen genau dem Syrer"; but in the second clause, where Syr. by mistake reads Heb. רעו as רעו, *his companion*, the retranslator into Heb. comes upon the original word as a retranslation from Gr. ἡ συνπλά αὐτοῦ.

(2) His other argument is still more artificial. The sixth clause was in the original "jedenfalls לנח לא כן," giving a fine word play, "da חללן sowohl *rosten* als *heucheln* bedeutet." Syr., omitting the negative, gave the rendering, "und du wirst das Ende erkennen, dass es ihn *schwarz gemacht hat*," with blackening in the sense of "Beschämen oder ins Unglück Stürzen," the last word in Syr. (as Bickell reads it) being *d'qannē'athēh*, a derivative from Gr. κύνεος; and the article ends thus:—

"Und dieses griechische Wort hat der hebräische Uebersetzer in seiner syrischen Vorlage gefunden, für semitisch gehalten, und mit dem hebräischen קנא (Eifer, Hass) identificirt! Für den Kairiner Text hier Unsprünglichkeit anzunehmen, erscheint unmöglich, da nur ein Uebersetzer aus dem Syrischen das mit dem griechischen Texte übereinstimmende und von Sinn und Zusammenhang geforderte אליא für das hebräische קנא halten konnte, welches im Syrischen gar nicht vorkommt und dort durch das nicht nur sachlich, sondern auch phonetisch entsprechende חלל vertreten wird."

For an example of the word thus said not to occur at all in Syriac, we have only to look it out in the little lexicon in Kirsch's *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, as re-edited by Bernstein in 1836, and there we find (p. 449), with reference to Bar Hebraeus on Job:—

חלל f., v. He. et Ch. קנא, q. cfr., st. emph. Ch. קנאא *zelotypia, invidia*, p. 190, l. 13, et *odium*.

Turning then (with Peters) to Payne Smith's *Thesaurus*

Syriacus we find several other examples of the word, one of them in *Eccles.* itself, where it stands for Gr. *μῆτις* (xxvii. 30); as well as the forms *מַלְל* and *מַל* in the sense *zelus, invidia, odium*. The *Thesaurus* gives also *מַלְל*, *mallos*, but not in *Sir.* xii. 11.

Verse 10] Heb. and Syr. on the whole agreeing, and the former being right and the latter wrong in the word *רָעוּ*, which Syr. mispoints *רָעוּ*, *ra'au*, it is natural to give the originality to Heb. A retranslator from Gr. *ἡ πομπὴ αὐτῆς* would have written:—

כִּי בְנִשְׁתָּ רָעוּ תַחֲלִיא.

Verse 11] Heb. *וַיִּחַל בְּנַח* may very well be original, but Gr. suggests some such word as *יִשָּׁח* or *יִשָּׁח* or *יִנָּע* instead of *יִשָּׁח לָךְ*; and I doubt also the originality of *לְהִתִּירָא*. *Eccles.* ix. 17 *בְּנַח נִשְׁמָעִים* may have given rise to *יִשָּׁח לָךְ*. Omitting the intermediate words *וְלֹא כִי* (clause 5) as a gloss, and taking a suggestion from Syr. *ܐܕܝܝܐ*, "*odii eius*," I would read, with *וְ* for *ה* at the end of the verse:—

הִיא לוֹ כְּמִלְחָה רָעָה אַחֲרֵיתָא

This gives the required sense, "Be to him as a *galeh razin* (p. 464); look to the *end* of his jealousy; and (ver. 12) give him no opportunity against thee." Compare:—

vii. 36 בְּלֹא מַעֲשֶׂךָ וְכֹר אַחֲרֵיתָא וְלֹעֹלָם לֹא חֶשֶׁת:

See page 454 for the preceding verses. In chap. vii. 36 one is to consider the *end* or outcome of his own doings; in chap. xii. 11 the *end* of his enemy's *קָטָה*. In the one case *לֹעֹלָם לֹא חֶשֶׁת*, and in the other *לֹא יִמָּצֵא לְהִשְׁחִיתָךְ*. That this last is a gloss is further attested by the Greek.

Verse 11 ends in the R.V., representing Gr. B:—

And thou shalt be unto him as one that hath wiped a mirror,

And thou shalt know that he hath not utterly rusted it
(Or, it hath not utterly rusted him).

It is not clear to me how to explain this so as to harmonize it with verse 12. But Gr. may be read, with

variants as above, in the sense, "And thou shalt be unto him as one that *wipeth* a mirror; and thou shalt know that *it hath been utterly rusted*." The enemy being past hope of amendment, a caution follows to the effect, Give him no opportunity to harm thee (ver. 12). Verse 11 *c, d* in this sense would have come from Heb. misread *וְעַתָּה אֵת אֵתוֹ*, and know the end of his rust. Gr. B would have to be understood as a paraphrase for, "know that there is an end of it," it is not *eis télos*, *לְנֶצַח*.

Sir. xiii. 26 *A token of a merry heart is a bright countenance; And study and meditation is wearisome thought.* Heb.:—

עֲרַבְתָּ לָּב טוֹב פְּנִים אֹרִיִּים שֵׁן וְשֵׁן מְחַשְׁבַּת עֹמֶל

The Greek of B for this is:—

*ἵχνος καρδίας ἐν ἀγαθοῖς πρόσωπον θάλλον,
καὶ εὐρεσις παραβολῶν διαλογισμοὶ μετὰ κόπου.*

In the Syriac the verse ends:—

Et multitudo narrationum cogitationes scelestorum;

ܠܥܡܢܐ ܕܡܬܠܐ ܕܡܬܠܐ ܕܡܬܠܐ ܕܡܬܠܐ

In his article on "Ecclesiasticus: The Retranslation Hypothesis" (*J. Q. R.*, XII, 560 f.), the late Mr. Thomas Tyler called attention to the two verses Sir. xiii. 26, xiv. 11, "as giving pretty conclusive evidence" in favour of the genuineness of the Hebrew. His contention that *שֵׁן וְשֵׁן* (from 1 Kings xviii. 27 *וְכִי שֵׁן לִי*) accounts for Gr. and Syr., but could not have been derived from them is well supported, although he somewhat strangely makes Gr. *παραβολῶν* the word for Heb. *מְחַשְׁבַּת*.

שֵׁן] Tyler, "retirement," and for the hemistich, "But the close study of problems is toilsome." Gr. *εὐρεσις* (*A εὐρέσεις*) as from *שֵׁן* hiph., cf. Sir. xiv. 13 *וְשֵׁן יָד*, xxxii (xxxv). 12 *וְשֵׁן יָד*, Gr. *εὐρεμα χειρός*; Sap. Sol. xiv. 12 *εὐρέσεις*; and see *εὐρίσκειν* in the Oxford Concordance.

Syr. "multitudo," as from *שֵׁן*, cf. Eccles. xii. 12 *וְשֵׁן בָּשָׂר*, "and much study is a weariness of the flesh."

וְשִׁי] Cowley, "For וְשִׁי read וְשִׁי," but it may be read as וְשִׁי with a stunted *vau*. Gesen. "*sermo, confabulatio . . . meditatio*," and hence Gr. here παραβολῶν. Syr. *narrationum*, cf. the rabbinic שִׁיחַ.

לְמַשְׁכַּח עִמָּךְ] Gr., as if for לְמַשְׁכַּח עִמָּךְ, διαλογισμοὶ μετὰ κόπου (A N -ων), cf. Jer. iv. 14 מַשְׁכַּח אֶת־עֵינֶיךָ, διαλογισμοὶ πόνων σου; or διαλογισμὸς (248, Syro-hex.) κτέ. Syr. "*scelestorum*," from לְמַשְׁכַּח taken as in Num. xxiii. 21; Isa. x. 1.

Sir. xv. 14 *He (?) from the beginning created man; [And put him into the hand of him that would spoil him;] And gave him into the hand of his inclination.*

The verse is given below as it stands in the MS. in lines 6 and 5 from the end of the page, with Mr. Cowley's reading of the small letters above two of its words:—

וְתַעֲבֹה שֵׁנָּה יֵי וְלֹא יֵאֲנֶנָּה לִירְאִיו: אֱלֹהִים מְבֹרָאִשִׁית
אֵ בְרָא אֱלֹהִים וְשִׁתְּחִיו בִּיד חֻתְמוֹ וַיִּתְּנוּ בִיד יָצְרוֹ: אֵם

The Cambridge *Wisdom of Ben Sira* gave כִּי as doubtful instead of the *teth*, to be read perhaps before אֱלֹהִים; and הֵ instead of the *cheth* thus אֵם. I do not see clearly from the facsimile what was written above אֵם, but there is nothing before it above the line as in Camb. B. S. Mr. Cowley, taking the *cheth* and *teth* as numerals, explains that "אֵם is to be read eighth and מְבֹרָאִשִׁית ninth word in the line." The order 'ב' מ' אֱלֹהִים אֵם would not be quite natural. Perhaps it was meant that the two words אֵם בְּרָא were to be placed before מְבֹרָאִשִׁית.

Peters takes the אֵ as for אֱלֹהִים, and the small letters as meaning *eighth* and *ninth* "sc. von links." Strack writes אֵם, with the note "*supra lineam*," and omits the מ and the אֵ. This *alef* (or part of an *alef*) really belongs, I suppose, to אֵם, which the scribe was beginning to write by mistake before בְּרָא.

The verse begins in Gr. αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, and so in Syr. ap. Walton. It seems to me to be improved in Heb. by the shortening of אֱלֹהִים (Lag. אֱלֹהִים) to הוּא, which I take to be its true first word.

Verse 26 מראש suggests here מראשית, the ב being doubtless an interpolation from Gen. i. 1. Omitting the first member of the doublet, I would accordingly read:—

הוא מראשית ברא אדם ויתנוהו ביד יצרו

See in verse 12 הוא החקילני, and in the next Gr. ἐμπεσε δὲ Κύριος, but Syr. simply ܡܠܟܐ.

Prof. Bevan, in his review of the Cambridge edition, has a good conjecture in the omitted clause כו' (sic) וישתחוו:—

“xv. 14. וישתחוו ביד חותמו ויתנוהו ביד יצרו. That these two clauses are doublets is shown by the Gr. and the Syr. The synonyms וישתחוו (read וישתחוו) and ויתנוהו present no difficulty, but how does חותמו ‘his robber’ correspond to יצרו ‘his nature’? If the latter be the original reading, it is incredible that so obscure a term as חותמו should have been substituted for it by a scribe. Are we therefore to assume that Ben Sira wrote חותמו?... Here the sense demands an assertion of man's free-will, and this we obtain by reading חירותו, according to the common Syriac use of ܡܠܟܐ for ‘moral free-will.’ יצר, like חירות, is a neutral term, i. e. it denotes inclination towards good or towards evil.”

In defence of חותמו here, on which see Peters, as an actual variant it might be said that not all variants in our Hebrew text are appropriate. But it may be safely assumed that Ben Sira himself did not write חותמו.

Sir. xvi. 23, 24. “Read חסרי(?) לבי כינו(?) אלה וגבר פ[ח]תה(?) ; the ו printed above נבר is really the tail of the פ in צדק in the line above. ... [מש]לי what is left of the first two letters suggests “שכלי” (Cowley).

Verse 23] It seems evident that חסרי was written for חסרי; but after לב stands יכינו with a not very well finished *beth*, as in בכל in the line above.

In וגבר (Schechter) it may be thought that the scribe wrote the *vau* in contact with the *beth*, i. e. as low down as possible in order to clear the פ above it. The next word is not פ.תה (Cowley) with space for a *vau*, but either עתה

(Schechter) or, if the first letter be a according to Cowley and others, then **מח**. The letter is open at the top and might be read as an *ayin*, with only a remnant of its shorter stroke remaining. Whatever the scribe meant to write, Gr. *πλανώμενος* suggests **מח**.

Verse 24] Peters, "Von dem letzten Worte des 1. St. ist nur **ל** erhalten." But in the facsimile as I have it there are certainly parts of three letters, which I read **סכל**, followed by a *yod*. "Perhaps the scribe wrote **סכלי** for **שכל**, Gr. *ἐπιστήμην*" (p. 474).

C. TAYLOR.

PS.—With reference to Sir. vii. 31, 35, Mr. Elkan Adler, on his return to England, now writes (19th June, 1903), "I do not doubt that **מאחב** is the reading of my fragment. There is a crease in the paper, which makes the photograph faulty here. **מבירים** is not so clear. There does not seem to be a ' run into the **ר**."

(To be continued.)

PRIMITIVE EXEGESIS AS A FACTOR IN THE CORRUPTION OF TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE ILLUSTRATED FROM THE VERSIONS OF BEN SIRA.

THE Greek addition to Sir. x. 8 f. "for there is nothing more lawless than a miser, for he setteth even his own soul to sale," affords a striking example of the way in which the Scriptures were used by early Christian teachers. In order to provide the catechumens with moral instruction, they were accustomed to select passages bearing upon the different virtues and vices, and to round off each anthology with a historical example calculated to impress the mind by way of warning or encouragement. Much of the *Paedagogus* of Clement of Alexandria rests upon these collections of commonplaces: the *Testimonia* of Cyprian and the *Liber de divinis Scripturis* of "Augustine" are examples of the actual collections preserved by their attribution to great doctors of the Church.

In the nature of the case the influence of this catechetical tradition must have been felt from the first, and the consequent corruption of the text of Scripture itself is one of the primitive sources of confusion which called forth the various new translations and revisions. And so the interpolation in Sir. l. c. is found not only in three late Greek manuscripts (Holmes and Parsons 70. 106. 248) but also in the Syro-Hexaplar and the Latin.

The title *de avaro*, affixed to ver. 9 in the Codex Amiatinus, is an example of the marginal references which served the purpose of a concordance: this is a passage used to illustrate the vice of avarice. It was so chosen not

merely because ver. 8 (according to the Syriac, Greek, and Latin) speaks of Mammon as one of the causes of the transference of empire but chiefly because 9 b describes the fate of the miser *par excellence*—Judas Iscariot (Acts i. 18). To the Christian the Greek version "because while he liveth he casteth away his bowels" was a prophecy of the familiar fact and therefore evidence thereof nearly equal to the testimony of an eye-witness or a well-informed contemporary: he cared little for the true text and strict exegesis of its original meaning as compared with the paramount necessity of turning his converts from their evil courses.

The interpolated couplet emphasizes this homiletical interpretation. There is no suspicion of bad faith. If their hearts were opened to understand the Scriptures by the inward vision of the mysteries seen till then far off, dimly as in a glass, the early teachers and missionaries of the Christian Church were bound to elucidate the ancient authorities to which their appeal lay. Further the gloss interprets the doom thus prophesied and exemplified. Not every covetous man perishes thus miserably, the man of the world would say out of his own experience. True, says the teacher, punishment is not always manifest but it is sure: the miser may live out his tale of days in the enjoyment of his unjust gains, but he has sold his own soul, to win the fleeting goods of this world he has sacrificed his portion in the world to come.

In the Syro-Hexaplar there is to be traced the beginning of this further interpretation of the text, for there ἐξουδένωσε, "despised" or "made nought of," is substituted for ἐρρίψε, "he cast away": τὰ ἐνδόσια αὐτοῦ is easily rendered figuratively "his soul" or "himself."

Finally it is to be noticed that the variant of κ^α καὶ ἐν γῇ αὐτοῦ for ἐν ζῳῇ refers to the plot of ground mentioned in Acts l.c.: cf. Papias (*Apostolic Fathers*: ed. Lightfoot and Harmer, p. 524) "Judas died after many torments in his own place" (ἐν ἰδίῳ χαρίῳ: cf. Acts i. 25).

After xiii. 13 is added in certain cursives (Holmes and Parsons, 106. 248. 253) and under asterisks in the Syro-Hexaplar "When thou hearest these things awake in thy sleep (or 'in thy sleep, awake'). Love the Lord all thy life and call upon him for thy salvation." So the Latin in a slightly longer form: *Audiens vero illa quasi in somnis vide et vigilabis omni vita tua dilige deum et invoca illum in salute tua*. The starting-point of this addition appears to be the words **היה זהיר** (13), or rather a variant thereon **נהיר** (cf. Dan. v. 11, 14 **נהירו** = *γρηγορεύουσιν*), for these so-called glosses often embody Hebrew or Aramaic variants. This awakening implies previous slumber in which the words of the Lord are heard, as by Samuel of old: compare also Job xxxiii. 14 ff., Eccles. ix. 17. The rest of the couplet is a bold adaptation and interpretation of ver. 15: **πᾶν ζῶον ἀγαπᾷ** "every animal loveth" becomes in the hands of a teacher eager to edify at all costs **πάσῃ ζωῇ ἀγαπά**, "in all thy life love": and the natural object is easily supplied, for love of God, in whose image man was made, is the first duty of man: that is only the elucidation of the text of 15 **כל אדם את ה' יירא**. The exegesis is that introduced to the Greek-speaking world by Aquila; **את**, the sign of the Accusative, must have other real significance—it implies another object of love beside the lower meaning of "him that is like him," adopted by the LXX, "his neighbour." The last clause is the complement of 13 b: "for fear of the men of violence call upon God for thy salvation." Our addition then is a little sermon based upon verses 13 and 15. On analysis primitive methods of exegesis reveal themselves to confirm the evidence of the authorities for the gloss that it is very early, and to justify in a measure the inference from the asterisks of the Syro-Hexaplar, that it comes directly or indirectly from an Hebrew or Aramaic source.

xvi. 10 "Nor the six hundred thousand who were gathered together in the hardness of their hearts," although it stands in all the manuscripts of the LXX and is con-

firmed by the evidence of the Hebrew and the Syriac, is nevertheless marked with asterisks in $\kappa^{\alpha\alpha}$. The only natural explanation of this is that it does not properly belong to the common edition of the LXX used by the Christian Church, but has been interpolated under proper precautions by Origen in the course of his Hexaplaric revision. It is certain that it is original, and it is easy to understand why this obscure reference to Old Testament history should have been dropped in favour of a more general couplet. Its rival is preserved in $\kappa^{\alpha\alpha}$ "all these things did he to the hardhearted, and at the number (or 'multitude') of his saints he was not comforted." The first member of this verse is merely a general summary of the foregoing examples of the ways of God with men: the second is suggested by the mention of the place where Lot sojourned in ver. 8 above.. For it is written "And Abraham said 'O let not the Lord be angry and I will speak yet but this once: peradventure ten righteous shall be found there.' And the Lord said 'I will not destroy it for ten's sake' . . . And Abraham got up early in the morning to the place where he stood before the Lord, and he looked towards Sodom and Gomorrah—and the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of the furnace." Philo and Wisdom agree that "the multitude of the wise is the salvation of the world," but the leaven is not always sufficient to leaven the whole lump.

These three passages may be regarded as fair samples of such fragments of the early Greek version as it is possible to isolate by textual criticism. The general result of an investigation of these pre-Origenian texts of Ecclesiasticus is to impugn their trustworthiness. Attractive as some of the readings are, they are commonly the result of the elucidation of the assumed meaning by men who cared everything for the spirit and nothing for the letter. Many of the glosses which now stand side by side with their rivals contain the materials necessary for the correction thereof, but that is not their *raison d'être* though it may

be a contributory cause of their genesis. They arose not in the literary sphere of complete Bibles, but in what is practically the sphere of an oral tradition.

Thence they invaded the Church copies, and though branded by Origen and expelled in deference to his authority, they return in the later cursives to throw some light upon the methods and ideas of early Christianity and to justify Origen in his rigid adherence to the best Manuscript authority he could procure.

"All things are double one against another: and he hath made nothing imperfect. One thing establisheth the good of another: and who shall be filled with beholding his glory?"

J. H. A. HART.

AN EARLY COPY OF THE SAMARITAN- HEBREW PENTATEUCH.

DURING his recent stay in London, Isaac, second priest (as I understand) of the Samaritans at Shechem, sold to the trustees of the British Museum a fine large copy of the Samaritan recension of the Hebrew Pentateuch, dated A. H. 740 (A. D. 1339-40). The MS., which is quite perfect, easily takes the first rank among the important collection of Samaritan Pentateuch codices previously in the possession of the trustees, and it will no doubt have to be classed with the finest and most accurately written copies so far known in Europe. It is to be hoped that the presence of such a codex at a great centre of study like the Museum may ere long lead to the publication of a new and much needed edition of the Samaritan-Hebrew text. I am not, however, at present able to enlarge on this point, and will proceed at once to give a description of the MS.

The material is vellum, and the number of leaves is 199. The dimensions are 17 in. by 14 in., and there are thirty-two lines to a full page. It was in all probability written at Damascus (see the remark on the first deed of sale given below), the scribe, Abraham b. Ya'kub of the family of יִצְחָק, having made this copy for himself.

Genesis begins on fol. 1 b, Exodus on fol. 51 a, Leviticus on fol. 92 b, Numbers on fol. 121 a, and Deuteronomy on fol. 163 a.

The text is, like Samaritan copies of the Pentateuch in general, written out carefully in small sections, called פָּרָשׁ. The numbering of the Ten Commandments in Exodus

At the end of Leviticus—

זה ספר השלישי
קצין מאה ושלשים

A comparison with some of the other old codices at the Museum shows the existence of different traditions with regard to the sections of this book: *Cott. Claud. B. VIII*, Add. 22,369, and Or. 2683 give the number of sections as ק' ו' ול' ; and Or. 1443 has ק' ו' ול'.

At the end of Numbers—

זה ספר הרביעי
קצין ר' יח'

But Or. 2683 has ר' ו'.

At the end of Deuteronomy—

זה ספר החמישי
קצין ק' וס' ו'

But *Cott. Claud. B. VIII* has ק' וס'.

On fol. 199 a—

תורה תמימה ברוך נתונה
כלל כל קצי אריותא¹
תשע מאות וששים וששה
במספר

If, however, the numbers of the קצין as given at the end of the books are added up, only a total of 964 is obtained. This discrepancy should, perhaps, be interpreted as another indication of the uncertainty in which tradition has left the numbers of the section.

Below the above summary of sections is the following mnemonic rubric regarding the lections of the Pentateuch. An account of the Samaritan order for reading the Law was given by Mr. Cowley in the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW for October, 1894; but no mnemonic rubric is given there, nor can I gather a detailed explanation of the

¹ For אריותא = אריותא; see also further on.

rubric from the account contained in the article just mentioned:—

סדרי מקרתה פסק נגד אנהו
שאלה בעו זעיקה אחמחו
זעף תורה מדע מכשב ופם
מיתב לכל אחד מנן

Against the first of these four lines is written in what appears to be a later hand ארכנו.

The scribe completed his entry with—

אשר כתב אברהם בן יעקב
הוא מלוי חמשה
אוראן¹ אורה את יהוה

The "tārikh" is given in a space marked off down the centre of each page in foll. 163–173 (comprising Deut. i. 1–ix. 8), all the letters composing the entry being taken from the text itself, as is usual in Samaritan codices of the Pentateuch (see e.g. the Oriental Series of the Palaeographical Society, plate XXVIII).

The entry is as follows:—

אני העבר העני אל רצון יהוה אברהם בן יעקב בן מביה בן סדקה בן
אברהם דמבני פינמה כתבתי זאת התורה הקדושה על שמי תהיה ברכאתה
עלי ועל מלמדי ועל כל קהלי ישראל אמן: בשנת ארבעים ושבע מאות
שנה לממלכות בני ישמעאל והיא מלוי ה' אוראן: אודה את יהוה ואשאל אתו
יסעה על מכתבות כמה אמן אמן בעמל בן עמרם

The phrase העני אל רצון יהוה is an Arabism, answering to المفتقر الى. The more usual Samaritan form is הצריך אל. In ברכאתה we have an example of the frequently occurring insertion of א as a "mater lectionis." Note the form אוראן (אוריתא, otherwise אוראן), being a plural, in the absolute state, of (אוריתא) for the five books of Moses. The phrase יסעה על מכתבות כמה apparently means, "May he cause writings like this to multiply." If so, יסעה must be either a corruption of יסנה = יסני, or it may possibly be a distortion of the fourth form of יסע, יסע, to be ample.

¹ The second ו is written over the line.

The MS. contains four deeds of sale.

1. Fol. 50 b (end of Genesis):—

בשם יהוה

קנה זאת התורה הקדושה על ידי סמוכה וארכונה מבה ויקירה ומבונה
תלאלה וקראה אב יתרנה וכן סהבה וסמוכה מבה ויקירה צדקה בן סהבה
וסמוכה מבה ויקירא אבחסדה דמבני סהבה מן סמוכה וארכונה מבה ויקירה
ומבונה תלאלה וקראה ברכה בן סהבה וסמוך קהלה וחכומה ונבונה אבי
פתח בן סהבה וסמוכה רבה יעקב דמבני פינמה בחמש מאות כסף זה
בחדש שואל שנת שבע ושמנה מאות שנה לממלכת ישמעאל ואני פינחס
בן איחמר בן אהרן הכהן הגדול ברמשק תהי ברוכה עליו ועל ילדיו אמן אמן

The MS. was, therefore, purchased by Ab-Yuthrāna b. Ab-Hasda, of the family of Sāba, from Barakah b. Abi Fath b. Ya'kūb, of the family of פינמה, the date of the contract being the month Shawwāl A. H. 807 (April, 1405 A. D.). As the scribe Abraham b. Ya'kūb, who wrote the codex for his own use, himself belonged to the last-named family, the MS. seems to have remained the property of his relatives for about sixty-five years; and as the transaction recorded in this deed took place at Damascus, it seems safe to infer that the scribe himself had been a member of the Samaritan community of that city.

The name of the person who wrote out the deed was Phineas b. Ithamar b. Aaron, high-priest at Damascus. A phrase like זאת כתבתי את has to be added after ברמשק.

With the honorific title סמוכה compare the use of the Arabic term *كُن* and the Hebrew עמוד. The other titles are equally clear; only note that סהבה occurs here both as an honorific title and as the name of a family (דמבני סהבה).

The price paid was 500 silver pieces.

2. Fol. 162 b (end of Numbers):—

קנא (sic) זאת התורה הקדושה סמוכה רבה וארכונה ויקירה וקראה
תלאלה וחשובה וכתובה יעקב בן סהבה ויקירה וסמך רבה וארץ יוסף
דמבני סהרה מן סהבה וסמך רבה וארץ ושמואל ארץ אב איקר בן סהר
וסף רבה ואף ושמואל ארץ אב יתראנה דמבני סהבה ומחקרי בחצמנה

בשלישים דנר זקב וזה בחודש נמדי ראש שנת ארבע ושבעים ושמונה
 מאות לממלכת ישמעאל • תהיה ברוכה עליו אמן: וכתבה שח אהרן בן
 יצחק בן שח אהרן כהנה וזקן צלאתה ברמסק:
 ובכן אסיד וכתב אברהם בן מתתיה בן אברהם הלוי כהנה וחכומה

The MS. thus changed hands a second time in the month Jumādā, A.H. 874 (November, 1464 A.D.). The term ראש שנה is incorrect, for the Muhammadan year begins with Muharram, Jumādā I being the fifth month. But this month may be assumed to have at that period fallen at the beginning of the year in the Samaritan calendar. The purchaser's name was Ya'kūb b. Yūsuf, of the family of Sahda, and he bought the MS. from Ab-Īkār b. Ab-Yuthrāna, of the family of Sāba, i. e. the family which acquired it in 1405. The addition בחצמנה ומחקרי appears to refer to Ab-Īkār. The ב probably represents אבו, and חצמנה may be a corruption of חסדנה. The prefix ב for אבו is rather common in vulgar Arabic.

The contract was written out by Sheth Aaron b. Isaac b. Sheth Aaron, priest and chief reader (זקן צלאתה) in Damascus. It was witnessed by the priest Abraham b. מתתיה b. Abraham hal-Levi.

3. Fol. 199 a (end of Deuteronomy):—

קנה זאת התה הקה לנפשו יקח וקרא וצלח וחדש וכתב ונעז ומבש ושח
 ארז קרז וסח קהז ואז קהז ועז מבז יוסף בן סהז מבה ויז קרז וצז
 חז וכז ונז ומז ושז ארז קרז וסח קהז ואז קהז ועז מבז יצז דמז
 יתרז מן שכו דמסק מן בעז יקח וקח וצז חז וכז ושז ארז קרז וסח
 רז ואז ועז מבז אבי הפז בן סהז מבה ויז וקח וצז חז וכז ונז ושז
 ארז קרז וסח קהז ואז קהז ועז מבז אבי עזי דמז מנשה מן שכז דמז
 וקח אתה (?) יוז הזז מן אבז הפז וז בארז מאז השמז כספז ארז חז
 בתר • • הסה (?) סהז קמי ואתבעי (?) זה הקז ואז אבי עזי בן הרז יוז
 בן הרז אז עז בשז וז וז וז ק תהז ברז ומז עלז אז אז בז מז בן
 עמז הצז הנאמן

From this deed we learn that Yūsuf b. Isaac, of the family of Yuthnāna, belonging to שכו דמסק, bought the codex from Abu-Hafṣ b. Abu-'Azzi, of the family Manasseh,

also residing at שכו דמשק, the price paid being 480 silver pieces.

The contract was written by Abu-'Azzi b. Yūsuf, the date being A. H. 986 (1578 A. D.).

This deed is remarkable for its very large number of abbreviations. It is, in fact, almost made up of abbreviations. Most of these are clear enough, the full forms having already occurred in the preceding deeds. It is, therefore, only necessary to refer to the new honorific titles and other fresh abbreviations. ונעז is no doubt = ונאז, i. e. ונאדא, the enlightened. The same abbreviation occurs in the form ונאז in e. g. *Cott. Claud.*, B. VIII, fol. 122 a.— ונעז מבה is in full ונעז מבה, "a doer of good deeds." ונעז is written in full in the deed in *Cott. Claud.*, B. VIII just referred to. The words ונעז יתרז are not honorific, the full being ונעז יתרז. The complete form of ונעז מן בעז after the first mention of שכו דמשק is מן בעז, "from its owner." ונעז מן אבי חפז no doubt stands for ונעז מן אבי חפז, the Arabic = having become softened into ה.

It will be seen that some of the words are not clear in the MS. It may also be remarked that Samaritan colophons, deeds of sale, and other entries still require investigation.

4. Fol. 199 b.

קנא (sic) זאת התורה הקדושה במדלח צוח ויקירא וקרא וצלא וחשובה וכתובה ונעירע ויעדא ומבוננה ורימורה ומשירה ומבהה שלמה בן סבה מבה ויקירה וקרא וצלא וחשובה וכתוב ונעירע וידוע ומבוננה ורימורה ומשירה ומסמך קהלה וארכון קהלה וחשוב הם (י) בן קשדה (י) וצ' ין פאן הומחה (י) ויתורא וקדושה היא מן אדון השמך הגדול בשנת ארבע עשר ור ואלף למסלכת בני ישמעאל אודה את יהוה

The obscurity of this deed is largely due to its corrupt spelling, and partly also to faded ink. The date of the contract is A. H. 1214 (1799-1800 A. D.). The name of the purchaser was Solomon b. . . . , and he bought it from "our master," השמך הגדול, where השמך perhaps stands for השמך.

The word ¹במללה of course means "with what is his own," i. e. with his own money. In e. g. Or. 2683, fol. 124 a, the spelling is בלמללה.—The word צמ that follows I take to be a corruption (caused by bad pronunciation) of סמבה.—וואירא stands for וואירא, and ויערוא is a barbarous form derived for ידע, to know. The same two words appear lower down as ויער וידע. Samaritan spelling and grammar are indeed often found in a truly chaotic state. One thus finds for example ידובה for the tetragrammaton (e. g. Or. 2683, fol. 161 b), and on fol. 124 a of the same MS. אודע את יהוה for אודה את יהוה.

GEORGE MARGOLIOUTH.

¹ See Levy under כדל מלל; Dalman under מלל, מלל.

THE LOST TRIBES, AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE SEARCH FOR THEM ON THE RETURN OF THE JEWS TO ENG- LAND ¹.

WITH the death of Solomon, the shortlived greatness and splendour of his kingdom passed away, and the golden age of Israel took up its position in the long procession of historical periods. The coalescence between north and south had never been complete, except perhaps in the time of David, and as a result of Solomon's exasperating partiality towards Judah, Rehoboam had to content himself with the allegiance of the south, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. In the north the standard of rebellion was successfully raised by Jeroboam, an officer who had been expelled by the great and wise king, and out of the territories of the ten remaining tribes Jeroboam built for himself, and, as he hoped, for his descendants, a new kingdom ². The two kingdoms, those of Israel the rebel and Judah the loyal, found however the same fate, and the captivity of Judah followed on that of her northern neighbour ³.

The career of the Jews, the inhabitants of Judah, can be traced without difficulty through the subsequent centuries until the present day. Of that of the Israelites, however, nothing authentic is known after their departure from their fatherland to Halah and Habor by the river of Gozan, and the cities of the Medes ⁴. With the beginning of their captivity

¹ A Paper read before the Jewish Historical Society of England on May 18, 1903.

² 1 Kings xiii. 20.

³ 2 Kings xxv. Israel fell in 721 B.C., Judah in 586 B.C.

⁴ 2 Kings xviii. 11.

they seem to have passed from human knowledge, and the mystery of the lost tribes has almost from that day to this been the lode-stone that has attracted and bewildered students of many races and varied beliefs. The total absence of all evidence of their fate has cleared the ground for innumerable theories, and in no district of the earth's surface have not the Tribes at one time or another been located; no race has escaped the honour, or the suspicion, of being descended from the subjects of Jeroboam. The discovery of the Lost Tribes has, at different times, been announced in all the continents, and it has even been suggested that they were involved in the destruction of Atlantis. In China, in Tartary, in Afghanistan, in the Sahara indisputable proofs of their settlement have been produced. By turns, the English, the Irish, the North American Indians, and the Hottentots we have been assured are of Hebrew descent. On the other hand, some modern authorities deny that there was, in any real sense, a "loss" of the Ten Tribes at all.

My present purpose, however, is not to discuss the various theories relating to the fate of the Ten Tribes, nor to follow any of their discoverers along their marvellous itineraries. Neither the time nor the occasion is available. I shall attempt to limit myself to exposing the hold that some of these theories had obtained on the minds of Englishmen during the first half of the seventeenth century, and to showing to how great an extent they assisted Menasseh ben Israel and Carvajal in their endeavours to secure the resettlement of the Jews, not the Israelites, in this country. Before however we deal with the subject proper, passing allusion may be made to the references in early English literature to the kingdom of Gog and Magog, shut up, according to varying versions by Moses or Alexander, in the Caspians, and it was in this neighbourhood that George Sandys, in the account of his travels in the East in 1610, locates the Lost Tribes¹. Sir John Maundeville, whose

¹ Sandys' *Travels*, London, 1673, p. 111.

alleged travels are said to have occupied the years 1322 to 1357, connects Gog and Magog with the Israelites, and in the account of his journeys that have come down to us he states that they, the tribes, were shut up between two mountain ranges in Scythia, and were to remain there until the end of the world¹.

This early reference is of so much interest that a quotation from this mysterious author will be pardoned. In Cap. xxvi of his travels, he writes: "In that same regioun ben the Mountaynes of Caspye, that men clepen Uber in the Contree. Betwene tho Mountaynes, the Jewes of 10 Lynages ben enclosed, that men clepen Gothe and Magothe: and thei mowe not gon out on no syde. There weren enclosed 22 Kynges with hire peple, that duelleden betwene the Mountaynes of Sythye. There Kyng Alisandre chacede hem betwene tho Mountaynes; and there he thoughte for to enclose hem thorghe werk of his men. But whan he saughe, that he myghte not don it, ne bryng it to an ende, he preyed to God of Nature, that he wolde parforme that that he had begonne. And alle were it so, that he was a Payneme, and not worthi to ben herd, zit God of his grace closed the Mountaynes to gydre: so that thei dwellen there, alle faste y lokked and enclosed with highe Mountaynes alle aboute, saf only on o syde; and on that syde is the See of Caspye. Now may sum men asken, Sithe that the See is on that o syde, wherfore go thei not out on the See syde, for to go where that hem lykethe? But to this questioun, I schal answere, That See of Caspye gothe out be Londe, undre the Mountaynes, and rennethe be the Desert at o syde of the Contree; and afre it strecchethe unto the endes of Persie. And alle thoughte it be clept a See, it is no See, ne it touchethe to non other See: but it is a Lake, the grettest of the World. And thoughte thei wolden putten hem in to that See, thei ne wysten never, where that thei scholde arryven. And also thei conen no Langage, but only hire owne, that no man

¹ J. O. Halliwell's edition, 1866, pp. 265 et seq.

knowethe but thei: and therefore mowe thei not gon out. And also zee schulle undirstonde, that the Jewes han no propre Lond of hire owne for to dwellen·inne, in alle the World, but only that Lond betwene the Mountaynes. And zit thei zelden Tribute for that Lond to the Queen of Amazoine, the whiche makethe hem to ben kept in cloos fulle diligently, that thei schalle not gon out on no syde, but be the Cost of hire Lond. For hire Lond marchethe to tho Mountaynes. And often it hathe befallen, that sūme of the Jewes han gon up the Mountaynes, and aualed down to the Valeyes; but gret nombre of folk ne may not do so. For the Mountaynes ben so hye and so streghte up, that thei moste abyde there, maugre hire Myghte. For thei mowe not gon out, but be a littille issue, that was made be strengthe of men; and it lastethe wel a 4 grete Myle. And aftre, is there zit a Lond allo Desert, where men may fynde no Watre, ne for dyggynge, ne for non other thing. Wherfore men may not dwellen in that place: so is it fulle of Dragounes, of Serpentes, and of other venymous Bestes, that no man dar not passe, but zif it be strong Wyntre. And that streyt passage, men clepen in that Contree, Clyron. And that is the passage, that the Queen of Amazoine makethe to ben kept. And thoghe it happene, sum of hem, be Fortune, to gon out; thei conen no maner of Langage but Ebrew: so that thei can not speke to the peple. And zit natheless, men seyn, thei schalle gon out in the tyme of Antecrist, and that thei schulle maken gret slaughtre of Cristene men. And therefore alle the Jewes, that dwellen in alle Londes, lernen alle weys to speken Ebrew, in hope that whan the other Jewes schulle gon out, that thei may undirstonden hire Speche, and to leden hem in to Cristendom, for to destroye the Cristene peple. For the Jewes seyn, that they knowen wel, be hire Prophecyes, that thei of Caspye schulle gon out and spreden thorghe out alle the World; and that the Cristene men schulle ben undre hire Subieccioun, als longe as thei han ben in subieccioun of hem. And zif that zee

wil wyte, how that thei schulle fynden hire Weye, afre that I have herd seye, I schalle telle zou. In the time of Antecrist, a Fox schalle make there his trayne, and mynen an hole, where Kyng Alisandre leet make the Zates: and so longe he schalle mynen, and perce the Erthe, til that he schalle passe thorghe, towardes that folk. And whan thei seen the Fox, thei schulle have gret marveylle of him, be cause that thei saughe never suche a Best. For of alle othere Bestes, thei han enclosed amonges hem, saf only the Fox. And thanne thei schullen chacen him and pursuen him so streyte, till that he come to the same place that he cam fro. And thanne thei schullen dyggen and mynen so strongly, till that thei fynden the Zates, that Kyng Alisandre leet make of grete Stones and passynge huge, wel symented and made stronge for the maystrie. And tho Zates thei schulle breken, and so gon out, be fyndynge of that issue."

A still more interesting account, inasmuch as it is the earliest known reference to the lost tribes theories by an English writer, is that given by Matthew Paris under the year 1241. The period was that of the Crusades, and Europe was trembling before the first threatening incursion of the Infidels. The Emperor had sent his two sons, Henry and Conrad, to bar the advance of the Tartars and Cumanians, whom, despite the overwhelming forces opposed to them, they succeeded in defeating. "But before it (the enemy) retreated, a circumstance occurred, which proceeded from the trickery of the Jews, who thought that these enemies of ours were a portion of their Jewish race, who had been shut up in the Caspian mountains, and had therefore come to assist them, for the subversion of Christianity; and this enormous wickedness we have thought proper to insert in this work. During all this time, numbers of the Jews on the continent, and especially those belonging to the empire, thinking that these Tartars and Cumanians were a portion of their race, whom God had, at the prayers of Alexander the Great, shut up in the

Caspian mountains, assembled on a general summons in a secret place, where one of their number, who seemed to be the wisest and most influential amongst them, thus addressed them:—"My brothers, seed of the illustrious Abraham, vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth, whom our God Adonai has permitted to be so long oppressed under Christian rule, now the time has arrived for us to liberate ourselves, and by the judgment of God to oppress them in our turn, that the remnant of Israel may be saved. For our brethren of the tribes of Israel, who were formerly shut up, have gone forth to bring the whole world to subjection to them and to us. And the more severe and more lasting that our former suffering has been, the greater will be the glory that will ensue to us. Let us therefore go to meet them with valuable gifts, and receive them with the highest honour: they are indeed of corn, wine, and arms.'" Matthew then proceeds to relate how the Jews acted upon these suggestions, and immediately bought up all the arms and armour available, concealing them in casks for the purpose of passing them as wine. "They then openly told the Christian chiefs, under whose dominion they were, that these people, commonly called Tartars, were Jews, and would not drink wine unless made by Jews, and of this they have informed us, and with great earnestness have begged to be supplied with some wine made by us, their brethren. We, however, desiring to remove from amongst us these our inhuman public enemies, and to release you Christians from their impending tyrannical devastation, have prepared about thirty casks full of deadly intoxicating wine, to be carried to them as soon as possible¹." The story was believed, but the truth discovered by accident, and as Prynne, who quotes the story with relish in his *Short Demurrer*, gleefully remarks:—"Thereupon the Jews were delivered to Tormentors, to

¹ J. A. Giles's translation, vol. I, pp. 356-8. The information contained in these extracts was obtained by the author from the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor, a French ecclesiastic, who lived in the twelfth century.

be perpetually imprisoned, and slain with their own swords¹."

Before, however, we go further into the subject, I should like to recount the story of the sons of Moses, who were by many believed to be inhabitants of the lands on the other side of the mysterious river Sambation. The legend was known to English writers long before the Resettlement, and through them, by means of popular publications, to the reading public. Of these, the first post-Biblical history of the Jews read by the common people of Europe, was Joseph ben Gorion. The earliest edition of Peter Morwyng's translation appeared in 1558, although no copy earlier than one dated 1561 appears in the British Museum catalogue. Of this work numerous subsequent editions were issued to satisfy the demand to know something of the Jewish people, that was created by the Reformation and the translation of the Bible into English, and frequently recurred from that date to the Resettlement. Morwyng's translation includes in the appendix entitled "The tenne captivities of the Jewes," the following account of the sons of Moses. The date of their first appearance on the scene was that of the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and the destruction of the Temple. Morwyng was very exact in his computation of the numbers engaged on that eventful occasion, for he mentions that exactly 900,001 of the inhabitants of the Holy City were slain at its sack. Coming to the sons of Moses, however, he relates: "The Leuits stode singing a song whiles slaughter was made of them, but they were not able to finish it, before the enemies entred the Temple, and found them standing in their place, with Harpes in theyr hands. Therefore he carried away in this captiuinty the Leuites which were of the seede of *Moses* 6 c. m., whom when the Gentiles had brought unto the Riuers of Babylon, they demaunded of the Jewes, Sing vs a song of Sion. And by and by they gnawed of the tops of their fingers with their teeth, saying, Howe shal we sing the song of

¹ p. 18.

the Lorde in a strange land? And the blessed Lord seeing that they wold not sing a song he loosed them & placed them on the further side of Sambatia¹." Morwyng suggests, in the title-page of this work, that he translated it from the Hebrew original. Unfortunately, as Mr. Lucien Wolf has pointed out², Sebastian Münster's *Historiarium Josephi*, an abridged translation of the original, appeared just before Morwyng's was written, and our author, who was in exile in Germany at the time, follows this abridgement in every detail. One must infer therefore that Morwyng trusted to his knowledge of Latin rather than to the limited acquaintance with Hebrew that he possessed. Howell, a later reputed translator of Josippon, adopted Morwyng's translation, merely changing the name of the translator on the title-page. It is interesting also to notice that the opinion held in England of the sixteenth century was that Josephus and Joseph ben Gorion (Josippon) were the same person, the writings of the former being intended "for them that desire to vnderstand of the feates of the Romanes in the tyme of that age," those of the latter for the amusement and instruction of the Jews³.

The Sambatyon legends were not without their influence on Menasseh ben Israel, who mentions the river in his *Hope of Israel*. "Lastly," he says, "all thinke, that part of the ten Tribes dwell beyond the River *Sabbathian* or sabbaticall⁴." To him the river had a real existence. He quotes numerous authorities in support of his view; among others, Josephus, who mentions that the river was seen by Titus, and as a final and overwhelming proof, Menasseh ben Israel points to the testimony of an hour-glass containing some of the waters of the river, that seemed to preserve its miraculous properties. "And I heard the same from my father," continues Menasseh, "which testimony I account as good, as if I saw it my selfe; (for

¹ 1593 edition. ² Josippon in English, *Jewish Chronicle*, Aug. 23, 1889.

³ Morwyng's translation, 1575 edition.

⁴ Mr. Wolf's edition, 1901, p. 35.

fathers do not use to impose upon their sons). He told me that there was an Arabian at *Lisborn*, who had such an hour-glasse; and that every Friday at evening he would walk in the street called the new street, and shew this glasse to Jewes who counterfeited Christianity, and say, *Ye Jewes, shut up your shops, for now the Sabbath comes*. Another worthy of credit, told me of another hour-glasse, which he had some years before, before the Port *Myseketa*. The Cadi, or Judge, of that place, saw him by chance passing that way, and asked him, what it was? he commanded it to be taken away; rebuking the Mahomitans, that by this, they did confirme the Jewish Sabbath ¹."

The next theory with which to deal is one that gained considerable currency early in the seventeenth century, and served as an introduction to its successor, the American Indian, by which Menasseh ben Israel was especially attracted. The first English speculations as to the fate of the Lost Tribes to be put into literary form, after those of Matthew Paris and Sir John Maundeville, concerning the real nationality of the latter of whom, however, there is some doubt, appear in "An essay upon some probable grounds that the present Tartars, near the Cyprian Sea, are the Posterity of the Ten Tribes of Israel," by Giles Fletcher (1549-1611). Although necessarily written previous to 1611, it was not published until sixty-six years later, when it appeared as the first part of Samuel Lee's *Israel Redux*. Previous to its publication, it was however known to English writers, for the MS. of the essay was referred to by Thorowgood in his *Jewes in America* of 1650 ². In the preface to *Israel Redux*, addressed to the Pious Reader, Lee explains that, "Having obtained this manuscript of *Dr. Fletcher's*, from his Grand-son Mr. *Phineas Fletcher*, a worthy citizen of *London*, together with his kind leave to pass it into Publick Light; give me I pray, the liberty of a line or two to acquaint thee, that this Author was a faithful Agent for

¹ p. 37.

² p. 39.

Q. Elizabeth of Famous Memory, at the Pallace of the great *Czar of Moschovy*, and hath given us some fruits of his inquisitive travels in a Book of the State Affairs and customs of that large Dominion. Having also collected some Observations about the *Tartars*, Confining upon those Territories near the *Caspian Sea*, composed this ensuing Tract, endeavouring by some probabilities to evince, that they may be the Posterity of the 10 Tribes of *Israel*, antiently carried Captives by *Salmanasser* into the Northern Mountainous Crags of *Assyria* and *Media*, or at least, that they are at this day mixed among those Barbarous Nations, ingeniously leaving the full determination to farther and future enquiries of Merchants and Travellers, to be discuss'd and argu'd among the Learned." Those fruits of his inquisitive travels to which his editor refers, caused some trouble to Dr. Fletcher, who was not treated with all the respect that the ambassador of this country might expect at the Court of *Moscovia*. His book, *Of the Russe Commonwealth; or Manner of Government by the Russe Emperour (commonly called the Emperour of Moscovia) with the Manners and Fashions of the People of that Country*, dedicated to Elizabeth, was hardly as diplomatic as might be expected from an ex-ambassador, and created considerable alarm among the English merchants trading with the empire mentioned, and at their suggestion the book was immediately suppressed.

Dr. Fletcher opens his essay on the Tartars or the Ten Tribes, with the remark that their fate and situation had often been questioned by divines¹, and after a little consideration he arrives at the conclusion that the likeliest place in which to find them is either in or near the localities in which they were originally planted². The conjecture of some divines that the descendants of the tribes were to be found among the Alani, was "not only an improbable but a very absurd and gross opinion³." The Alani or Triballi were a European people, "and this

¹ p. 1.² p. 5.³ p. 6.

passage and expedition through one Country into another, which was to be made through so many great Nations both of the upper and lower Asia, being impossible, at least unlikely to be passed over by all Stories which since have written in every Age¹." He then proceeds to give a series of reasons for adopting the Tartar theory. First he argued from the locality. Media, he said, extended far to the north-east of the Caspian, and the large territory since held by the Tartars was included in its limits². In Media, as in all other lands, there has been a Jewish question, and, on the revolt of Media from Esar-Haddon, the inhabitants of Media solved their particular problem, Dr. Fletcher suggests, by expelling the Israelites from their territories³. The exodus therefore was not voluntary, as is suggested in Esdras. The theorist also found great support in the alleged similarity in nomenclature. Samarchian, the most important town of the district, he likened to Samaria, the capital of the kingdom of Israel. Mount Tabor of Tartary, he said, resembled in situation and fortifications Mount Tabor of the Land of Israel. Jericho was also to be found on the River Ardoce near the Caspian Sea⁴. Again, the Tartars were divided into ten tribes or Hords⁵, just as the Israelites, and the Tartars themselves had a tradition of an Israelitish descent, Tamerlane himself boasting of his Danite ancestry⁶. Then there were resemblances between the language of the Tartars and those of the Hebrews and Chaldeans. Certain Hebrew rites possessed by the natives of Central Asia were also called in evidence, and finally, according to the Apocalypse⁷, the Angel of the Sixth Vial is to prepare the passage for the Kings of the East by drying up the Euphrates. This passage, he says⁸, admittedly refers to the Israelites, for no Jews were settled beyond the Euphrates. Yet, as is and has been the fashion among many lost tribes theorists, Fletcher seems a little suspicious of the

¹ p. 7.² p. 16.³ p. 9.⁴ p. 21.⁵ p. 11.⁶ Rev. xvi. 12.⁷ pp. 12-13.⁸ p. 23.

veracity and reliability of Esdras, "whom I alledge not as authentick to confirm matters of faith and doctrine, but to illustrate as a story, this holy prophecy, which is here more obscurely set down by the Apostle¹."

The next English book of interest to students of the subject under treatment, was Edward Brerewood's *Enquiries touching the Diversities of Language and Religion through the chief parts of the World*, the first edition of which was published in the year 1614, a year after the author's death. In the course of his inquiries he devotes a chapter to "the Jews dispersed in several parts of the World²," and under the heading Jews includes the descendants of all the tribes. The Tartar theory is described by him as a "phantasie of many Learned men, not unworthy some diligent consideration³," and later, "which although it be, as I said, no other than a vain and capricious phantasie, yet, hath it, not only found acceptance and entertainment, with sundry learned and understanding men: but reason and authority are produced, or pretend to establish it for a truth⁴." The reasons for the identification of the Tartars with the Israelites are quoted by Brerewood⁵. Their name Tatari, or rather Totari, is in itself the Syriac or Hebrew for a residue or remainder תותר תותר. They possess Jewish customs. The theory agrees with the oft-quoted passage in Esdras. With regard to the first, Brerewood points out⁶ that the name of the race was more probably derived from the River Tartar, and in support of that suggestion he quotes several authorities⁷. Moreover, a remnant would hardly be the correct term with which to signify the Tartars, whose numbers certainly very considerably exceeded those of the Israelites or Jews. It was also suggested that the North American Indians were derived from the Tartars, and if that were so, it would increase still further the numbers of the alleged

¹ p. 25.² p. 112.³ p. 114.⁴ p. 115.⁵ p. 115.⁶ p. 116.⁷ Leunclavius, in *Pand. Histor. Turc.* § 3. Haitho, de *Tart.* ch. 16.

remnant. The Jewish rites and customs possessed by the Tartars were adopted with the introduction of Mahomedanism¹, and were only to be found among the Tartar tribes that had accepted Mahomet's teachings. Previous to their introduction the Tartars were not only altogether unconscious of the Mosaic Code, but positively transgressed, in ignorance presumably, many of the injunctions of Leviticus. Moreover, "they have no records, nor regard of their ancestors and lineage, from whom, or by whom, they are descended, whereof *Israelites*, were ever curious²." According to Brerewood there was no affinity whatever between the respective languages. Turning to "*forged Esdras*, which hath stirred up as it seemeth this vaporious phantasie, in the brains of new fangled Antiquaries³"—Brerewood was himself a member of the Old Society of Antiquaries—he points out that the theory he was discussing did not agree with that authority, "nor, if it did, could yet the Circumstances of that History agree with the truth⁴." Brerewood was also a member of that not unimportant band that expressed considerable doubt as to the value of *Esdras* as a History. According to that Apocryphal work, the tribes were "*a peaceable people and . . . they left the multitude of the Heathen, that they might keep their Statutes, which they never kept in their own Land*⁵." Our author points out that in neither respect do the Tartars agree, and with Tamerlane and his successors in our memory we must fain support him. Leaving the theory, Brerewood turns his attention to *Esdras*, whose account, he points out⁶, is not in agreement with those related in *Kings*⁶ and *Chronicles*⁶. Of the last, according to certain Jewish authorities⁷, *Ezra* is the reputed author, and he is therefore responsible for two incompatible statements. Moreover, in the time of Josephus the tribes were still

¹ p. 120.² p. 125.³ Verses 39, 41.⁴ p. 126.⁵ II. xvii. 23.⁶ I. v. 26.⁷ R. Dav. Kimchi and R. Shelomo Abulens.

known to be beyond the Euphrates¹, and, at a still later date, that of the Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela², their descendants were to be found in the Provinces of ancient Assyria. "But yet," continues Brerewood, "if there were neither authority of holy Scripture, nor experience to refell this Fable, and the fancies that have sprung of it; yet ordinary reason, at least of men that are not ignorant of Geography, and are meanly skilled in the affairs of the world, may easily discern the futility of it. For first, what need was there of such a miracle, as to stay the Course of *Euphrates*, for the *Israelites* passage from *Assyria*, or *Media*, toward *Tartary*, the River lying far to the West, both of the one Region and of the other, and no way crossing or impeaching their Journey, which lay Northward between that River and the *Caspian Sea*? Or, how might those poor Captive *Israelites*, disarmed as they were, and dispersed in sundry Provinces of the *Assyrian* Empire, and being under the oversight and government of *Assyrian* Presidents, be able to leave the places, where by the Kings Commandement they were to inhabit? Or, if the *Israelites* were able by force to depart, and free themselves from the Dominion of the King of *Ashur*, yet were they so wise also, as to forsake the places where they were peaceably settled, and venture their small remainders upon perils and uncertainties, namely, to find out a place where never mankind dwelt? Or, if their stomach served them so well, and their wit so ill, as in such manner to forsake *Assyria*, yet were they also able to make themselves a way (even a way as he saith of 18 Months passage) through the fierce and mighty Nations of *Scythia*, whom neither the Conquerours of the *Israelites*, the *Assyrians* I mean, nor the *Persians* (and I might add also the *Grecians* and the *Romans*) were never able to subdue, but were in the after times subdued by them? for that the parts of *Scythia* should be without Inhabitants (and in *Scythia* it must be where they would find that Country where never mankind

¹ *Antiquities*, I. ii. c.² pp. 57-9, 70-8, 80-1, 86-7.

dwelt, or else it is not in *Tartary*) is scarce credible, as whereof we read in Histories, to have contended with *Egypt* for Antiquity of Habitation, and to have prevailed, and for the abundance of people, to be termed *Hominum Officina*. Insomuch that the greatest occasion of swarming abroad of those Nations of *Scythia*, and of their overwhelming of *Asia* and *Europe*, with their infinite multitudes and Colonies, is in Histories recorded, to be lack of room for habitation in their own Countries.

"And lastly, to make an end of this tedious discourse, with the end of their imagined tedious Journey: what ancient Geographer or Historian is there (set our *Esdras* aside) that ever remembred of such a Region as *Arsareth*, where they are said to have seated themselves. True it is indeed that I find the City of *Arsaratha*, mentioned both in *Berosus* fragments, and in *Ptolomy*, placed near the issue of the River *Araxes* into the *Caspian* Sea: and, it was perhaps one of the *Israelitish* Colonies, planted in the Confines of the Empire of *Assyria*: for it may well be that *Arsaratha* is but ער שארית or הר שארית, that is, the City, or the Hill of the remainder: or perhaps ארץ שארית (the last letter of the first word cut off in the Greek pronunciation for sounds sake) the Land of the remainder: but the tale of eighteen months Journey, will no more agree with this City, than the Region of *Arsareth* doth, with Geography or History.

"So that methinks this forged story of the *Israelites* voyage and habitation, in such remote Regions where never Mankind dwelt, savoureth of the same phantastical and Talmudical spirit, that another tale of the same Author doth, touching the collection of all the Waters, into a seventh part of the Earth, the other six being left uncovered . . .¹"

In 1652 James Howell (1594-1666), according to Mr. Sidney Lee "One of the earliest Englishmen who made a livelihood out of Literature²," published *The Wonderful and most deplorable History of the Latter Times of the Jews*

¹ pp. 129-32.

² *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

and of the City of Hierusalem. This was Josippon under a new name. Morwyng's translation, after running through many editions, had been deprived of its popularity by the other and more moving interests that engaged the attention of the people. The Civil Wars were now at an end, and at the same time the Jewish question was gaining prominence. The time seemed appropriate for a book about the Jews, and consequently Howell took Morwyng's work, substituted his own name on the title-page for that of his predecessor, and issued it as his own production. Howell had already set forth his impression concerning the Jews in various stray letters, an annotated edition of which was edited by Mr. Joseph Jacobs in 1890, under the title *Epistolae Ho-Elinae*. In two of these, especial reference was made to the Lost Tribes, the former addressed to the Lord Clifford at Knaresborough, and dated June 3, 1633¹, and the latter to Dr. H. B., dated August 1, 1635². In these, as in most of his other works, Howell showed himself a diligent reader. The latter reference to which our attention is drawn was derived from the account of Sandys' *Travels*, with which we have already dealt³, the former was an almost verbatim quotation from *A Voyage into the Levant* . . . by Master H. B. (Henry Blunt), performed in 1634⁴, the account of which was published in 1636. One of the objects of this journey, Blunt states in his opening pages, was "In some measure, to acquaint my self with those other sects which live under the *Turkes*, as *Greekes*, *Armenians*, *Freinks*, and *Zinganaes*, but especially the *Iewes*; a race from all others so averse both in nature and institution, as glorying to single it selfe out of the rest of mankinde remaines obstinate, contemptible, and famous⁵." Howell's edition of Josippon was issued rather as a Royalist tract, as was admitted later in the dedication in a re-issue, published subsequent to the Restoration⁶, to point out to the citizens of London that just as Jerusalem had

¹ p. 312.

² p. 383.

³ p. 114.

⁴ p. 121.

⁵ p. 2.

⁶ In 1684.

been ruined by sedition, so would London suffer the same fate in consequence of her adhesion to the Puritans. The body of the work does not deal with the subject that we have in hand. In the Epistle Dedicatory, however, Howell mentioned that the Jews of his day did not know what had become of the tribes, but still believed that they had never become apostates. "Some there are," he says, "and those of the best rank of Learned men, who hold that the *Tartars* of Scythia, who about the year 1200, or a little before, became first known to the rest of the World by that name, and hold at this day a great part of *Asia* in subjection, are of the *Israelites* progeny." He then proceeds to produce certain so-called proofs, with the nature of which we are by this time well acquainted.

The theory is also mentioned by Basnage, who is invariably extremely sceptical and suspicious whenever lost tribes are mentioned. Menasseh ben Israel, "one of the Wisest Doctors of the Nation," he relates¹, asserted that the tribes passed into Tartary and settled there, especially in the Province of Thabor, according to Basnage, confounded by him with the Chabor of Isaiah xlix. 12. Authorities previous to Menasseh, however, adopted the same view.

Of all the various theories that were more or less current in this country during the sixteenth century, by far the most important, inasmuch as it was more carefully considered and discussed than any rival, was that of the American Indian descent from the Ten Tribes. This theory found no acceptance whatever in Jewish circles prior to the time of Menasseh ben Israel. Its evolution was entirely due to European (especially Spanish) settlers in America, but it obtained so wide a credence, and was adopted to so great an extent in this country at the time, that, in addition to being the direct cause of Menasseh's book, *The Hope of Israel*, dedicated by him to the English Parliament, it undoubtedly, at a time when the Jewish question had become a matter of practical politics in this country, drew still

¹ VI, iii. 1.

further attention to the Jews, and exerted influence in favour of the Return. The literature on the subject is very abundant, and to be found in many languages. With the possible exception of the British Israel theory, the supply of pamphlets relating to which seems to be inexhaustible, on no other lost tribes theory has so much ink and paper been expended. One advocate, Viscount Kingsborough (1795-1837), had his attention attracted to the subject by the sight of a Mexican MS. in the Bodleian Library. In order to devote himself more thoroughly to his new pursuit he resigned all other interests. In support of his lost tribes theory he issued to the world his magnificently produced and illustrated *Antiquities of Mexico: comprising Facsimiles of Ancient Mexican Paintings and Hieroglyphics, preserved in the Royal Libraries of Paris, Berlin, and Dresden; in the Imperial Library of Vienna; in the Vatican Library; in the Borgian Museum at Rome; in the Library of the Institute of Bologna; and in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Together with the Monuments of New Spain, by M. Dupaix: with their respective scale of measurement and accompanying descriptions. The whole illustrated by many valuable inedited manuscripts by Augustine Aglio* (1830-48). This work was in nine volumes and a portion of a tenth, each containing more than five hundred pages, and measuring about two feet by one. So ponderous are these volumes, that the British Museum authorities will not issue them, and the student desiring to consult them must do so near their shelves. The book cost Kingsborough upwards of £32,000, his reason, and his life. Laden with debt, he was arrested at the suit of a paper manufacturer, and died in prison, a victim of the Lost Tribes. For the ordinary mortal his work is unreadable. It is too immense. Mrs. Barbara Anne Simon, however, evidently went through it, for her book, *The Ten Tribes of Israel*, published in 1836, consists entirely of an abstract of Lord Kingsborough's more detailed narrative. To one curious of the alleged Israelitish ancestry of the wild man of the

prairies and the pampas, Mrs. Simon's work on the subject will be more than satisfying.

The Spanish historians, mostly ecclesiastics, who dealt with the alleged Israelitish origin of the inhabitants of the New World, ranged themselves in two schools. The one hailed the new subjects of Spain as the progeny of Israel. The other, while admitting the existence of certain Hebrew practices and customs among the natives, suggested Satan as their source. "Satan had counterfeited in this People (whom he had chosen for himself), the history, manners, customs, traditions, and expectations of the Hebrews, in order that their minds might thus be rendered inaccessible to the faith, which he foresaw the church would in due time introduce amongst them¹!" In the former school were to be found Las Casas, Sahagun, Boturini, Garcia, Gumilla, Beneventa, and Peter Martyr. In the latter, the advocates of Satan, were included Torquemada, Herrera, Gomara, Acosta, Cortez, D'Olmes, and Diaz. Mrs. Simon suggests, I know not on what authority, that most of these Jesuits were of Jewish descent². The discovery of Judaism in America, according to the *Antiquities of Mexico*, was the cause of the delay of three years before Catholic priests were sent to the New World³. "The real cause," it continues, "might have been a wish to avoid scandal, and to have time to root out, with the secular arm, some traces of Judaism, which could not fail to strike a clerical order of men, however they might have been passed over unheeded by the military followers of Cortes. . . . It is a curious fact that many obscure passages of Scripture may be elucidated by referring to the works of Torquemada, Gomara, and Acosta⁴."

As illustrative of the views of the Spanish advocates of the Israelitish descent of the natives of America, we may accept the opinions expressed by Gregorio Garcia, in his

¹ *The Ten Tribes of Israel*, by Mrs. Simon, p. 1.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 18; *Antiquities of Mexico*, vol. VI, p. 330.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 19; *Antiquities of Mexico*, vol. VI, p. 330.

Origen de los Indios, published in 1607¹. By him, that view is stated to have been generally adopted by the unlettered multitude, although not so universally by scholars. It is of course based on the well-known passage in Esdras, and the apparent difficulty of the passage of the Pacific from Asia to the New World, is explained by the suggestion that either the two continents were joined where the Behring Straits are now situated, or that the width of the sea to be traversed at that point was then inconsiderable. Once on American soil, it would be comparatively easy for the wanderers to make their way southward². So long a distance from the starting-place in Media would be necessary, since the object of the exiles was to reach an uninhabited land. Of course García admits that the view was also held that the Israelites never left Media, but, replied the Spanish ecclesiastic, a statement that was at variance with Esdras, was unworthy of consideration. A further question of his is unanswerable. "Must not Mexico be included in the direct declaration of God, that he would scatter the Jews over all the earth?" The author quotes a long catalogue of similarities between the Jews and Americans in point of character, dress, religion, physical peculiarities, conditions and customs. In order to make the parallels more remarkable he bestows upon the Jews many unfavourable qualities that they are not universally admitted to possess. Sometimes, however, in his Jesuitical eagerness to prove his case, his arguments are hardly reconcilable. For example, in one instance he accuses both American Indians and Jews of uncleanness, while a little later he attempts to prove their identity by mentioning that both races were accustomed to frequent bathing. Another analogy he finds in the ingratitude of the Jews for the many benefits conferred upon them by the Deity, and the ingratitude of the Indians for all that they owed to the Spaniards. To the objection that the Jews were physically and intellectually the finest

¹ Book III, pp. 79-128.² p. 81.

race in the world, whilst the Americans were the lowest, Garcia replies that the best type of Jews was represented by the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, who did not go to the New World. Other objections he demolishes in a similar manner until, tiring of the discussion, he quotes the convenient theory of a special act of God in reply to all criticisms. He is not satisfied, however, with calling the Deity as a witness on his behalf. Satan is also pressed into his service. To the inquiry, what has become of the Hebrew tongue that the descendants of the tribes should possess, he replies that in the first place the language has gradually changed, as is the universal experience among other races; secondly, there are many traces of Hebrew in the American languages; thirdly, the devil prompted the Americans to learn new tongues in order to secure them from receiving instruction in Christianity. Fortunately, however, the missionary became acquainted with these new and strange tongues, and thus cheated the Evil One¹.

Any one of the three explanations might perhaps be accepted. Taken together, however, they appear to be mutually destructive.

Supporters of the theory were drawn from all directions. Arguments and analogies are quoted in profusion by the various advocates of the American Israel theory, in support of which even a reference to scalping is found in the Book of Psalms (lxviii. 21). To the English public the theory was introduced by the publication in 1650 of *Jewes in America, or Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race*, by Thomas Thorowgood, B.D., one of the Assembly of Divines. The intention of the work was to draw the attention of the benevolent public to the remarkable missionary efforts of the Rev. John Eliot, "the Indian Apostle," and to profit by the friendly interest in Jewish affairs aroused among English people to induce their financial support of Mr. Eliot's untiring efforts. The book was written in 1648 and dedicated to the king, but the renewal

¹ pp. 119-23.

of the Civil War prevented its publication. In the meanwhile the proof sheets were submitted to John Dury or Durie, the Puritan divine who when in Amsterdam had met Menasseh ben Israel there, and had heard certain stories concerning the Israelitish origin of the natives of the Western Hemisphere, and especially the relation of Antonio Montezinos alias Aaron Levy. This was to the effect that when travelling in South America he had discovered the retreat in the Cordilleras of a tribe that in his opinion was undoubtedly descended from Reuben. Montezinos had supported, in an affidavit executed before the heads of the Amsterdam congregation, this curious story of his discovery of this Israelitish tribe, and in response to the request of Durie, Menasseh immediately sent him a copy of the affidavit, which was printed as an appendix to Thorowgood's book under the heading "The Relation of Master *Antonie Monterinos*, translated out of the French Copie sent by *Manasseh Ben Israel*." The appendix concludes with the following testimony: "I, *Manasseh Ben Israel* underwritten, beare witnesse, that this present paper hath been coppied with the whole truth of the originall, and that the Author, *Monterinos* is a vertuous man, and separate from all manner of worldly interests; and that hee swore in my presence that all that which he declared was a truth." The text of this relation appears in full in the valuable work on Menasseh ben Israel for which this society and the reading public is indebted to Mr. Lucien Wolf.

The incorporation of "The Relation" in Thorowgood's work was not the sole consequence of Dury's interest in the subject. It was his communication with the rabbi that suggested the idea that was afterwards realized in the writing of *The Hope of Israel*, which by a coincidence was issued to the English public in the same year as the *Jewes in America*. Menasseh's original intention was to deal with the Lost Tribes generally, but instead his treatise was devoted almost entirely to American Israelite theories.

In the following quotations from letters sent by him to John Dury at the time he explains his position :—

Amsterdam, November 25 [1649].

“By the occasion of the questions you propose unto me concerning this adjoynd Narrative of Mr. Antonio Montezinos, I, to give you satisfaction, have written instead of a Letter a Treatise, which I shortly will publish & whereof you shall receive so many copies as you desire. In this Treatise I handle of the first inhabitants of America which I believe were of the ten Tribes ; moreover that they are scattered also in other Countries, & that they keep their true Religion, as hoping to returne againe into the Holy Land in due time ¹.”

The second quotation runs :—

Amsterdam, December 23, 1649.

“(In my Treatise) I declare how that our Israelites were the first finders out of America ; not regarding the opinions of other men, which I thought good to refute in few words onely ; and I thinke that the ten Tribes live not onely there, but also in other lands scattered every where ; these never did come backe to the second Temple, & they keep till this day still the Jewish Religion, seeing all the prophecies which speake of their bringing backe unto their native soile must be fulfilled : so then at their appointed time, all the Tribes shall meet from all the parts of the world into two provinces namely Assyria and Egypt, nor shall their kingdome be any more divided, but they shall have one Prince the Messiah the Sonne of David. I do also set forth the Inquisition of Spaine, and rehearse diuers of our Nation, & also of Christians, Martyrs, who in our times have suffered seuerall sorts of torments, & then having shewed with what great honours our Jews have been graced also by severall Princes who professe Christianity. I proue at large, that the day of the promised Messiah unto us doth draw neer, upon which occasion I explaine many Prophecies ².”

¹ Mr. Wolf's *Menasseh ben Israel*, p. lxxviii.

² *Ibid.*

In addition to the Epistle Dedicatory and the Preface to the Reader, both by the author, an "Epistolicall Discourse of Mr. John Dury to Mr. Thorowgood" is affixed to the body of the work. In this Dury relates his gradual conversion to the views of Thorowgood, "partly from relations which I had heard a few yeeres agoe concerning the ten Tribes, which the Jewes here in *Europe* had given out." Among the rumours that had reached his ears and had assisted in his conversion was a story to the effect that a messenger had come from the Ten Tribes to the Holy Land "to make enquiry concerning the state of the Land; and what was become of the two Tribes and the half which was left in it, when they were transported from thence by *Salmanasser*." This messenger related the story contained in *Esdra*s and announced that "they have increased into a great Nation, and are to come from thence into their owne land by the direction of God; and to shew them that hee was a true Israelite, hee had brought with him a Scroule of the Law of *Moses*, written according to their custome." Shortly after he had received this information Dury heard of the relation of Montezinos. Thorowgood opens his considerations with a recitation of the various other theories concerning the origins of the American Indians that had their advocates in his day. One of them was that of a descent from the Canaanites who fled to the Western Continent before the invasion of Joshua¹. A second derived the American natives from Tartar immigrants². The traditions of the Indians themselves regarding their ancestry, he said, certainly fitted in with a Hebrew origin. Many of their legends, which bore a remarkable resemblance to the episodes of *Genesis*, he quotes from writers conversant with native thought. There were even parallels, it appears, between Indian beliefs and rabbinical teachings³. If these supposed parallelisms were to be examined in detail the whole of this paper could well be devoted to such a consideration.

¹ p. 3.² *Ibid.*³ pp. 3, 4.

Advocates of the theory go into the matter so deeply that in the time at our command it is useless to attempt to follow them. It must be sufficient for this occasion merely to note the endless catalogue of alleged resemblances between the customs, practices, rites, laws, fashions, ceremonies, language and traditions of the American Indians and those of the Israelites. Mr. Thorowgood even saw the prophecies of cannibalism to be found in Deuteronomy¹, 2 Kings², Lamentations³, and Ezekiel⁴, literally fulfilled in the customary practices of some American tribes in his day⁵. In the sufferings endured by the American Indians he found confirmation of the plagues threatened to the Jews⁶.

The first part of the work consists of a general proof to the above effect of the origin of the natives. In the second he considers and replies to the arguments of the opponents of his theory. He deals with each argument by itself, and any one interested in the subject might well consult the book if he desires any of his doubts to be dissipated. Thorowgood even mentions the Jewish tradition that the Tribes were lost, and asks where else could they be lost but in America, all other lands but those of that continent being well known⁷. Thorowgood also quotes from Buxtorf a tradition that "saith when *Vespasian* wan *Ierusalem*, he gave order that three ships laden with that people might be put to Sea, but without Pilot, oares, or tackling, these by windes and tempests were woefully shattered, and so dispersed, that they were cast upon severall coasts; one of them in a Countrey called *Lovanda*, the second in another region named *Arlado*, the third at a place called *Bardeli*, all unknown in these time⁸." The king of the last country tried "*Nabuchodonosor's* experiment" on three young men with miraculous results. All of which is very interesting but hardly furthers the case that the author is

¹ xxviii. 53.² vi. 28.³ iv. 10.⁴ v. 9, 10.⁵ p. 17.⁶ p. 26.⁷ p. 37.⁸ p. 38; Buxtorf, *Synag. Jud.*, IX, p. 231.

attempting to prove. The third part of the book is entitled "Humble desires to all, for hearty endeavours in all, to acquaint the Natives with Christianity." There is no need for us to trouble Mr. Thorowgood on this subject.

The extraordinary theory thus published to English ears for the first time simultaneously by Thorowgood and Menasseh did not find universal acceptance. In 1652 (? Oct. 1651) a reply by Sir Hamon L'Estrange was issued from the press¹. This author, while refusing to accept the Israelitish descent of the natives of America, admits that they were probably of Semitic descent. "As the progeny of *Iaphes* or *Cham* approached nearer towards them (the descendants of *Shem*), so they removed still more East, and soon after planted and peopled the nearest, and more parts of *America*, and so verified that in *Gen.* ix. 19. The three Sonns of *Noah* overspread all the Earth²." L'Estrange deals with Thorowgood's conjectures *seriatim*. In reply to the first, the opinions of the natives themselves on the subject, he quotes Acosta, who "tells us (*lib.* 5, *cap.* 25) that what the Americans talk of their beginning is nothing worth, and rather a dream than any likelihood of a true story³." The similarities quoted by Thorowgood either did not exist in his critic's opinion or were not peculiar to the Hebrews. Computation by nights, for instance, was common to many eastern and other nations. According to Caesar, *lib.* vi, the Gauls stated that they were descended from Pluto, and therefore computed their time by nights. "As the Americans fear *Pluto*, *Dis*, the Devill, the God of darknesse most, so their stupidity and ignorance may justly give the Night precedence in their computation of time⁴." L'Estrange further pointed out that there was no agreement between the religious beliefs of the various tribes that occupied America on its discovery by Europeans, and that the tradition of the Flood that they possessed was derived from ancestors, the sons of *Shem*, who peopled

¹ *Americans no Jewes, or Improbabilities that the Americans are of that race.*

² p. 9.

³ p. 13.

⁴ pp. 22-3.

America in the first instance¹. It seems that one theory could not be disproved without another, almost as fantastic, being elevated into its place. L'Estrange had little patience with the suggested parallelisms in the languages of the races compared. "If a man," he says, "have a minde to trifle away time, he may now and then hit upon some words among them that may agree in sound and sence with some of ours in *Europe*; as the Priest, chief or leader of every company among the Samoeds was called *Papa*², and in the Brasilian tongue betwixt the River of *Amazons* and *Orenoque*, *Papa* is a father³, and in New-*Spaine* the chiefe Priest was called *Papa*⁴. In the Province of *Cusco* they call their Sisters *Nanna*, which among the English is the most common name for women, and so we are like to be of kindred to the Americans⁵."

He also protests against accusing a nation of cannibalism because occasional instances are recorded of resort to such devices by individuals in sore straits. Dealing with the statement that "the people that have not yet received the Gospel are Jews," he points out that numerous heathen nations in addition to those of America were in that position in his day. To the argument deduced from the calamities of the Indians, he replies, "It may be the Spaniard perceiving some few apish imitations of the Iewish customes among the Americans taught them by the Devill, the Spaniard, by the same *Satans* suggestions taught them also to derive themselves from the Iewes, that the Spaniard might have the better warrant to execute all cruelties in accomplishment of the curse upon them⁶." Discussing Thorowgood's opinions as a whole, L'Estrange sums up by saying, "He often makes that a Custome among the Americans, which is drawn from the reason of nature, and necessity, and is common to all, as to dance, laugh and sing in matters of joy, to cry, howle and weep

¹ p. 49.² Purchas, *Asia*, xvii.³ *De orig. gent.*, p. 182.⁴ Purchas, *de America*, ii.⁵ p. 60.⁶ p. 64.

in accidents and objects of heaviness and sorrow, and many such like, which granted (as is gathered and applied) will make all the world Iewes¹."

L'Estrange had finished his work when a copy of Menasseh ben Israel's *Hope of Israel* came into his hands, and he resumed his pen in order to put forth the impressions he derived from it. The criticism is short but sharp and severe, and it is apparent that he had a worse opinion, if possible, of Menasseh's views than of those of Thorowgood². This attack by L'Estrange did not pass without a corresponding defence, but the reply of Thorowgood was delayed for eight years, and before we come to examine it, it would perhaps be more convenient to deal with Menasseh's public entry into the discussion. The circumstances of the composition of the *Hope of Israel* have already been explained. Its issue created a great deal of interest and pleasure in this country inasmuch as a member of that race to which many English were at that time fond of comparing themselves had referred therein in such sympathetic terms to the Republican Government. The interest was, however, but shortlived and led to no immediate result. The Government had at that time more important matters than the Jewish question with which to deal, and after a short interval English authorities such as John Sadler began to cast doubt on the story told by Montezinos. Sadler, in his *Rights of the Kingdom*, published anonymously in 1649—a volume dealing mainly with the origins and History of the English Constitution, to which further reference will have to be made—touches upon a multiplicity of subjects in the course of the lengthy digressions with which the volume is filled. Prophecies and their interpretation, legends relating to many different races, even occasional lapses into millenarianism, according to my limited experience one of the most terrible of theories to which a human being had ever to submit his reason, all find a welcome in his pages. In addition to all these

¹ p. 66.

² pp. 75 et seq.

meshes and snares the pagination of the volume is extremely erratic. One or two references are of importance at this point of our consideration. In the course of his dissertation on the English Constitution, Sadler thinks fit to give his readers a little information concerning the Jews, not however that they apparently had much at that point to do with the subject with which he was dealing. After telling us of their hopes and wishes he proceeds, "Nor do they think the Time farre off. And that, from better grounds perhaps, then is the old prediction in their *Zohar* which fortels their Redemption should be upon, or about, the yeare last past. To which they add, somewhat they see, or have heard, from their Brethren of *Iuda*, in *Brasile*: or of *Israel* in other parts of *America*, which they cannot much believe, (till it be better confirmed :) although it be, with many Arguments, asserted by a Grave, Sober Man, of their own Nation, that is lately come from the Western World¹." He then gives more details of the American Israelite theory. On a later page we find a reference to Rab Menasseh Ben Israel, "Him, that hath so much obliged the World, by his learned Writings, . . . a very learned, Civill man, and a Lover of our Nation²." Sadler was afterwards on very friendly terms with Menasseh.

Menasseh's views differed in essentials from the American Israel theory current at that day. The advocates of the latter saw in the natives of America generally, the descendants of the Lost Tribes, and the discussions of its supporters and opponents raged principally round the point whether the alleged Jewish customs, &c., admitted by most of the disputants to be possessed by the natives, were due to an Israelitish ancestry or to the machinations of Satan. Menasseh's theory, founded on the relation of Montezinos, was different. It was to the effect that the first inhabitants of the Continent were the Ten Tribes, but the Tartarians followed them across the Straits of Anian, conquered and drove them before them and the remnant was forced 'to

¹ pp. 38-9.

² p. 48.

take refuge in the fastnesses of the Cordillera Mountains¹. He opposed the theory of Alexis Vanegas, that the West Indies and South America were peopled by the Carthaginians. He preferred that of Arias Montanus, that the Indians of New Spain and Peru were the offspring of Ophir, the son of Jokton, the nephew of Heber—the suggestion being that Peru is Ophir transposed, and Yucaton equals Jokton. He does not follow Montanus to the fullest extent, for he admits the bases of his theory are rather far-fetched, inasmuch as the name Peru was unknown until introduced by the Spaniards². The Israelitish observances possessed by the Indians, Menasseh declared, had been derived from their predecessors, whom they had driven into the mountains³. In Section 37 he sums up his opinions on the fate of the tribes in the following seven articles:—

“1. That the *West-Indies* were anciently inhabited by a part of the ten Tribes, which passed thither out of *Tartary*, by the Streight of *Anian*.

“2. That the Tribes are not in any one place, but in many; because the Prophets have fore-told their return shall be into their Country, out of divers places; *Isaiah* especially saith it shall be out of eight.

“3. That they did not returne to the Second Temple.

“4. That at this day they keep the *Jewish* Religion.

“5. That the prophecies concerning their returne to their Country, are of necessity to be fulfilled.

“6. That from all coasts of the World they shall meet in those two places, *sc. Assyria* and *Egypt*; God preparing an easie, pleasant way, and abounding with all things, as *Isaiah* saith, ch. 49, and from thence they shall flie to *Jerusalem*, as birds to their nests.

“7. That their Kingdome shall be no more divided; but the twelve Tribes shall be joyned together under one Prince, that is under *Messiah*, the Son of *David*; and that they shall never be driven out of their Land.”

¹ p. 11.

² p. 18.

³ pp. 22-3.

The reply to Hamon L'Estrange's *Americans no Jewes* came in 1660; the turmoils and irruptions that immediately preceded that date undoubtedly delaying its publication¹. It has several very lengthy prefaces, the greater portion of which is taken up by theological rhapsodies of more interest to the writer than to the modern reader. One, an Epistle Dedicatory to Charles II, compares the king in his wanderings and adventures to David, another, in the form of a letter to Mr. Thorowgood, filling twenty-eight closely-printed pages, is by John Eliot, the missionary. Despite its length, there is nothing of interest to the ordinary reader in it. The usual arguments are repeated with slight variations, and Spanish authors, D'Acosta, Malvenda, and Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega especially are quoted at some length in support of the writer's views. The chief interest of the volume lies in a critique of Menasseh's *Hope of Israel*. Thorowgood was careful to preface his notice with a disclaimer of any supposed Judaizing tendencies. He says: "lest any should conceive me also to Judaize, and to be in love even with the wandrings of that unhappy people, I will here professe, I am not yet perfectly reconciled to them, in respect of those horrid injuries they did to our most dear Saviour, while he lived, and bringing him at last to that cruel and ignominious death, but we shall be friends, when they with Repentance of heart, & tears in their eyes, *Shall look upon him whom they have pierced, &c.* (Zech. xii. 10), and be reconciled to Christ; in the mean time, I have not onely affections for them, as men, but I do honour them, chiefly, for that to them were committed the Oracles of God (Rom. iii. 2), and they have with faithfulness and care transmitted them unto us Gentiles, but most especially because of them concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever" (Rom. ix. 5)².

The Rabbi himself he describes as "a magnifier of mans

¹ *Jews in America, or Probabilities that those Indians are Judaical, made more probable by some Additionals to the former Conjectures.*

² p. 28.

Free will, an admirer of Astrological constellations, an affecter of *μετεμψύχωσις*, or transmigration of souls¹." Of the book, "there be some things, which neither my self not other Christians can allow, as that the Messiah is not yet come . . . he accuseth the English and some other Christians of falshood and cruelty, highly commending the Spaniard, that turned Jew, and circumcised himself, and would be called believing *Judas*. It must be confessed, many learned and profitable things are to be found in his writings, it being his Custome as he saith, to treat onely of solid, and unquestionable matters, such as concerned their Law . . . in another of his books he professeth, he will not say anything, whereby Christian Religion is impugned. . . . This Israelite is worthy of commendation likewise for maintaining the total sanctification of the Sabbath; more might easily be added, and certainly, making allowance for the common frailties of nature, and the national mistakes, to which he is as yet wedded (in respect whereof, he is to be pitied, instructed and prayed for), he is abundantly learned, and morally good, and hath also given fair respect to the English Nation²." The arguments used by Menasseh he for the most part adopts as in support of his own theory. The object of Thorowgood's second volume appears on a later page, in the form of an appeal for financial and personal assistance in solving once for all the question whether the descendants of the Lost Tribes were to be found in America. Pointing to the precedent of the spies who were sent by Moses into Canaan, he calls for Calebs and Joshuas to make another voyage of discovery, "and I am confident," he continues, "if means and monies could not be obtained from the publick to defray all needful expences, it might soon be had from the voluntarie contributions of private Christians. In this disquisition we should have the Jews assistance³."

Of the British Israel theory little was known by the date which has been chosen for the conclusion of our

¹ p. 29.² pp. 29-30.³ p. 49.

inquiries. To Richard Brothers, the peculiar sect that considers the English to be the modern representatives of Ephraim, owes its origin. In 1792 he launched the modern movement, that from the number of its publications, periodical and occasional, seems to have a fairly considerable following. The "proofs" on which this hypothesis relies appear from a cursory glance very extraordinary, but this is not the occasion on which to touch them. Suffice it to state, that the great theory appears to have been evolved by Brothers during the numerous intervals between his incarcerations in madhouses, and that the followers had often to lament the forcible removal of their prophet by the machinations of medical men in league with a cruel and sceptical government. Nevertheless, there were some hints beyond the vain imaginings of the millenarians and others, during the period with which we are dealing, of the Israelitish ancestry of the English people, but before we come more closely to them, one remark of Howell in the Epistle Dedicatory to his translation of *Ben Gorion* may conveniently be repeated. This work, we have already seen, contains some general remarks about the Jews, with hardly an exception borrowed from earlier English writers on Jewish subjects. Discussing the various European expulsions of the Jews, he mentions that when compelled to leave England "it is thought divers families of those banished *Jews* fled then to *Scotland*, where they have propagated since in great numbers; witness the aversion that nation hath above others to hogs flesh."

John Sadler, orientalist, lawyer, friend of Cromwell, and benefactor of the Jews, published his *Rights of the Kingdom* anonymously, as has already been stated, in 1649. This work, although discursive, and from the point of view of method and arrangement chaotic, contains a great number of references that must prove of considerable interest to modern students of Jewish history, and its reissue by a competent editor would without doubt prove a considerable boon. In fact the same might be said of many

publications of this period that have been out of print for centuries. In Sadler's work, in addition to numerous other invaluable points, are to be found the earliest hints of an Israelitish ancestry for the English. The book is nominally on the English Constitution, and it was therefore within its author's province to try to prove the connexion between the legal systems of his own country and those of the Palestinian State. In his own opinion, he proves from various portions of the Talmud that it was the law and custom of Judaea that its kings were to be judged as well as judge¹.—The date of this publication is 1649, and the friendliness between its author and him who was shortly after to become Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, should at this point be borne in mind.—Sadler also finds many agreements between the English and Jewish laws and customs², and among other suggestions is that of the derivation of the jury of twelve from Chaldean and Jewish sources³. Excommunication in Christian Britain, he says, dated from an earlier era than that of the Saxons. "Their (the priests) Ceremonies in This, seeme a kinn to the *Iewish Cherem*; Nay, to their *Shammatha*, (or *St. Pauls Maranatha*)⁴." The three estates of the realm were hinted at by the prophets. Again, the power of deciding on war and peace under the Plantagenets rested with the great Council, as with the Sanhedrin. Intermingled with items of constitutional history and Hebraic suggestions are many other matters of Jewish interest, including a history of the acknowledged Jews in England. The author comes a little more to the point when he asserts the characters of the Druids "to be very like Those of *Canaan*, but I cannot yeeld them to be *Hebrew*, though so many Learned men affirm it⁵." The name Britain, however, he derives from a Phoenician source, *Berat Anac* (The Field of Tin and Lead)⁶. Sadler does not commit himself to any definite theory of the first settlement in these

¹ p. 2.² pp. 9 et seq.³ p. 44.⁴ p. 57.⁵ p. 47.⁶ p. 47.

islands, although he discusses others besides the Hebrew. Of the settlement by Hannibal he expresses his disbelief, "although it be Recorded, in a *Jewish Writer*, of as much note as *Gorionides*¹."

Still earlier than this mention, though of still less reliability, are the legends connected with the Coronation Stone. Of these there are a goodly number. Only a portion, however, give it a Jewish connexion, and those of a special interest to us refer to the Lia Fail, the Irish Holy Stone, which was undoubtedly distinct from that which now reposes under the coronation chair in Westminster Abbey.

In the time of David the stone was carried in solemn procession to the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite², in the presence of the king, when the royal poet was supposed to have recited the Psalm, "The stone which the builders rejected is become the head stone of the corner³." This prophecy, it was said, was afterwards fulfilled by the erection of the Temple on the site. Tradition also says, that the same spot was the scene of the intended sacrifice of Isaac. The legend continues that the stone was the principal in Solomon's Temple, where it remained until the Babylonian Captivity.

On that calamitous occasion the conquerors were unable to remove the whole of the ten tribes, and many escaped. Numbers of the tribe of Dan, it is said, who even in those days led a seafaring life, and were thoroughly at home on the ocean, escaped, together with their rescued treasures, in several ships, and sailing westward one was wrecked on the coast of Ireland. Most of the refugees, and a considerable part of their treasure, were saved, and among the other relics of their past, which arrived safely in Ireland, was the historic stone, on which, it was believed, Jacob had laid his head.

Concerning its subsequent history, there is much disagreement. The Scotch claim that it came into their possession, and is identical with Jacob's pillow appro-

¹ p. 47.

² 2 Samuel xxiv. 18.

³ cxviii. 22.

priated by Edward I. The Irish, on the other hand, contend that it never left their island. The recent excitement over the alleged intention to excavate the historic hill of Tara was due to some extent to the belief that the Lia Fail would be found therein, although another theory, namely, that the Ark of the Covenant was buried within the mound, also has a number of not uninfluential supporters. For the present it has been decided that no excavations are to take place, so that the mysteries of both the Holy Stone and the Ark are still to remain unsolved. Mention of Tara suggests one of the most important arguments of the British Israelites. It is to the effect that Tara equals Torah, and therefore, so they continue, the English are of Hebrew descent. It is very difficult to avoid British Israelism when dealing with the Lost Tribes, as the arguments of the advocates of that theory are attractive in their very extravagance. Perhaps therefore, and moreover as it will conclude this Paper, the following quotation from a Jewish publication of a date considerably later than 1650 will be pardoned. The writer and possibly the editor evidently believed the account. It appears in *The Hebrew Standard*, an American journal, and bears date October 31, 1902. "... Then, too, the ancestry of the king himself is worthy of any coronation. The stone under the seat of the coronation chair in Westminster Abbey, is the Bethel Stone, Jacob's pillow, or the old coronation stone on which the Hebrew kings were crowned in the Temple at Jerusalem. The royal house of Great Britain traces its genealogy to the line of David and Judah. According to Irish history, the daughter of Zedekiah, the last king of Judah of David's line, married Eveahide, king of the Danites or Dalrades in Ireland, in the year 583 B.C., the prophet Jeremiah performing the ceremony, and crowning the couple on the Bethel Stone. This Eveahide was himself of the royal line of Judah, descending from Zarah, one of the twin sons of Judah, David being a descendant of the other twin. This line in time,

through the Bruces and Stewarts, became the royal line of the British Empire. Edward VII is, therefore, claimed to be a descendant of David, and to belong to a dynasty that can never cease to exist. The royal standard bears the device of the Irish harp, which is really the harp of David, and the lions, also taken from the ancient Irish royal standard, are representative of the lion of the tribe of Judah. This subject has for sixty years engaged the closest attention of many scholars, since facts that have been discovered make out a strong case in support of the statements here made. Among these scholars are Glover, Grimaldi, Rogers, Milner, Bird, Oxonian, Hanan, Heilden, Simpson, Rhys, and Shirley Smith. The Hebrews and the Celtic nation carefully preserved the lines of descent of their kings and heroes, and thus it has been possible to trace every link in the chain. But not to let the Irish have all the honour of claiming Hebrew royal lineage, English genealogists say the line of Saxon kings can also be traced back to Odin, who was himself a descendant of David, as an ancient manuscript of the Heralds' College in London shows. One in the Stuarts, Nesta, can be traced to the Emperor Constantine, and from him to the ancient Trojan kings, and to Zarah, son of Judah. Queen Alexandra's descent can also be traced by two different lines to Odin, and so to David, as do also the older Saxon and Norman royal houses, and the houses of Hanover and Brunswick. The Plantagenets and Guelphs also, through Roger the Saracen, are descendants of David through another line. At the desire of Lady Blanche Waterford, a friend of the Duchess of York, and with a belief in the Davidic origin of the royal house, one of the names given to the young prince, and grandson of Edward VII, was that of David. As David, the boy is known in his home, and as David he is to come to the British throne, if he lives to reach that honour."

ALBERT M. HYAMSON.

THE ARABIC PORTION OF THE CAIRO GENIZAH AT CAMBRIDGE.

IV.

TWO AUTOGRAPH FRAGMENTS OF MAIMONIDES' DALĀLAT AL ḤĀIRIN.

THE two fragments under discussion give two pieces of the Arabic original of Maimonides' *Guide*, viz. :—

1. Part I, ch. lxiv, and the beginning of ch. lxv (Munk's edition, fol. 63^{ro}–64^{ro}, l. 9).

2. Part II, end of ch. xxxii and ch. xxxiii.

Before examining the value of these fragments for textual criticism, it will be necessary to adduce the proofs as to their genuineness.

Even a hurried look at the facsimiles of the fragments appended will show that there is very little probability of their being copies from another archetype. The passages struck out are not to be found in other MSS., of which I compared three (Codd. Loewe XVI, Brit. Mus. Or. 1423, and 2423), but they have faithfully preserved the corrections written over the lines of fragment II^{ro}. Another important circumstance is that the missing left-hand corner at the bottom of the same fragment does not in any way interfere with the completeness of the text, and that on the *verso* several words are carefully written along the mutilated margin. From this it appears that the writer of the fragment used any bit of paper which came to hand, exactly as one would do for the first draft of a script. And, indeed, the same page furnishes yet more evidence in this direction. Ch. xxxiii, as we see, was originally shorter than we have it now, and ended before the middle of the page was reached. All that is written below it, inclusive

of the two lines along the margin, was meant by the author to be inserted in l. 4 (after אַלְמַנָּוָה), as shown by the corresponding marks of insertion. Thus my transcription of the facsimile, Fol. 2 verso, must be read with this explanation in view. This also tallies with the text as we have it now.

To return for one moment to fragment II^o, we find that the author wrote twice אַלְמַנָּוָה אֲלֵימָה ("the mighty voices"), but, in accordance with the trend of ideas of the chapter, he altered both passages into *singularis*. There is absolutely no room for the objection that these are the corrections of a copyist.

It is further to be observed that the chapters are not numbered. It is, indeed, doubtful whether Maimonides did more than mark chapters by the word *faṣl*, as was the custom of Arab authors, and it is that the numbering is altogether due to Samuel b. Tabbōn's Hebrew version. In Cod. Loewe (see *Monatsschrift*, vol. xxxviii, p. 409; vol. xxxix, pp. 404 sq.), which contains both the Arabic original and the Hebrew version just mentioned, only the chapters of the latter are numbered, but not those of the original. It is therefore probable that later copyists of the Arabic text alone adopted Ibn Tabbōn's numbering.

Apart from these, the fragments offer several other interesting features of Maimonides' mode of writing Arabic. They show conclusively that the copyists indulged in vulgar spellings, for which the author was not responsible. He never omits the *ʾ* otiosum. On the other hand, his orthography is not free from some of the characteristics of Maghribine writing. We find twice אֱלֹי instead of אֱלֹהֵי, once קִרְרָה for קִרְרָה, and several times חַעֲלִי for חַעֲלִי. The variations of the text are so surprisingly numerous for so small a portion of the work, that I found it desirable to reproduce it in print. They are probably the result of a final revision by the author himself. The passages placed between round brackets are those struck out in the original.

۱۵۰۰

مجلسه اول در روز پنجشنبه ۱۳۰۴
در محل اجتماعات

T-S. 10 Ka. 4¹, 23 x 16 cm.

(Fol. 1 recto.)

פצל

אעלם אן שם יי קד יראד בה מראת מנרד אלסמיה¹ מחל קולה לא תשא
את שם יי אלה' לשוא ונוקב שם ה' וזהו אכתר מן אן יח[צא] וקד יראד בה
דאתה תעלי² וחקיקתה מחל ואמרו לי מה שמו וקד יראד בה (א. . .) אמרה
חתי יכון קולנא שם יי כאנא קלנא דבר יי או מאמר יי כמא קאל כי שמי
בקרב ומענאה דברי בקרבו או מאמרי בקרבו אלמעני אנה אלה לארארתי
ומשיתי וסיבין אלכלאם פי אשתראך מלאך וכדלך כבוד יי קד יראד בה
אלנור אלמכלוק אלדי יחלה אללה פי אמאכ³ ללחעטים עלי זהה אלמעני
ושכן כבוד יי על תר סיני וכבוד יי מלא את המשכן וקד יראד בה דאתה תעלי⁴
וחקיקתה כמא קאל הראני נא את כבודך ואלנואב כי לא יראני האדם וחי דל
אן כבוד הנא⁵ דאתה וקולה כבודך תעטים מחל מא בינא פי קול ואמרו לי
מה שמו וקד יראד בבכוד תעטים אלנאם כלהם ללה בל (זמיע) כל מא סואה
תעלי⁶ יעטמה (לה לסאן נאטק עטם בלסאנה ומן לם ינפך ללסאן לידל עלי
מאפי אדראכה פי) לאן תעטימה אלחקיקי דו אדראך עטמתה פכל מן אדרך
עטמתה וכמאלה פקד עטמה עלי קדר אדראכה ואלאנסאן כאנא

(Verso.)

יעטם באלאקאויל לידל עלי מא אדרך בעקלה ויעלן בה לגירה ומן לא אדראך
לה מחל אלנמאדאת פכאנתה תעטם אינא בכונתה חדל במביעתה על קדרת⁷
מוזדהא⁸ וחכמתה פיכך דלך דאעיא לתעטים אלמענתבר להא נטק (א. ל.)
בלסאן⁹ או לם ינפך¹⁰ וקד אלתעט אלעבראניה¹¹ פי דלך חתי יטל[קן] עלי היא
אלמעני לשון[אמירה וקאל עאמא לא נטק¹² אנה סבך וקאל כמא קיל¹³
כל עצמותי תאמרנה יי מי [כמוך עבר ען כונתה] תונב דלך¹⁴ באנה אלדי
תקולה¹⁵ ובחכב תסמיה היא אלמעני כבוד קיל מלוא כל הארץ כבודו (מ. . .)
ססאוי¹⁶ ותהלתו מלאה הארץ פאפהם היא אלאשתראך אינא¹⁷

פצל

מא אראך בעד תצולך להזה אלדרנה ותחקיקך אנה תעלי¹⁸ מנרד לא בונרד
וואתר לא בחדרה תחתנאן אן יבין לך נפי צפה אלכלאם ענה ולא סימא

¹ Ed. אלסמיה.² Sic.³ Ed. סמאן.⁴ Ed. אלמקל חסא.⁵ Sic.⁶ L. סמורדהא.⁷ Ed. גלסאנה.⁸ Ed. the words אן כמא⁹ Ed. סמאן.¹⁰ Ed. אלעבראניה.¹¹ Ed. and MSS. אדראך.¹² L. וקאל כי כמא קאל.¹³ Ed. אלמקל.¹⁴ Ed. קאלה.¹⁵ L.¹⁶ Ed. accus.¹⁷ Ed. adds two passages.

באנמאע אמתא אן (כלא) אלתורה מזלוקה אלקעד בולך אן כלאמח אלמנסוב אליה מזלוק ואנמא נסב אליה לכן דלך אלקול אליי סמעה משה זלקה אללה (וליס הו כלאם)¹ כמא זלק כל מא זלקה ואבתרעה (ומותדא?) וסיאתי פי אלנבה כלאם כתיב ואנמא אלקעד הנא אן תצפה באלכלאם מחל תצפה באלמפעאל כלהא אלשביהה באפעאלא פארשדת אלאדהאן אלי אן חם עלם אלאהי יצ' ללנבין באן אללה כלמחם² אן הוה אלמעאני אלהי יתלן אלינא³ כלאם אללה ... כמא סיבן וקר חקדם לנא ת... דלך ואנמא מקצוד הוה אלפעל אן אלדבור ואלמירה לפט משתדך יקע עלי אלנסק באללסאן מחל קולה משה ידבר ויאמר פרעה ויקע עלי

(Fol. 2 recto.)

ואי ואגדרו לנא דכר מעמד הר סיני פלנבה עלי מא תבין⁴ מן אלנצח⁵ ומן כלאם אלחכמים ודלך⁶ אל[אדראן] אליי אדרך⁷ פי דלך אלמעמד לס יכן⁸ אלאצל למשה אלאצל לכל⁹ ישראל בל אלכמאב למשה וחדה ודלך נא כמאב עשר הדברות כלה (בלשן) מכאמבה אלאחר אלמפרד והו עליה אלסלאם אזל ינספל אלנבל ויזכר אלנאם כמא סמע נץ אלתורה אנבי עומד בין יי וביני להגיד לבם את דבר יי וקאל איצא משה ידבר והאלה יענו בקול אלכל[ל]תא אן כל דבור ודבור עידה להם כמא סמע ונץ אלתורה איצא בעבור ישמע העם בדברי עמ' דליל אן אלכמאב לה והם יסמען אלצות אלעטים¹⁰ לא תפציל אלכלאם וען סמאע דלך אלצות אלעטים¹¹ קאל כשמעכם את הקול (וכל העם רואים את הקולות וכו') וקאל קול דברים את' שום' ותמונה אי' רואים וזלתי קול ולם יקל דברים אתם שומעים וכל מא נא מן סמאע אלכלאם אנמא אלמראד בה סמאע אלקול ומשה הו אליי. יסמע אלכלאם ויחכיה להם הוה אליי יסדר¹² מן נץ אלתורה ומן אכתי כלאם אלחכמים ו'ל לכן להם איצא קולה סנצוצה פי עדה מואצע מן אלמדרשות וה פי אלחלמוד איצא ודי קולחם אנבי ולא יהיה לך מפי הנבירה שמעום יענ[ן] אנהא תעלת להם כמא¹³ תעלת למשה רבינו ולם יכן משה מתעלה להם¹⁴ ודלך יחק בלא שך¹⁵ לאן¹⁶ האזין אלאצלין¹⁷ אנמא אעני ונוד אלאלאה וכונה ואחר¹⁸ אנמא ידרך דלך באל

¹ Ed. ואבתרעה. ² Ed. ידרכה. ³ Ed. וקאל להם דתי נעלם. ⁴ Ed. לנא.

⁵ Ed. תבין. ⁶ Ed. עמ' אלאמל אלוסן. ⁷ Ed. four words missing.

⁸ MSS. and Ed. new chapter. ⁹ למעי, למעי. ¹⁰ See introductory note.

¹¹ Id. ¹² Ed. אלאחר. ¹³ Ed. כמל מא. ¹⁴ Five words on the margin.

¹⁵ Three words not in Ed. and MSS. ¹⁶ Ed. אן.

¹⁷ MSS. הוין אלאצלין. ¹⁸ Sic.

Digitized by Google

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely Persian or Urdu, covering the majority of the page. The text is dense and appears to be a continuous narrative or a collection of verses. There are several large, stylized characters or symbols interspersed within the text, possibly serving as section markers or decorative elements. The script is highly fluid and characteristic of the period.

Vertical text on the right margin, likely a commentary or a separate note related to the main text. It follows the same cursive script as the main body of the document.

(Verso.)

ברהאן אלעיני¹ באלנמר אלנאמני וכל מא הו כולך² פחכם אלנבי פיה
 וחכם כל מן עלמה סוי לא תפאצל ולא עלם האדין אלאצלן³ מן נהה
 אלנבה⁴ נץ אלתורה אתה הר' אמא סאיר אלדברות פהי מן קביל
 אלמשהוראת (אל) ואלמקבולאת לא מן קביל אלמקעולאת⁵ ואלדי תסתקל
 בה אלנצוץ ובעץ⁶ כלם אלחכמים⁷ אנהם לם יסמעו⁸ גר קול קול
 ואחר פדר⁹ מרה¹⁰ פי דלך אלמעמד והו אלקול אלדי אדרך מנה¹¹ משה
 אנבי ולא יהיה לך ואסמעהם משה דלך כמא דכרנא בכלאמה¹² וקר נבה¹³
 אלחכמים עלי דלך בקולה אחת דבר אלהי¹⁴ ש' זו שמעתי ובינוא פי אול
 מדרש חזית אנהם לא יסמעו קולא¹⁵ אכר מן קבלה תעלי ונץ אלתורה
 קול גדול ולא יסף ובעד סמאע דלך אלקול אלאול כאן מא דכר מן
 אסתהואלהם וכופהם¹⁶ ומא חכי מן קלחם ותקרבו אלי וכו'¹⁷ ותאמ' הן
 הראנו וכו' ותתה למה נמות קרב אתה ושמע כו' פתקדם הו גל מן מולוד
 תאניה ותלקי (אל?) בקיה אלדברות ואחדה ואחדה ונול לאספל אלנבל
 ואסמעהם איאהא פי דלך אלמשהוד אלעטים והם יבצרון אלנאור ויסמעון
 אלאצואת אעני תלך אלאצואת אלתי הי כאלרעוד¹⁸ ואצואת תבויק כמא
 דכר יהי קול השופר הולך חזק מאוד וכל מא תגד מן דכר סמאע קולות
 כתירה כמא קאל וכל העם רואים את הקולות וכו' אנמא הי קול שופר
 ורעוד ונחואה אמא קול יי אעני אלצות אלמכלוק אלדי מנה פהם אלדבור
 פלם יסמעונה גיר מרה ואחדה פקס במא נץ אלתורה (. . .) כמא בינוא
 אלחכמים פי אלמוצע אלדי נבהתך עליה (פאיעל) והו אלקול אלדי יצאה
 נשמתן (בשמעו¹⁹) ואדרך בה משה²⁰ שתי הדברות הראשונות אמא כל
 קול נבוי סמעה משה פי דלך פאעלם דלך ותדברה²¹
 לאנה לא ימכן איצא²² אן יתערץ למעמד הר סיני באכתר מן הוא אלקדר
 אלדי דכרוה לאנה מן אעטם²³ סתרי תורה וחקיקה דלך אלאדראן וכיף
 כאן חאלה²⁴ [כפא] ענא נרא לאנה לם יתקדם מתלה ולא יתאכר פאעלמה

¹ Ed. באלנמר.² Ed. בעדן.³ Ed. and MSS. nom.⁴ Ed. קט.⁵ Ed. and MSS. seven words more.⁶ Not in MSS. and Ed.⁷ Ed. והו די.⁸ Ed. and MSS. ימעי ישראל.⁹ Ed. קט.¹⁰ Ed. ואחדה.¹¹ Ed. מנה.¹² Ed. quite different.¹³ Ed. and MSS. ויכרא.¹⁴ Ed. קל.¹⁵ Ed. אלשודי.¹⁶ Not in Ed.¹⁷ Ed. quite¹⁸ different.¹⁹ Ed. not in Ed.²⁰ Ed. ותדברה.²¹ Not in Ed.²² Ed. זמל.²³ Ed. אחדא.

V.

DAVID B. MARVĀN AL-MUQAMMAṢ.

Two leaves, 14 × 10 cm., small Rabbinic characters. The ink is, however, so faded that only little is legible. On the *recto* the title in four lines. The text begins on the *verso* with seventeen lines on the page.

The importance of this fragment is twofold. In the first instance it introduces us to a hitherto unknown work by David b. Marvān al-Muqammaṣ, and, secondly, it throws some additional light on this author's personality. There can be no further doubt that his second name was *Al-Muqammaṣ*, and not *Al-Miqmās*, as he is still called in Steinschneider's latest work¹. We further see that he came from *Shirāz* in Persia, whence, as it appears, he emigrated to the Irāq. Whether or not he lived in Al-Raqqa is not known, but Fürst's correction into Al-Irāqi (Hebrew *הבבלי*) has much to recommend itself.

The work itself is entitled *Fifty Queries in Refutation of the Christians*. It is very likely that the title in the form as it appears on the title-page of the fragment originates with the copyist. The fragment is unfortunately in such a hopeless condition that only the first query can be deciphered, and this but imperfectly.

VI.

ISAAC AL-ISRĀILĪ'S (THE ELDER) "BOOK OF DEFINITIONS."

Five leaves, Rabb. char. 16 × 14 cm.

In the *Festschrift zum achtzigsten Geburtstage Moritz Steinschneiders*, Part II, pp. 131-41, I edited the Hebrew version of the above-named work. I am now able to offer a large fragment of the original. It begins p. 137, l. 7

¹ *Die arab. Literatur der Juden*, p. 37.

from the bottom of the Hebrew text, and ends p. 140, last line 'ח. Apart from its literary interest as a portion of the original of one of the oldest works on philosophy by a Jewish author, we are now in a position to correct many corrupt passages, and in particular two names which were not quite clear in the Hebrew version. The first is אל כל'ך, p. 139, l. 7 from the bottom, which should be read *Al-Khalij*, and אלכל, in the next line, for which the original reads אלכלל.

VII.

FRAGMENT OF AN UNKNOWN WORK BY JUDAH
AL-HARIZI.

Four leaves, 16 × 13 cm. Or. Rabbinic char.

This fragment contains part of a description of a journey through Mesopotamia. The unknown traveller has left us a little information concerning some Jewish communities in this province, but this little is very interesting. Particularly must we note his statement that his intention was to visit the grave of Ezra. We know from other Jewish travellers such as Benjamin of Tudela¹ and Petaḥqāh of Regensburg² that Ezra was supposed to be buried in the Irāq. This statement is corroborated by the Arab geographer Jāqūt³, who locates the grave in the village Maisān, on the river Samura, which is to be found in the southern corner of the Irāq, near the place where the Euphrates and Tigris unite. Our traveller entered Mesopotamia at Al-Raqqā (the Biblical Kalnēh) on the Euphrates, but instead of going south-east he turned towards the north, and visited Ḥarrān, Al-Ruhā (Edessa), Majdal, Nisibis, Al-Jazīra, Sinjar, and Moṣul. Whether he then went down the Tigris to fulfil his pious vow or not we cannot say, and must be satisfied with the scant comments

¹ Ed. Asher.

² Ed. Baenisch, p. 32.

³ Ed. Wüstenfeld, IV, pp. 714, 840.

he makes on the Jewish communities of the places mentioned, and their leaders. Now it seems that his purpose in visiting these places was not only thirst for information, but also the desire to collect a little current coin of the time. The distribution of his praise or blame is, therefore, influenced by the degree of generosity with which he was treated, although he also indulged in a little literary criticism. Yet we must be grateful to him. He gives various names of persons who can unhesitatingly be accepted as historical. Besides this, his accounts are not given in dry prose, but are adorned by graceful verse, which has a literary importance of its own. For the poems attached to each paragraph are not only written in excellent Arabic, but also in classical prosody. From certain standard phrases and figures, one can easily see that the author was well versed in ancient poetry, and were it not for some hebraisms he could pass for a real Arab bard. This circumstance is in so far of great moment, as it will assist us in tracing this interesting personality. We will, however, first accompany him on his wanderings, and pick up all historical information to be gained.

The people of *Al-Raqqa*, he says, have a name for steadiness, but their piety is tarnished by a slight blemish, viz. meanness. The best man among them is R. Simḥāh of Tadmōr (Palmyra).

The people of *Ḥarrān* are pious and intelligent, but mean and stingy in the extreme. The most enlightened person among them is R. Masliah, and the most pious Ṣadaqa b. Zāki.

The best men in *Al-Ruhā* are Ḥassān al-Ibrismī and Josef the Precentor, but the meanest of them is Ibn Sālīm, although descended from noble ancestors.

The traveller is better pleased with the people of *Majdal*, whilst those of *Nisibis* "flee from every generous inclination." No person of either of these places is mentioned by name.

Very witty is the author's account of *Al-Jazīra*. The

town has its name ("island") from its situation on a hill between the Tigris and a little brook called Saqlan¹. In the spring, when the two waters meet, the town appears to be situated on a real island. It must have been at this season that our traveller visited the place, because he describes its inhabitants as surrounded by a stream of meanness in which they form an island.

The most praiseworthy man in *Sinjār* is Abd al-Sayyid of Moṣul, although "his soul pants for meanness as the birds for their nests."

In Moṣul he found a large community, but only mentions Abul-Faraj b. al-Khadābi, "a better man than whom is nowhere to be found on earth."

Thus far the fragment. Now who was this traveller? I have no hesitation in asserting that he was no other than JUDAH AL-ḤARIZI, and I do so on the following grounds. We know that Al-Ḥarizi travelled through the Irāq, and visited Ezra's grave. A detailed account of this journey, as well as the description of that grave and the legend connected with the same, are given in Maqāmat xxxv and xlvi of his *Taḥkemōni*. This journey is by no means fictitious², nor are these the only occasions on which he speaks of his eastern travels. He also alludes to them in several hitherto unpublished poems, two of which I here reproduce in full text and translation. They are taken from Cod. Montefiore 362³:—

(Fol. 11 verso.)⁴

ועשיתי באשור על ענין הקהלות אשר חזיתי ובארצות מזרח ראיתי	
בם תלמדו דעות ותושיות	שמעו בני תבל פליליות
בינם כמו הדג בתוך ציית	באתי לנא אמן וחזיתי
אין בם לאנשי היקר מחזיות	ואמצאה אישים במצרים

¹ See Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, II, p. 45.

² Kaminka's arguments to the contrary (*Monatsschrift*, XLIV, pp. 217 sqq.) prove nothing.

³ See my *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 106 sq.

⁴ Metrum: 2 ten. yāthed, 2 ten. yāthed, 2 ten. in each hemistich (Arab. Kāmil).

אל עם אשר תעו כמו שיות	ואעבור משם לרמשק
כי הם כחרב לה שתי פיות	ואשכח אידם בעיר צובה
הונם ידיהם תוקפות היות	ואמאסה כלנה הכי לעצור
כי הם בהמות או כמו חיות	אולם באשור נשכחו כלם
אמצא בני תבל בתחתיות	אם אחזה כן כל אשר אלך

TRANSLATION.

This poem I wrote in Assur, concerning the communities which I saw and observed in the lands of the East.

Hear wondrous things, ye children of the world,
Through them some wholesome knowledge ye may gain.
To Alexandria I came, and camped
Among the people like a fish on dry land.
And citizens did I find in Kahira,
But they allow deserving men to starve.
Thence to Damascus did I take my step,
To people, erring like abandoned lambs.
Their hapless state I soon forgot at Zobah,
Whose talk I likened to a two-edged sword.
Kalneh I scorn; its people's hands are strong,
For nothing hold they firmer than their wealth.
In Assur then my memory lost them all;
For brutes its people are and beasts of prey.
Should I the like find everywhere I go,
Then mankind only dwells beneath the earth.

(Fol. 10 verso.)¹

תעשיתי לאיש מאנשי כלנה הללתיו וברח לחרן מפני ונסתר מעיני	יליד גלות אחי נבלות וכילות
אשר כל הנבלות נקבצו בו	הללתי שמו בשתי לשונות
ונכשלתי במאמר פי ותיבו	ואולם עת דרשתיו לא מצאתיו
ואמרו כי לחרן שם נתיבו	ואם נחבא ונסתר מלפני
שמו הרע במי עצי עזבו	כמו עכבר אשר נחבא בחור
ועזב חוץ בפי התול זנבו	

¹ Metrum : yāthed a ten., yāthed a ten., yāthed ten. (Arab. Waḡḡ).

TRANSLATION.

This poem I composed concerning a man in Kalnēh whom I had praised in my song, but he escaped to Harrān from before me, and was hidden from my eye.

O child of shame, O brother thou to meanness,
Combining every sort of avarice.
I sang his praises in *two languages*,
But came to grief through mouth and speech of mine,
And when I sought him, I could find him not;
For to Harrān, they said, he took the road.
Now even though from me he's hid and gone,
His wicked name upon my staff he left,
Like to a mouse that in a hole took flight,
But in a weasel's mouth left out its tail.

Now if we examine the names of persons contained in the Arabic fragment, we find them nearly all mentioned in Maqāmat xlv of the *Tahkemōni*, viz. at Kalnēh : R. Simḥāh ; at Harrān : R. Ṣadaqaḥ and R. Maṣliāḥ (surnamed Harōfē) ; at Aram Naharaim : Josef the Precentor, whom our fragment mentions as living at Al-Ruhā. It is, however, to be borne in mind that when writing Hebrew, 'Al-Ḥarizi always substitutes Biblical names of places for those used in the vernacular. The characteristics he gives of the people of the various cities tally exactly with those to be found in the Arabic fragment. The avarice of the people forms the *Leitmotiv* of all these compositions. This is again emphasized in Maqāmat xii, which describes the great war between generosity and stinginess. Needless to say that the "traders of Harrān," "the people of Aram Naharaim," and the "heroes of Kalnēh" side with stinginess, which covers itself with glory. All this cannot be accidental. It is not likely that two different people set out on a long and perilous journey, with the same object in view, both equally equipped with the knowledge of the language of the country to be visited, and that both should have met the same people,

made the same experiences, and recounted them in the same witty and poetic manner. There is yet another point to consider. This is Al-Ḥarīzi's thorough mastery of the intricacies of Arabic language and poetry. He is not only the translator of Ḥarīri, but he inserted Arabic verse of his own in *Maqāmat xi* of his *Taḥkemōni*. He also composed an Arabic introduction to this work¹. Each line in our fragment betrays an intimate acquaintance with this class of literature in general, as well as with the sparkling wit of Al-Ḥarīzi. The matter is probably to be considered in this way. On his return from his journey to the Irāq Al-Ḥarīzi made another stay at Fostat (Old Kāhira), where he wrote the account in question and presented (or sold) it to some Maecenas. When he afterwards composed the *Taḥkemōni* he embodied the most interesting of his reminiscences in it. Thus this fragment sheds a literary reflex on this work, and helps us to appreciate many of its passages better. It also places Al-Ḥarīzi in the ranks of Jewish-Arabic poets.

V.

T-S. 8 Ka. 4¹.

(Recto.)

הוּה אַלמססאיל רד עלי
אלנצארי אלפרא דוד בן
מרוואן אלמקמץ שיראזי
רחמא אללה
לעלי

(Verso.)

בשמך רחמ'
הוּה אַלמססאיל אלנצארי רד עלי אלנצארי
אַלמססלָה אַלאוּלי יסאלון אַן אַלמססיה מוֹבֵר הוּ פִי אַלקדמָה וּכאן קדים
מעָה (?) אַם לֹא פאן זעמו אנה מוכר פֿלא ינֹח אַן יקאל לה אבן לֹאן

¹ Steinschneider, *ibid.*, p. 160.

אלאבן יבן אלוי תפאחר מן אב ואן יסמון אסמה טעה יסו(ס) יונבון אברן
 אב אן כאן מנה ולר אבין פאמא אלאבן פלא יבן פי אלקדמה ואן זעמו
 אנה לים בקרים קד מן אלדעוי אללאהותי פלים באלאה
 אלמסילה אלתאניה

VI.

T-S. 8 Ka. 62.

למא פאץ עליה אלעקל מן נורה ורוחאניתה פינב אן נאתי באלפרק בין
 נהור אלגרם ונהור אלגרם פנקול אן נהור אלגרם מכון מן ענאצר מכתלעה
 מכיפה בכיפיות מתצארה ולולך לחקתה אלאפראץ ודכל תחת אלכון
 ואלפסאד ואמא נהור אלפלך פניר מכון מן שי ולא מסתחיל אלי שי ולא
 מכיף בשי מן אלכיפיות לאנה לו כאן מכיפה לקד יכל אן יבון אמא
 חארֶא ואמא באררא ואמא ראטבא ואמא יאבסא פלו כאן חארֶא לתרקֶא
 צערא אלי מא לא נהאיה ולו כאן באררא לסון ספלא ואסתקר פי
 אלמרכו. ולו כאן רטבא לעאם ותמוג פי אלהאית אלד ולו כאן יאבסא
 לצלב ואכתנו ועדם אלהרכה אצלא. פקר באן ואתצח אנה ניר מכיף בשי
 מן אלכיפיות ולולך למ תלחקה אלאערֶאץ ולם ידכל תחת אלכון ואלפסאד.
 אלקול פי אלהרוח אלחיותאני אגמע אלאואיל עלי אן אלהרוח גסם לטיף
 ינבת מן אלקלב פית שריאנאת אלי גמיע אלכון ויפידה אלחיותה ואלתנפס
 באל ריהֶא ואלנבץ באלשריאנאת ויתרקא צערא אלי אלדמאן וינבת מנה פי
 אלעצב אלי גמיע אלכון ויפידה אלחם ואלהרכה פאן סואלנא ען אלפרק
 בין אלנפס ואלרוח קלנא אן אלפרק בינהמא יבון מן נהתין אחוראהמא
 אן אלהרוח נהור גסמי יחיוה אלכון ויחצרה ויחית בה ואלנפס נהור רוחאני
 יחיו אלכון מן כארג ויחית בה ואלב אן אלהרוח ינחל באנחלאל אלכון
 ויבטל בבסלאנה ואלנפס תאבתה באקיה בעד מספארקתהא ללכון אלא אן
 פעלהא לא ינפד פי אלכון לעדמה באלרוח אלמפידה לה אלחיותה ואלחם
 ואלהרכה ואדא עדם אלכון אלחיותה ואלחם צאר מואתא ולם ינפד פעל
 אלנפס פיה אצלא פאן סאלנא ען אלפרק בין אלוריד ואלשריאן קלנא אן
 אלוריד מרכבא מן טבקה ואחרה וקנאה ואחרה יסרי פיהא אלהם
 מן אלכבר אלי גמיע אעצא אלכון לאן מנה נראהא וקוהתא וקואמהא
 ואמא אלשריאן מרכב מן טבקתין וקנאתין ואחדתהמא ינפד פיה אלהרוח
 אלי גמיע אלכון וימירה אלחיותה ויולד פיה אלתנפס באלריהֶא ואלנבץ
 באלשריאנאת לינפי בולך אלכבאראת אלהארה ען אלקלב ויגרב אליה
 הוא לטיפה. ואלקנאה אלאכרי יסרי פיהא אלהם אלכאלץ ואלנקי מן

Fol. 1
rectoFol. 1
verso

Fol. 2
recto

אלאסאד ליתנדי בה אלהא אלחיאני כמא יתגוי אלטאר כארנא באליות. ואלסבב אלדי לם יסב סלך אלהא ואלדם פי קנאה ואחרה וטגרא ואחר אן אלהא ללמאפתה יסרי פי אלכרן דפעא כמא יסרי צו נור אלטראנ פי אלבית דפעא בלא מדה זמאניה. פאלדם פלגלמה ותקל חרכתה לא יסרי אלא ר'ודא ר'ודא כמא יסרי אלמא פי מנאפס אלארץ וקנאותהא ואן כאן אלהם אנלם מן אלמא ואבטא סלכא פלו כאן אלהא ואלדם יסלכאן פי קנאה ואחרה וטגרי ואחר לנלם אלהם אלהא יסנעה אן יסרי פי אלכרן דפעא וכאן פי דלך פסאד אלנאס אלטביעי אלקול פי אלטביעה אלטביעה אסם משחרך יקאל עלי אלכלק ועלי כל מסבוע במביעה מנצח בהא ויקאל עלי אלבימוסאא אעני אלמכלאט אלד אלתי הי אלהם ואלמרתח ואלבלגם ויקאל איצא עלי אלפלך ועלי אלקה אלפלכיה אלתי רתבהא אלבארי עז ונל פי אלטביעה וקדרהא בהא עלי תאמיר אלכרן ולפסאד ואלרבו ואלאצמחלאל ואלחרכה ואלסכרן ולדלך ח'רתהא אלואיל מן כ'צתהא וקאלו אן אלטביעה חרכה ען סכרן וסכרן ען חרכה וחדהא

Fol. 2
verso

אלפילסוף מן ד'אתה וקאל אן אלטביעה קה נסמיה תכרן פי אלמבראן בתוסס אלפלך בין אלנפס ואלמנאס אראד בקולה קה נסמיה קה פלכיה לאנה קאל קה נסמיה ולם יקול קה גרמיה וחדהא אפלאטון מן פועלהא באן קאל אלטביעה נהר חכים בצנעה אלאלאא אלמצנועה. ואלפאצל אבקרמ קל טביעי קאלה פרק בין אלטביעה ואלנפס וקאל אלטביעה אבתדי חרכה מן דאכל תקויה ללאבראן ומהיה להא מצלחתהא מן אלגדא וגירה ודאפעא ענהא אלמאפאא בחסב אלמאקה ואלמאכאן ואלנפס אבתדי חרכה מן כארץ תפיר עלי אלמבראן מן נורהא וצ'אהא מא תצירהא חיה מתחרכה חסאסה. אלקול עלי אלנפס אלנפס עלם ואקע עלי אלחקיקה באלחה ואלפכר. חר אלעלם אלמטרסל דרך אלנפס חקאיק אלמאשיא אלמנצובה ללעלם חר אלעלם אלצאדק מערפה צאדקה יחקקהא אלקיאם ויתבתהא אלבראהן חר אלמערפה ראי בראי גיר זאיל חר אלראי אעתקאד שי אמא (?) חר אלפכר קה עקליה תחל פי אלמאשיא לאן אלפכר קה מן קה אלנפס ולדלך צאד אלמפכר נאסח חר אלדכר דרך אלמאשיא אלכאצה פי אלנפס באלבחח ואלנצור חר אלדכר אבתלאף שיא קר נסי חר אלחיה אנ'אלה אלראי פי אלכואמר. חר אלחפס דכר מתצל גיר מנפס חר אלחמיז אלחאק כל שי בחסבה. חר אלקיאם אנ'רא אלעלה פי אלמעלול וחדהא אלגדליון באן קאלו אלקיאם קל אד'א וצ'עת פיה אשיא מכתלפה בדר מנהא ואחר אצטרארא

Fol. 3
recto

קאל אסחק הוא חד ניר קאים בנפסה לאן מן אלמסתנע אן יבדר שיא
 ואחרה מן אשיא מכתלפה אלא באיצאח ודליל עלי צדקה ואלא כאנת
 אלדעאוי מחסאוויה ואלברהאן לא יקום אלא באגרא אלעלה פי אלמעלול
 לאן אלקיאס מתבה ללרויה אלצאדקה משרד להא . חד אלביאן סכן אלפחם
 ענר מתבאת אלפסנה בברהאן . חד אלברהאן מקיאס עלמי לא ינפך מן
 אלמוצוע ואלמחמול ואלמקדמה אלתי לא וסט להא . חד אלחק הו מא הו
 אלשי וחדה אלגדליון באן קאלו אלחק קול יתבתה אלברהאן אסא עקלא
 ואמא חסא קאל אסחק הוא אלהד ען כיפיה אלעקלי [ל]א ען מאיתיה ודלך
 אן אלקאיל אזא קאל מא אלחק כאן אלנואב פיה הו מא הו אלשי פאדא
 קאל כיף דלך קיל לה לאנה קול יתבתה אלברהאן אסא עלמא ואמא חסא .
 חד אלבאמל הו ניר מא הו אלשי וקאל אלנעף¹ (sic) אלשי בניר מא הו .
 חד אלצדק מתבאת שיא לשי הו לה עלי אלחקיקה או נפי שי הו מנפי
 ענה באלחקיקה . חד אלכוזב מתבאת שי לשי הו מנפי באלחקיקה או נפי
 שי ען שי הו מתבת לה עלי אלחקיקה . חד אלואנב מא לא ימכן ארתפאעה
 חד אלמסתנע מא לא ימכן וגורה חד אלמחאל אנתמאע אלמנאעין פי
 אלשי אלוואחר עלי אסס ואחר ונעז וזאן ואחר ואצאפה
 ואחרה עלי מא בייננא מחקרמא פי כתאבנא הוא . חד אלמסכן אלמסכן
 יקאל עלי צרבין לאן מנה חקיקי ומנה ניר חקיקי פאמא אלחקיקי פהו
 אלוואקף בן חאשיתין אלנקין אלדי לא ידרא אי טרפיה יסתר ואלדי לים
 בחקיקי יכנ איצא עלי צרבין אחדהמא אסכאן מא לם יכנ בעד ואנב כונה
 לא מחאלה מתל מלוע אלשמס גרא מן אלמשרק ואן לם יכנ מלעת בעד
 אלא אן מלועהא גרא לא מחאלה ואלב אסכאן מא קר כאן וכרנ אל
 אלפעל וכרונה לם יכנ ואנבא באלמבע כציאד ילי אלכלאפה וחנאם יקוד
 אלניוש

Fol. 3
verso

קאל אסחק ולקד שאהדת מתל הוא במצד עיאנא וקד תגלב עליהא
 קאיד מן קואד בני מלח יערף באבן אלכלין פעטם שאנה וסנא זכרה
 ובתרת גיושה וזאן צאחב גיושה אסור חנאם יקאל לה בלאסם חד אלוהם
 קוה תגול פי אלמסכנאט וחסתעמל אלקוה אלנפסאנה דלך לאן צורה
 אלאשיא אלתי וגדנאחא אלחם פי מינהא וענצרהא תונדנאחא אלקוה
 אלנפסאניה עלמא סעדיאה מן מינהא וענצרהא . וקד יקאל איצא אלוהם
 עלו אלקוה אלמאכנה פי אלשי אלמטלוב חל הו כזי וכזי אכ לא . חד
 אלנן קוה תגול פי אלמסתנעאט ויקאל אן אלנן אלקצא עלי אלשי מן אלמאחא

Fol. 4
recto¹ Probably אל נעף.

לאמון חיה אלהך ולדלך צארת אלבהאים טאנה לא מתחמה אלא אן יקאל
 דלך פיהא עלי אלמחוס ואלמנאז. חר אלחם אנמבאע אתר אלמחוס
 פי אלחם לאן אלמחוס במטלה אלפאעל בתהיינה לחם ותחריכה לח עלי
 מערפה דאתה באלכתאב אלמחרך ללקארי בתהיינה לה אלי מערפה מא פי
 אלכתאב מן אלעלום ואלאכבאר וכאלמעשוק פאנה מחרך לעאשק ומהיינה
 אלי לקאח האלנבר אליה ואלאגם בה וקר יקאל הוא מנעכסא וזו אן יציר
 אלחאם במנולה אלפאעל ואלמחוס במנולה אלמנפעל פלא יונד לולך
 חקיקה לאן אכזר הוא אקול עלי הוא אלוה לא יונד אלמנפעל פיה
 אצלא ואז למ יונד אלמנפעל למ ינד אפעאל עלי אלחקיקה לבן עלי
 אלמנאז באלאם פקס לא באלמענא מן דלך פאנה קר יקאל אן אלמנאז
 עאלם באלבארי עז ונל באנה בארי ומכתרע ואלבארי עז ונל לא ילחקה
 אלמנפעל בנה מן אלהאח בל הו אלפאעל לכל מפעול ועאל לכל מעלול
 ואז למ ילחק אלבארי אלמנפעל למ יכן אלמנאז לעלמה בה פאעלא
 ואלפעל יקאל עלי צרבן רוחאני ונסמאני ואלרוחאני איצא יקאל עלי צרבן
 לאן מנהמא לא יתנאח אלפאעל לה ולא יכרן ענה אלי נירה ומנה מא
 יתנאחה ויכרן ענה אלי נירה ואמא אלדי לא יתנאח אלפאעל ולא יכרן
 ענה אלי נירה פמחל פכר אלמנאז ורויחה פי נפסה לאן יעלם מא ינפעחא
 מסא יצדהא ואמא מא יתנאח אלפאעל ויכרן ענה אלי נירה פמחל
 אלמחוס פי אלחאם פאן פעל אלמחוס יתנאחה ויכרן ענה אלי אלחאם
 וכדלך פעל אלמעשוק פי אלעאשק ואלכתאב פי אלקארי וליס ואחד מן
 הדין אלפעלין אעני אלדי לא יתנאח אלפאעל אלי נירה ואלדי יתנאח אלי
 נירה במצאד אלמפעולה ולא מנאפר לה לכנה משאכל לה חאיד פיה פאן
 אלמנאז אלמפכר ואלמרוי פי מא ינפע דאתה מסא יצדהא במצאד לנפסה
 ולא מנאפר להא בל ואיד פיהא במא יותרה פיהא ונדלך לא אלמחוס
 במצאד לחם ולא מנאפר לה בל משאכל לה חאיד פיה במא יותרה פיה
 והיינה אלי מערפתה ומראה פאמא אלפעל אלנסמאני פהו אלפעל אלכאן
 באראה סחל אלפעל אלכאן פי אלמנאז אלמחרבה פי דאתה
 ומחרבה לנירהא מעא סחל אלדאבה אלתי תתחרך פי נפסהא ויתחרך
 בתחריכתא רחא אלממחנה. ומחל אלהוא אלדי יתחרך פי דאתה וידכל
 פי שראע אלמראכב ויחרבה בתחריכה לח. ומנה נע אכר מרכב מחל
 אלמנאז אלדי יתחרך ויחרך מעראף אלמפינה פתתחרך אלמפינה
 בתחריכתא מעא. חד אלתאפאק תונד אלמכתלפאח פי אלשי אלואחד בונד
 אלמנאז ואלפרס וסאיר אלחיואן פי אלחי ותאפאקהא פי קבולהא אסמא

on the
margin

Fol. 4
verso

Fol. 5
recto

וחדה מעא . חד אלאנתמאע תקרב אלאנסאר בעצהא באלבעץ . חד
 אלממאסה אנתמאע אלנהאיאת פי אלמכאן . חד אלמלאצקה אתצאל גרם מא
 בגרם אכר חד אלמחבה שוק אלנפס אלי מלי לובהא בתתמים עלה Fol. 5
 אלאנתמאע . חד אלעשק אפראם אלמחבה חד אלשהוה שוק ומלב ללשי verso
 אלמשתהי חד אלאנבראע ואלאכתראע תאיים אלאיסאת מן לים . ולעל
 טאנא ימן אן אלאים הו אלעדס פנערפה פסאר דלך מן קבל אן אלאים
 לא יכן אלא בעד ונה מתל אלשי אלדי ינד תם יעדס פיקאל עדס כזי
 וכדי מתל אלאנס אן כאן בצירא תם אציב בבצרה פיקאל פלאן עדס בצרה
 וכדלך יקאל פי כל מא כאן מונודא תם עדס יקאל פיה עדס כזי וכדי ולא
 יקדר קאיל יקול עדמת לים לאן לים לא צורה לה פי אלהם חתי יוצף
 בונוד או בעדס . חד אלכז כרוז אלנהר אלנסמאני מן עדס אלי ונוד לאן
 כל מכז פכונה טביעי ואלמבאע פלא תפעל שיא מן לא שי לכנהא תכלק
 ותכז באלקה אלפלכיה אלתי רתבהא באריהא פיהא וקדרהא לפעל אלכז
 ואלפסאר מתל תכוינהא אנראם אלחיואן ואלאנבאת מפעלהא אדא כלק
 ותכלק לא אנבראע ולא אכתראע אד לא מברע ולא מכתרע אלא אלכארי
 גל תנאוה ותקדס אסמאוה . . .

VII.

T-S. 8 Ka. 5¹.

וארת אלהא אלעליא . פמרסי לפקד נראמחם לבם אלביאצא (sic)	Fol. 1 recto
ופיהם קלת איצא	
בין אלאנאם עפאמחם מעלום	Kamil
מזנו אלדיאנה ואלתקא מע לום	לכנהם למא אמתחנתהם
מן אוהל אלפצל ר' שמחה אלתרמורי ופיה קלת הוה אלאביאח	
פסמאח קום מן סמאחחה שמחא	Tawil
ברבח ותקוא אלהא יחסבהא אלהא	נני ען אלדניא פלים ירי אלנא
תרי מנה בשרא ואצחא כלתה צבתא	צחוק פמחמא אמלם אלהר באלדני
כמא נל ערף אלמסך ען טיבה נפתא	Fol. 1 verso
ופאז בסחם אלפחם דן אלורא קדחא	וקר גל אלדאב יושע אבנה
ראית סמור אלליל מן נורחא תמחא	אדא זט אסמארא רש במנירה

ואתא מדינה חראן פאן פיהא גמלה קלילה פיהם בעץ דיאנה ועקל כל הם
 עדימין (sic) מן אלפצלו אלכרם מתאפטן עלי פרט אלשח ואלכלל ומן דוי אלעלם
 תאוו פיהא אלכחם . ר' מצליח [ומן] דוי אלדיאנה צדקה אבן זאכי ופיהם קלת מאדחא

Fol. 2 recto	<p>להם שִׁים משכורה ומצאלח פמא מַתְּלַח פי אלעלם ואלפתם צאלח יקצר ענה פי אלמדאית מארח פלים להא פי אלשרק ואלגרר פארח יקולו לה אקצר פמא אנת נאצח ולכן רב אלבכל ואללום ראבח</p>	<p>לקד חל פי חראן קום אפאל מארא צאלח עלח ופהמא ופמנה ותאז אבן זאכי עֶלְה וותאזעא ולכנהם קד אנלק אלבכל כֶּהָם אדא לאסחם פי שדה אלבכל לאים לאנא ראינא צאחב אלגוד כאסרא</p>
Fol. 2 verso	<p>אמא מדינה אלרהאה פאן פיהא אלאבריסמי ויוסף אלחואן ופי סאיר נמאעתתם בכל שדיד ופיהם יקול אלקאיל</p>	<p>אמא מדינה אלרהאה פאן פיהא אלאבריסמי ויוסף אלחואן ופי סאיר נמאעתתם בכל שדיד ופיהם יקול אלקאיל</p>
Mutaqārib	<p>עלי אלבעץ מנהם סמאת אלהרי חמאן באלכיר קד אקחרי ומא קמעו ללמעאלי מדי עלי אנה ידעי פי אלגרי ומודא תראה יס¹ ידא</p>	<p>בארץ אלרהאה דיו ארוב פיוסף חזאנֶה פאצל ובאלבכל אכתרם מולֶע תעד אבן סאלם בכל שדיד פמורא ימיל לאיסר גוד</p>
Fol. 3 recto	<p>והוא אבן סאלם יתמי אלי אלכרמא פכאן אהל אלבכל אצחו עינא בל אצלחם מן אצל ראם אלעין ואמא נמאעה אלמגדל פאן פיהם זיר וצלאח מע גוד וסמאח ופיהם יקול אלקאיל</p>	<p>והוא אבן סאלם יתמי אלי אלכרמא פכאן אהל אלבכל אצחו עינא בל אצלחם מן אצל ראם אלעין ואמא נמאעה אלמגדל פאן פיהם זיר וצלאח מע גוד וסמאח ופיהם יקול אלקאיל</p>
Kāmil	<p>בכלאל אלמעאלי ואלאדב וירן אלבר אופא מכחם ובנמע סאל מַגְרִימִין וואצבן ומן אלמכארם ואלפצאיל תארבין אלקאיל</p>	<p>אן באלמגדל קום ערפו יחסבן אלפצל אעלי מא חוו ואמא נתרעה נציבין פפיהם יקול אלקאיל</p>
Kāmil	<p>ובנמע סאל מַגְרִימִין וואצבן ומן אלמכארם ואלפצאיל תארבין אלקאיל</p>	<p>קום בנציבין אצחו נאצבין פי אללום אצחו עאשקין וראנבין ואמא נמאעה אלגזירה ופיהם יקול אלקאיל</p>
Fol. 3 verso Mutaqārib	<p>להם בעץ פצל וכלק עסירה וקד אצבחו וצמח¹ כאלגזירה</p>	<p>יהוד אלגזירה בן אלוד⁽¹⁾ חיים בהם נהר בכל עמים</p>
Kāmil	<p>להם אלנהי ואלעקל אחסן נאר באנת עליה מחאסן אלאחאר מתל אלמזור תחן ללאוכאר לכנה שגר בלא אחמאר</p>	<p>ואמא מדינה סנגאר פאן פיהא נמאעה קלילה ומן אנלאהא עבר אלסיר אלמזלי ופיה יקול אלקאיל ללה נמֶע חל פי סנגאר לכן עבר אלסיר אלמברור קד לכנה ללבכל חנת נפסה פיה דכא לו יכח לה נדי</p>

¹ Sia.

קאל אלמצנף והיה אלבלאר אלמכורה מא כאן לי מריק אליהא לכן פי
 ספרי אלי אלעראק לויארה אלסיד עזרא על אלס אנתות בהדה אלמואע
 עאברא פכנת פי בעצחא וארדא ופי בעצחא צאדרא
 ואמא מדינה אלמוחל פאן פיהא גמאעה להא ופר סאיל ופי בעץ אהלהא
 פצאיל וחסן פעאל . . . דוו אלמנד ואלפצל אלדין פיהא אריום אבו
 אלפרנ אבן אלכצאבי ופיה יקול אלקאיל

אבא אללה אנ יחכי נראך נואד	Fol. 4
אבא אלפרנ אלמשכור פי אלנאם פצלה	verso
לקר נפקת סוק אלמכארים ענרכם	Tawil
וקר חסנת ארץ חללת לקטבהא	
אדא כתבת כף אלומאן כלאלכם	
פאנת בכף אלמנד סוף מהנד	
פמא פי בלאד אללה מתלך סיד	

וזהאת יחכי אלנאדיאת תמאד
 ענעד ללשכץ אלצעיף עמאד
 אדא נאל סוק אלכרמין כסאד
 חינת אקאליס בבם ובלאד
 להא אלצבח טרם ואלמלאם מדאד
 לה אלדין נמר ואלנלאל ננאד
 ולא עלי אלרניא סואך נואד

TRANSLATION OF No. VII.

1. Al-Raqq'a's rich in worthy men
 Their virtuous ways are known to all,
 Yet when I tested them
 I found their piety mixed with faults.
2. Tadmor had given up its noblest man,
 Whom people for his bounty call Simḥāḥ.
 A man of riches, not regarding wealth
 A profit, ever in the fear of God.
 He loves to smile; in times as dark as night,
 His shining appears as bright as morn.
 His children all their noble stock betray,
 As musk exhales its aromatic scent.
 Joshua well in letters trained his son,
 Doth conquer with the arrows of his wit.
 Writing when with enlightening pen his lines
 Thou seest chasing shades of night by his light.
3. Harrān is blest with some distinguished people,
 Of genial character and peaceful mood

There's none like him in intellect and lore,
Ben Zāki joins decorum to devoutness.
No praise, however lavish, can describe him.
As for the rest, greed closes up their hands,
And none can open them in east and west.
If any dare to blame them for their meanness,
They cut him short and say: "Thou art no friend."
We saw the noble man decrease in wealth,
But growing rich the mean and greedy fellow.

4. Edessa's land has cultured people,
Some e'en are marked for leadership;
Precentor Josef is, indeed, a worthy,
And Hassan is his peer in merit.
The others, they do love cupidity,
And grant no space for noble deeds.
Ben Sālim's is excessive meanness,
Though boasting of munificence
Rasing mountains, charity to evade,
Obstructing, as it were, his hands.
5. All Majdal's people know enough
Of noble deeds and gentle breeding,
They value nothing more than goodness,
Regarding virtue great as gain.
6. Industrious are Nasibin's people,
Unscrupulous in amassing wealth;
They love it and they yearn for it,
And flee from every noble deed.
7. Jazira's Jews between two waters
Are fairly good, yet rather hard
The stream of greed surroundeth them,
And like an isle they lie encircled.
8. A godly crowd are Sinjār's people
Indeed, they are possessed of sense.

Abdul Sayyid, the virtuous,
 Knows all the ways of kindly doings,
 Yet for cupidity pants his soul
 As little birds pant for their nests.
 Were he as gen'rous, as he's clever!
 But he is like a fruitless tree.

9. Abul Faraj! thou art for bounty famous,
 Thou labour'st to support the poor.
 If other marts of help are bad
 Thine of benevolence stands high.
 Happy the land whose chief thou art,
 Thou sheddest lustre over climes.
 When the hand of time describes thy glory,
 The morning is its paper, night its ink.
 In praise thou'rt likened to an Indian sword¹,
 Whose sheath is faith, whose belt is kindness.
 There's none like thee in God's own land,
 And none so noble in the universe.

HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD.

¹ This simile is rather frequent in ancient Arabic poetry.

HAPAX LEGOMENA IM ALTEN TESTAMENT

erklärt und erläutert von A. S. YAHUDA.

IM Nachstehenden gedenke ich eine Reihe von Artikeln zu veröffentlichen, in denen ich schwierige und seltene Wörter des Alten Testaments zu erklären versuche. Wie sich von selbst versteht, wird hierbei vor allem der Textzusammenhang ins Auge gefasst werden. Das Haupthilfsmittel der Erklärung aber bildet die Vergleichung der Schwestersprachen des Hebräischen. Unter diesen wird in erster Reihe das Arabische herangezogen werden. Das sollte kaum einer Rechtfertigung bedürfen. Indess scheinen mir in Anbetracht viel verbreiteter Ansichten über diesen Punkt einige Bemerkungen nicht überflüssig, die weiter unten Platz finden. Ebenso wenig bedarf es einer besonderen Motivierung, warum gerade die *ἀπαρ λεγόμενα* hier zum Gegenstand einer besonderen Untersuchung gemacht wurden. Fach- und Sachkenner wissen, dass gerade diese Wörter das Verständnis des A. T. erschweren. Ich habe es aber für nötig gefunden, den Begriff des *ἀπ. λεγ.* zu erweitern. Es sollen nicht nur solche Wörter in den Kreis der Untersuchung gezogen werden, die nur ein *einziges* Mal im A. T. vorkommen, wie *כָּטָן* Ps. xxix. 21, *שִׁנְיָה* Jes. liv. 8, *רִשְׁמִים* 1 Kön. xviii. 46, *תִּלְלִיט* = *תִּלְלִיט* Ps. cxxxvii. 3 u. s. f., oder nur *zwei* Mal in derselben Form und in derselben Bedeutung, wie *שִׁחָן* Hiob xxviii. 8, xli. 26, *גִּלְשִׁ* Cant. iv. 1, vi. 5 u. s. f., oder in zwei verschiedenen Formen, aber in derselben Bedeutung, wie *שִׁחָן* Hiob iv. 12, xxvi. 14, *לִשְׁכָּצָה* Ex. xxxii. 25 u. s. f., sondern auch solche, (a) die ihrer *Bildung* nach einzig sind, wie *חִלְמָת* Hiob vi. 6, *עֲשֻׁמָּת* Hiob xii. 5, *קִצְפָּה* Joel i. 7, *יִשְׁכִּיט* Hiob xxxiv. 29, *צִרְיָה* 2 Sam. xx. 8 u. s. f., wenn auch deren Stamm uns im A. T. erhalten geblieben ist, sei es in der Bedeutung der hier aufgenommenen Wörter, wie *עֲשִׂת* Jer. v. 28 u. s. f., sei es in einer mit dieser nicht in *direkter* Beziehung stehenden Bedeutung, wie *קָצַף*, *שָׂקַט*, *צָרַר* u. s. f.; (b) die nur *ihrer Bedeutung*, nicht aber ihrer Bildung nach als *ἀπ. λεγ.* zu bezeichnen sind, d. h. Wörter, die sonst im A. T. in einer uns wohl bekannten Bedeutung vorkommen, aber an *einer gewissen Stelle* eine eigentümliche, von der üblichen ganz *abweichende* Bedeutung aufweisen, wie *קִשְׁף* Hiob xxviii. 18, *קָצַף* Hos. x. 7 u. s. f.

Wie bereits bemerkt, versuche ich die Schwierigkeiten, welche

diese Wörter dem Verständnis und der Erklärung des A. T. bieten, *vornehmlich* durch Heranziehung des Arabischen zu beseitigen. Der Umstand, dass von dieser Methode bis jetzt *nicht immer* der rechte Gebrauch gemacht wurde — dass die vielfach nur *mechanische* Handhabung des arab. Lexicons verdienten Tadel und gerechtes Misstrauen gefunden — dieser Umstand *kann und darf* die Verwertung des Arabischen für die Erklärung des hebräischen Sprachgutes *nicht hindern*. Auf welchem Wissensgebiete sind Methoden und Hilfsmittel nicht missbraucht worden? "Abusus non tollit usum" muss es auch hier heissen. Was aber die Stellung und die Bedeutung des Arabischen unter den semitischen Sprachen betrifft, so kann ich mich auf keinen Geringeren berufen als auf meinen hochverehrten Lehrer, den Altmeister der semitischen Philologie — Th. Nöldeke. Hat doch der Nestor der Semitisten nach eingehender Untersuchung aller semit. Sprachen entschieden, dass "das Arabische *sehr vieles treuer bewahrt hat* als die Schwestersprachen" (*Skizze*, 1887, p. 4) und dass "immerhin das arab. Wörterbuch immer *das erste Hilfsmittel bleiben wird*, um über dunkle Ausdrücke anderer semit. Sprachen Belehrung zu suchen" (p. 49).

Bei alledem ist noch in Betracht zu ziehen, dass die neuerdings leider weit verbreitete Vernachlässigung des Arabischen seitens unserer alttestamentlichen Exegeten die Unkenntnis der zahlreichen richtigen Erklärungen schwieriger Bibelstellen verschuldet, die sich schon bei den alten jüd.-arabischen Sprachgelehrten finden. Manches Wort, das den heutigen Exegeten Verlegenheit bereitet, und dessen Bedeutung noch jetzt als zweifelhaft gilt, ist schon vor Jahrhunderten von jenen Gelehrten durch Heranziehung des Arabischen befriedigend erklärt worden, wie auch manche Etymologie, die erst in neuester Zeit von den Philologen oder Lexicographen *entdeckt* wurde, uns schon in der jüd.-arab. Litteratur überliefert ist. Da nun die meisten Werke dieser Litteratur, zumal die in arab. Sprache geschriebenen und noch nicht in bekanntere Sprachen übersetzten, nicht jedem zugänglich sind, so glaubte ich, in meine Arbeit nicht nur solche Wörter aufnehmen zu sollen, für die ich eine neue Erklärung versuche, sondern auch solche *neu zu bearbeiten*, die schon von den jüd.-arab. Philologen richtig erklärt wurden, aber aus dem erwähnten Grunde unbekannt geblieben sind. Ebenso sollen diejenigen, meiner Ansicht nach, richtigen Vergleichen auf's neue beleuchtet werden, die gelegentlich bei Gesenius im *Thesaurus* oder bei anderen, jedoch *ohne scharfe Präcisierung*, bezw. nähere Begründung vorkommen.

Somit übergebe ich die nachstehenden Blätter, als *Vorläufer* einer umfassenden Bearbeitung der im A. T. enthaltenen ἀπ. λεγ. i. w. S., soweit es der Vergleich mit den verwandten Sprachen erlauben wird,

den Fachgelehrten, und hoffe damit, einen kleinen Beitrag zur Erklärung des A. T. zu liefern.

HEIDELBERG, den 12. Febr. 1901.

שָׁעָרָהּ בְּעֶדְרָהּ הָעֵדִים שְׂפָלָהּ מִהָרַּהּ וְלִעֲדָהּ (Cant. iv. 1, vi. 5).

Der Versuch גָּלַשׁ mit جلس zu vergleichen (Gea-Buhl zu גָּלַשׁ; Keil-Del. 1. c.) hat manche Schwierigkeiten. Abgesehen davon, dass das poetische Bild an Anschaulichkeit unbedingt verliert, ist noch hervorzuheben, dass جلس niemals von einem Tier, mag es sich nun um eine Ziege oder ein Schaf handeln, gesagt werden kann¹. Ferner würde der Hebräer גָּלַשׁ in der Bedeutung von جلس nicht mit "סָן" verbinden, sondern mit "עָלָה", ebenso wie im Arab. immer جلس على und niemals جلس من vorkommt. Eher ist גָּלַשׁ mit غَلَسَ oder أَغْلَسَ (vgl. hebr. Wörterbuch, Ibn Ġanāḥ, ed. Bacher), "gehen, reisen oder ankommen während der Morgendämmerung vor Anbruch des Tages"², zusam-

¹ جلس wird von einem gesagt, der zuvor *gelenken* hatte oder auf das Gesicht gebückt war und sich nachher gesetzt hat; es entspricht also dem deutschen "aufsitzen," bzw. "sich aufrichten." Daher kann es von Ziegen gar nicht gesagt werden, geschweige denn, dass es "sich lagern" bedeuten könnte. Der Ausdruck für das Lagern der Ziegen ist das dem hebr. רָצַץ entsprechende رَضِيَ. Dies wird zwar im Arab. wie im Hebr. sowohl von verschiedenen Tieren als auch von dem Menschen gebraucht, ursprünglich jedoch war das Wort, wie Taḡul 'Arūs und Lisān (namentlich bei dem Worte رَضِيَ) deutlich erweisen, *terminus technicus* für das Lagern der Ziegen oder Schafe. Dasselbe dürfte auch im Hebr. der Fall gewesen sein, wie aus dem sehr häufigen Gebrauch des רָצַץ für das *Lagern der Ziegen* hervorgeht (vgl. Gen. xxix. 2; Jes. xlii. 20; Jer. xxxiii. 12, 1. 6; Ezech. xxv. 5, xxxiv. 15; Zeph. ii. 7, iii. 13, beide als *transitiv* aufzufassen).

² غَلَسَ respect. أَغْلَسَ ist denom. von غَلَسَ "die Zeit vor Sonnenaufgang als es noch dunkel-rot oder dunkel-hell ist" (cf. Taḡ.). Aḥtal sagt:

كَذَبْتَكَ عَيْنُكَ أَمْ رَأَيْتَ بَوَاسِطَ غَلَسِ الظَّالِمِ مِنَ الرِّبَابِ حَتَّى لَا

غَلَسَ in Verbindung mit ماء im Accus., also غَلَسَ الْمَاءَ, bedeutet ohne weiteres: während der Morgendämmerung zur Wasserquelle gehen. Auch soll man einfach unter تغليس (ohne Hinzufügung von ماء) "zur Wasserquelle kommen um zu trinken" verstanden haben (cf. Lisān viii. 35, Z. 4 u. 9). Wohl sollte man hier statt גָּלַשׁ, im Qal, eine Hif'ilform, etwa גָּלַשְׁתִּי, nach Analogie von הִשְׁכִּיתִּי u.s.w. erwarten. Allein die Regel, dass solche Verba, die eine in eine bestimmte Zeit fallende Thätigkeit be-

mensustellen. Bekanntlich lassen die Hirten im Orient ihre Herden im Sommer unter freiem Himmel, im Winter dagegen in den Grotten zeichnen, in den Hifi gesetzt werden, bestätigt sich nicht immer; man beachte den Qal in יָצַע, "den Sommer irgendwo zubringen," sowie in dem darauf folgenden יָצַע, "den Winter irgendwo zubringen" (Jes. xviii. 6; Ges.-Buhl zu יָצַע und יָצַע). Ebenso in יָצַע Ri. vii. 3 "in Morgenfrühe abziehen" (von יָצַע, Morgenfrühe, abgeleitet, nicht, wie Ges.-Buhl, von سفر oder سفر).

Nun möchte ich noch bemerken, dass auch in den folgenden Wörtern 'א einem غ entspricht; vgl. גִּרְגֵּר Prov. i. 9; iii. 3; vi. 21: der Hals, eigentlich die Gurgel, und גִּרְגֵּר die Gurgel, davon גִּרְגֵּר "Gurgeln" oder "jemandem die Gurgel abschneiden." Ebenso גִּרְגֵּר Joel ii. 17 und מִגְרָעָה. Vielleicht ist גִּרְגֵּר mit غَرَب "das Wasser in die hohle Hand nehmen" verwandt. Im Arab. selbst findet man auch die Verschiebung von ج in غ z. B. مَرْغُوسَة "eine unreine Frau" und مَرْجُوسَة : غَرَاب : ein Mass, und جَرَاب. So nennt man einen reissenden Strom gleichzeitig غَرَاب und جَرَاب (cf. Tag., Lisān und Muḥit al Muḥit, wo Bistāni bei dem Worte مَجْرُوف ausdrücklich bemerkt, dass dieses eigentlich von غَرَب herkommt). גִּרְגֵּר Jud. v. 21 hat ungefähr dieselbe Bedeutung von جَرَاب und غَرَب. Man könnte daher das Wort גִּרְגֵּר (Ges.-Buhl: Weideplatz?) mit غَرَس "pflanzen" zusammenstellen, also: Pflanzstätte, bezw. zur Anpflanzung überwiesenes Feld. Dieses Wort mit מָרַח, was eigentlich "vertreiben, austossen" heisst, zu vergleichen (cf. Ges.-Buhl zu מָרַח), scheitert schon daran, dass der Ausdruck *Viehreiben* der hebr. Sprache durchaus *fremd* ist. Auch geht aus Ezech. xlv. 2 hervor, dass die מָרַח nicht immer Weideplätze waren. Daher übersetzt hier Ges.-Buhl "freier Platz" und Marti "ein unbewohnter Raum" (? !). Ferner beweist die wiederholt vorkommende nähere Bestimmung des מָרַח (Num. xxxv. 3; Jos. xiv. 4, xxi. 2), die keineswegs als Tautologie, wie z. B. לָחֵם לְאֵלֵינוּ וּלְאֵלֵינוּ (Gen. xxviii. 20), aufzufassen ist, dass das Wort מָרַח nicht ohne weiteres "Weideplatz" bedeuten konnte. Vielmehr beweist der Zusatz וְלֹאֵלֵינוּ לְחֵם (Num. xxxv. 3) und לְחֵם וְלֹאֵלֵינוּ (Jos. xiv. 4), dass die ursprünglich zur Anpflanzung überwiesene מָרַח nicht zum Weiden der Haustiere bestimmt waren, sondern auch für die Viehzucht, bezw. Stallungen für Pferde u. a. w.

Zu dem Übergang von 'א in غ darf als interessant vielleicht erwähnt werden, dass die Juden am Tigris noch heute das spirierte 'א wie غ aussprechen, z. B. גִּרְגֵּר wird von ihnen wie غَرِغِد ausgesprochen. Auch die Tatsache, dass die meisten alten hebräisch-arabischen Handschriften das غ einfach durch 'א wiedergeben, während es nur wenige mit 'א transcribieren, kann nur bestätigen, dass das spirierte 'א in dieser alten Zeit vielfach wie غ ausgesprochen wurde.

des Gebirges übernachten. An jedem Morgen, namentlich im Sommer, ziehen sie mit ihren Herden den Berg hinab zu den Wasserquellen oder zu den Brunnen, die gewöhnlich unten im Thale liegen, um die Herden zu tränken, und sie dann auf die Weideplätze zu treiben.

Unser Dichter, der *ein Hirt ist* und infolgedessen die Reize des Hirtenlebens und die Schönheiten der ihm vor Augen stehenden Naturbilder in Beziehung setzen will zu seiner Geliebten, denkt, bei der Schilderung ihres wellenartig herabhängenden tiefschwarzen Haares, an jenes herrlich-plastische Bild, das die Herden schwarzer Ziegen¹ ihm vorzaubern, wenn sie in der *Frühe der Morgendämmerung* vom Gilead herunterkommen und wie dunkelglänzende Wogen eines bewegten Meeres den Bergabhang herniederfluten. Zu dieser Auffassung passt auch das "מן" in מָהַר und der Vers wäre demnach zu übersetzen: Dein Haar gleicht einer Ziegenherde, die in der *Morgendämmerung* vom Gilead herunterkommt².

אִם יֵשׁ טֶעַם בְּרִיר חֲלָמוֹת (Hiob vi. 6).

Die wiederholt geäußerte Ansicht, dass חֲלָמוֹת dasselbe sei wie das neuhebr. חֲלָמוֹן "Dotter," und dass demnach unter חֲלָמוֹת "der *um das Dotter* befindliche Schleim," also "das Eiweiss" gemeint ist, kann nicht ohne weiteres angenommen werden, da רִיר nicht eine *um etwas vorhandene* Flüssigkeit bezeichnet, sondern eine schleimartige Flüssigkeit die *aus irgend einem Ding ausfliesst*³ (vgl. Lev. xv. 3, 1 Sam. xxi. 14). Danach könnte רִיר חֲלָמוֹת nur den *aus dem Dotter selbst* ausfliessenden Schleim bedeuten. Allein auch diese Erklärung ist nicht ohne Bedenken, da das Eidotter doch nicht als geschmacklos bezeichnet werden kann; der Dichter würde darum nicht zu diesem schon an und für sich sehr ungewöhnlichen Gleichnis gegriffen haben.

Die eigentliche Bedeutung des חֲלָמוֹת wird eher auf einem andern

¹ Die Ziegen im Orient, wie schon Budde zu dieser Stelle bemerkt, sind meistens tiefschwarz.

² Es ist nicht unmöglich dass יֵשׁ im Neuhebr. erst dann die Bedeutung von "Wallen des siedenden Wassers" (cf. Ges.-Buhl und Budde l.c.) erhalten hat, als dessen ursprünglicher Sinn, wie bereits erwähnt, vergessen war, und man es nach dem Context unserer Stelle irrthümlicherweise mit "wallen" übersetzte. Derartige Beispiele sind nicht selten.

³ Ges.-Buhl vergleicht רִיר mit dem arab. رِيْل, weil er in seiner lexicographischen Quelle offenbar nicht gefunden hat, dass auch رِيْر dieselbe Bedeutung hat wie رִיר. Übrigens ist رِيْل oder رِيْلَة nur eine mundartliche *Verderbnis* von رِيْر, und ist (wie Tag. zu رِيْل bemerkt) weder von Ġawhari noch von Lisān aufgenommen worden.

Gebiete, als auf dem der Hühnerzucht zu suchen sein. Mit **חָלֹם** bezeichnet man im Orient eine Art Käse (vgl. Lisân xv. 38, 6 f., Tag. und Dozy), die noch heute, namentlich im Frühling, zubereitet wird und unter diesem Namen bekannt ist¹. In Ägypten wird er sogar **חֶלֶם** (mit Tašdid!) genannt (vgl. Tag. und Dozy). Dieser Käse ist sehr weich und sondert fortwährend eine molkenähnliche Flüssigkeit aus. Diese Flüssigkeit ist es, die der Dichter mit **חֶלֶם רֵיר** bezeichnen will, da sie thatsächlich durch einen ganz faden Geschmack charakterisiert ist (vgl. *Theaurus* zu **חֶלֶם**).

כֹּסֶם מַעַר עֲבָדוֹ וְאֶחָרֵינוּ יִהְיֶה כֹּסֶם (Prov. xxix. 21).

Die Ableitung des **כֹּסֶם** nach LXX und Pešitah von **אָן** "Klagen" bietet nicht nur formale Schwierigkeiten, so dass statt **כֹּסֶם** befreundlicher Weise **כִּמְאֹן** "Geklage" (so Wildboer!) zu lesen wäre, sondern passt auch nicht zum Suffix in **אֶחָרֵינוּ**, das auf den Herrn oder auf den Knecht bezogen werden muss. Ebenso ist die herkömmliche Übersetzung "undankbar" nicht minder zweifelhaft als die bereits von Kautzsch zurückgewiesene "Spross, bzw. Sohn."

Das arab. **مَنْ** bedeutet "müde, matt, kraftlos machen." Davon **مَين** "machtlos, kraftlos sein" (Lisân xvii. 303, Z. 3, 7). Darnach könnte **כֹּסֶם** mit "machtlos" übersetzt werden² und der Vers würde lauten: Wer seinen Knecht von Jugend auf verzärtelt, wird an seinem Ende *machlos* (gegen den Knecht) sein.

Nun bemerkt aber Lisân (l. c. Z. 8 f. **مَنْهَ أَيُذْهَبُ بُجْتِ أَيُ بَقُوْه**), dass **مَنْ** denominiert sei von **مَتَّة** "Kraft bzw. Kraft des Herzens oder Mut," und dass **مَين** ebenfalls für "stark, übermütig" gebraucht werde; darnach könnte man **כֹּסֶם** mit "übermütig" wiedergeben und es so an unserer Stelle auf den Knecht beziehen, also: Verzärtelt jemand seinen Knecht von Jugend auf, dann wird

¹ Nach Tag. soll auch die im Stadium des *Gerimmens* befindliche Milch **חָלֹם** genannt worden sein.

² Die Annahme des Lisân, wonach der Tod von den Arabern **مَوْتٌ** genannt worden sei, weil er alles *entkräftet*, ist nicht richtig. Ebenso verträgt sich nicht mit der Vorstellung der Araber vom Tod die von anderer Seite aufgestellte Behauptung, dass **مَوْن** mit **وَيْتَة** "Teil" zu vergleichen ist. Es scheint vielmehr, dass wir hier mit einem Lehnwort zu thun haben.

³ Der Form nach ist **כֹּסֶם** transitiv wie **חָסַף** Jes. i. 17 (cf. Ges.-Buhl), jedoch der Bedeutung nach intransitiv.

er am Ende übermütig. Allein die erste Auffassung wird doch richtiger sein, da sie keinen Subjektswechsel notwendig macht; zudem findet sich מן *überwiegend* in der Bedeutung "entkräften" und מנין als "kraftlos," während die gegensinnige Bedeutung nur *vereinzelt* nachweisbar ist.

וְיָשָׁן בְּכֶסֶד (Hiob xxviii. 18).

Soweit ich sehe, wird hier יָשָׁן mit "Besitz" wiedergegeben. Diese Übersetzung scheint auf das arab. مَسك zurückzugreifen. Dabei hat man aber ausser Acht gelassen, dass مَسك eigentlich mit der Präposition ب verbunden werden muss, genau so wie das entsprechende أَخَذَ بـ und das hebr. . . . לָקַח ב; dann heisst es auch nicht "in Besitz nehmen," sondern vielmehr "nach etwas greifen oder etwas zurückhalten." Auch ist kaum anzunehmen, dass der Hebräer für den hier, nach Ansicht der meisten Ausleger vorliegenden Begriff: "Besitz der Weisheit" die Form des stat. constr. wählen würde. Wahrscheinlicher ist unser יָשָׁן mit dem *Nomen* מַסֵּל, welches "die aus Bernstein- oder Elfenbeinkügelchen hergestellten Arm- oder Fussspangen" bezeichnet, zu vergleichen¹. Überhaupt wird die Weisheit öfters mit einem kostbaren *Schmuck* verglichen (cf. Prov. i. 9, iii. 22, vi. 21) und zwar nicht nur im Hebräischen, sondern auch in anderen semitischen Sprachen. Es wäre also zu übersetzen: "Ein Armband von Weisheit ist kostbarer als [ein solcher] von Perlen."

לְעִשְׂתוֹת שִׂמְעוֹן נָכוֹן לְמוֹעֲדֵי רִגְלִי (Hiob xii. 5).

לְעִשְׂתוֹת ist von עִשְׂת abzuleiten, welches das übermütige, rücksichtslos barsche und *grobe* Benehmen des Sicheren und Unabhängigen bezeichnet². Der Dichter, der sehr gekränkt ist über die

¹ Offenbar hängt מַסֵּל mit مَسك (مصملا) "Fell" zusammen, da man früher die Bernstein- oder Elfenbeinkügelchen auf einem *Lederbande* zu befestigen pflegte. Später wurde jedoch مَسك für *jedes beliebige* Armband, seltener für Fussspange, verwendet. Vgl. *Lisan* xii. ۳۷۰, 23 ff., und ۳۷۱, 10, wo es heisst: أَنَّهُ رَأَى عَلَى عَائِشَةِ مَسَكَيْنِ مِنْ فِئَةٍ. Auch *Tag.* vii. 1۷1, 32 f.

² עִשְׂת Jer. v. 28 lässt ein Synonym von עָקַב vermuten. Die Conjectur

schweren Beleidigungen seiner Tröster, welche ihm Mutlosigkeit (iv. 1), Unwissenheit (xi. 6) und Ungerechtigkeit (xi. 13 ff.) vorwerfen, wendet sich nun grimmig gegen seine Beleidiger und mit stolzem Selbstbewusstsein erwidert er: Das Unglück verachtet, *der Grobheit* gegenüber verhält sich *ruhig*, derjenige, der bereit ist¹ mit seinem Fusse auszugleiten!

וְתַקְיָנָה צָרָרוֹת עַד יוֹם מָוֶן (2 Sam. xx. 3).

צָרָרוֹת wird gewöhnlich mit "abgeschlossen" übersetzt. Wohl ist die ursprüngliche Bedeutung von צָרָר gleich dem arab. مَرَّ "abschliessen, zurückhalten"; nun ist es aber nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass diese Bedeutung im Hebr. genau so wie im Arab. in "Abschliessung vom *geschlechtlichen* Verkehre" übergegangen ist². So wird مَرُور oder مَرُورَة von einem Mann, bezw. einer Frau gesagt, die ein eheloses Leben führen³ (cf. Lisān vi. 123, 13). Demnach wird

עָסָר (cf. Giesebrecht l.c.) ist also unnötig. Aus der ursprünglichen concreten Bedeutung "fett werden" hat sich für עָסָר die übertragene Bedeutung *grob werden* entwickelt; eine Parallele dazu bilden das neuhebr. אָסָר Succa 29 b, Kiddušin 49 b) und die modernen Sprachen. Ebenso ist עָסָר Deut. xxxii. 15 in übertragenem Sinne zu fassen.

¹ bereit bedeutet wohl "bereit sein." Vgl. Exod. xxxiv. 2, Hiob xv. 23 u. a. m.

² Dieselbe Entwicklung der Bedeutung von צָרָר zu צָרָרוֹת finden wir bei dem im Neuhebr. sehr üblichen Worte צָרָה für "eine von ihrem Manne verlassene Frau," das von dem biblischen עָן Ruth i. 13, "abschliessen," "zurückhalten," abzuleiten ist.

³ Im Ḥadīth heisst es: es darf keinen Ehelosen im Islam geben مَرُور (cf. Lis. vi. 123, 19 f. Diese Bedeutung für مَرُور und مَرُورَة muss schon den *alten Arabern* bekannt gewesen sein, wie Lis. ibid. Z. 21 bemerkt: وهو معروف في كلام العرب. Dass مَرُور die Abschliessung vom *ehelichen Verkehre* betonen will und nicht etwa den Asketismus oder das Mönchtum im allgemeinen (ἐγκλειστοι, inclusus, reclusus), beweist der Gebrauch von مَرَارَة für "eine Frau, die *ihrem Manne* die ehelichen Rechte, bezw. den ehelichen Verkehr verweigert" (vgl. Goldzieher, M. S. ii. p. 395). Für Mönchtum dagegen war schon *damals* das Wort رَهْبَانِيَة üblich (l. c. p. 394 und Sura lvii. 27 رَهْبَانِيَة اِبْتَدَعُوهَا). Ferner ist die Angabe der arab. Philologen richtig, wonach مَرُورَة bei *Al-Nabīga* (ed. Dermboury, 1869, p. 88, Z. 6, und Lis. vi. 123, 13 f. und 22):

لَوَّانَهَا عَرَسَتْ لِأَسْمَاطِ رَاهِبٍ عَبْدَ الْإِلَهِ مَرُورَة مُتَعَبِدٍ

hier mit צדירות nicht die Abschliessung der Frauen von der *Aussenwelt im Allgemeinen* ausgedrückt sein, sondern die Anschliessung derselben vom *ehelichen* Verkehr mit David. Dies bestätigt sowohl das vorhergehende בא אלדים als auch das nachfolgende אלמנות חייה.

(Hos. x. 7.) נִרְמָה שְׁמֵרֹן מְלֵכָה מִסָּפָה עַל מַיִן קָיִים.

Die Übersetzung von קָיִים mit Reisig, Holzstück (vgl. Ges.-Buhl) entspricht nicht der Etymologie dieses Wortes und ergibt auch nicht den hier gewünschten Sinn. Da vom *Wasser* — gemeint ist das Meer —

ebenfalls *nur den Ehelosen* bezeichnet, da der Dichter mit diesem Wort nicht den Mönch meint, den er ja راهب nennt, sondern damit *nur den Mönch charakterisiert*, dass er sich von dem ehelichen Verkehr abschliesst. Genau so verhält es sich mit dem Wort حَصْر (ebenfalls von حَصْر "sich zurückhalten, sich von etwas enthalten"), nämlich: jemand, der den Frauen fern bleibt und kein Bedürfnis zum ehelichen Verkehr hat (vgl. Lis. v. 269, 11 ff.). Qamūs ii. 11. 2 führt sogar ein Verbum an, حَصَرَ عَنِ الْمَرْأَةِ امْتَنَعَ عَنْ أَتْيَانِهَا. Das Wort حَصْر wurde aber dahin erweitert, dass es auch von einem *Verschnittenen* gesagt wurde: der Prophet befahl dem 'Ali, den Qibti, der wegen einer Unsittlichkeit verdächtigt wurde, zu tödten. Da hob der Wind dessen Kleid und man bemerkte, dass er verschnitten war: فَرَفَعَتِ الرِّيحُ ثَوْبَهُ فَإِذَا هُوَ حَصْرٌ (Lis. v. 269, 14 ff. Die Stelle Lis. i. 242, 4 scheint auf denselben Fall Bezug zu haben, allerdings steht dort محبوب statt حَصْر). Es giebt aber eine Ansicht, die besagt, dass unter حَصْر nicht "ein Verschnittener," sondern "ein geschlechtlich Impotenter" zu verstehen sei (vgl. Mawardi, ed. Enger, p. 29, 11 f.: إِنَّهُ الْعَيْنِ الذِّي لَا مَاءَ لَهُ لَا يَقْدِرُ عَلَى أَتْيَانِ النِّسَاءِ).

Interessant ist es, dass sowohl مَرُورَةٌ als auch مُحَصَّرٌ für das Fernbleiben von der Beteiligung an einer Pilgerfahrt nach Mekka gebraucht wird, nur mit dem Unterschiede, dass mit مَرُورَةٌ jemand bezeichnet wird, der *niemals* eine solche Fahrt nach Mekka unternimmt, während مُحَصَّرٌ von einem gesagt wird, der an der Ausübung seiner Pilgerpflichten durch Krankheit u. dergleichen *verhindert* wird (vgl. Lis. vi. 123, 10, und v. 269, 20 f.; Ġanhari i. 346, 23 und 26). Zu bemerken ist noch, dass das Wort مَرُورَةٌ in dem eben erwähnten Sinne in der späteren Litteratur nicht mehr vorkommt (vgl. بلغة, p. 503, 13). Man beachte ferner das Wort عَمْرَةٌ (auch von عَمَرَ, zurückhalten, abschliessen) für die *spezifische* Bedeutung "ein Mädchen vom *Heiraten* abhalten" (vgl. Lis. vi. 255, 16 ff.).

die Rede ist, erwartet man in קָלַף etwas, was mit dem *Meere in directer Verbindung steht*, etwa den *Schaum*, der beim Brechen der Wellen entsteht. קָשַׁף bedeutet eigentlich "brechen, zerbrechen, zerschmettern." Daher wird der Orkan קָשַׁף genannt, weil er die Bäume, überhaupt alles zerbricht, was ihm begegnet; vornehmlich wird es für den Sturm auf dem Meere gebraucht¹ (Lis. xi. 191, 1 ff. *الرياح ثمان اربع عذاب واربع رحمة* واما العذاب فالعاصف *الرياح ثمان اربع عذاب واربع رحمة*). Vgl. auch מִשְׁבַּר־יָם Brandung, Brechen der Wellen. An unserer Stelle wird der mächtige, weithin gebietende König von Samarien mit der Meereswelle verglichen, die in raschem Anwachsen zusehends bis zu gewaltiger Höhe ansteigt, dann aber ebenso jäh, wie sie gewachsen, nach dem Lande zu fällt und in flüchtigem *Schaume* am Strande zerfließt.

Zu diesem Stamme gehört auch קָשַׁף Joel i. 7, gleich قَصِيف abgefallenes Laub (Lis. xi. 192, 8 f.), offenbar weil es vom Winde *abgebrochen* wird. Da hier קָשַׁף auf den *Baum* angewandt wird, ist es als intransit. aufzufassen, also: ein Baum der vom Laube *entblößt* ist. Der Zusatz קָשַׁף הָעֵץ bestätigt diese Auffassung insofern, als damit die *Fortsetzung* des an dem Baume verübten Frevels gegeben wird: "erst entblößte er (der Feind) den Baum von seinem Laube, dann schälte er die Rinde ab."

שָׁחַץ (Hiob xxviii. 8, xli. 26).

Die Auffassung des שָׁחַץ als Epitheton ornans für die grossen Raubtiere ist wohl richtig; allein die Etymologie des שָׁחַץ ist nicht, wie Ges.-Buhl annimmt, im arab. شَحَسَ im Sinne von "*sich erheben, hervorragen*," was erst *später* entstanden ist, zu suchen, sondern aus dem Nomen شَخْص in seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung herzuleiten. شَخْص bedeutet "etwas was *körperlich* sichtbar ist," und wird daher für jeden umfangreichen Körper, namentlich für Animalia, mit besonderer Betonung ihres sichtbaren körperlichen Wesens gebraucht (Lis. viii. 311, 23 f.). Davon شَخِيم "ein beleibter, korpulenter Mensch," im übertragenen Sinne "ein durch Thatkraft, Energie und besondere Eigenschaften hervorragender Mann" (ibid. 312, 1 ff.). Daher kann wohl angenommen werden, dass im Hebr. שָׁחַץ gerade deshalb zur

¹ Lis. zitiert eine Stelle aus dem Hadit, wo die Rede von Moses ist, als er das Meer mit seinem Stabe schlagen will: فَاَنْتَهَى إِلَيْهِ وَلَهُ قَصِيف: d. h. das stürmische Meer war vom *Schaum* bedeckt als Moses dahin gelangt war. Die Wiedergabe von قَصِيف mit "Heulen" (vgl. dort 191, 9) scheint mir *sehr zweifelhaft*.

Bezeichnung der grossen Raubtiere gebraucht wurde, um ihre *von Allen* wahrnehmbare körperliche Grösse und Kraft zu betonen. Ebenso ist das im Neuhebr. vorkommende שרץ für "auftrumpfendes, selbstgefälliges und protziges Benehmen" aus derselben Grundbedeutung herzuleiten. Vgl. מַשְׂרָץ in diesem Artikel und die dazu gehörige Anmerkung, wo die Bezeichnung für einen äusseren sinnlichen Eindruck, den jemand macht, auf eine innere Eigenschaft, *abstractum pro concreto*, übertragen wird. Ferner Levy zu שרץ. Ob unter שרץ unserer Stelle gerade der *Löwe mit Ausschluss aller anderen grossen Raubtiere* verstanden werden muss, wie Jalkut, Sprüche ii. 141 a, vgl. Levy, ist sehr unwahrscheinlich.

Was nun die Frage betrifft, ob hebr. ש einem arab. ش entsprechen kann, kann hier nicht so gründlich und vielseitig erörtert werden, als der Gegenstand es eigentlich erforderte.—Soviel ist sicher, dass in trilitteralen Wurzeln mit zwei Zischlauten, abgesehen von شمس = שמש und חש Jes. v. 24, xxxiii. 11 = حشيش (vgl. Lis. viii. 170; Barth, *Nominalbildung*, S. 66, Anm. 3), hebr. ש einem arab. ش entspricht. Vollers hat diese Frage eingehender besprochen (*ZFA*. IX, 197, 7; 209, 1) und einige Beispiele angeführt. Allein er begnügte sich damit, eine Reihe solcher Wörter mit den ihnen im Arab. entsprechenden Wurzeln nebeneinanderzustellen, ohne sich jedoch auf die Bedeutung derselben näher einzulassen. Ich halte es daher nicht für überflüssig, diejenigen Wörter, die von Vollers aufgezählt werden, hier wiederaufzunehmen, deren Grundbedeutung, wie sie uns im Arab. erhalten geblieben ist, die Gleichung mit entschiedener Sicherheit rechtfertigt, und ich will noch eine Wurzel שצף erwähnen, die Vollers mit שצף (cfr. l. c. 181) zusammenstellt, während er für شظف eine Bedeutung "heftig, rauh, gewaltsam" anführt, die keineswegs als ursprünglich anzusehen ist.

I. שצף Jes. liv. 8 wird für ursprünglich שצף gehalten (vgl. Pr. xxvii. 4) und mit der *Behauptung begründet*, das צ sei in ש übergegangen, um dem Ausdrucke durch eine Art Paranomasie mit dem darauf folgenden שצף eine schärfere Betonung zu verleihen (vgl. Ges.-Buhl). Ich glaube aber, dass שצף mit arab. شظف "Bedrückung, Bedrängnis, Notlage" (Lis. xi. 77, 20 f.; 78, 1, 6) identisch ist¹. Danach ist שצף

¹ Es scheint, dass شظف mit شفف "trocken sein" Lis. xi. 77, 11 ff. eine gewisse Verwandtschaft hat, und es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die Bed. "Notlage" aus شظف "trockenes Brod" (l. c. p. 78, 5) entstanden ist. So wird auch شظف bei Kumeit im Gegensatz zu لين "weich, mild" gestellt:

وَرَجَ لَيْنَ تَغْلِبَ عَنْ شُظَافٍ كَتَبْتَنِ أَلَمًا كَيْمَا يَلِيَا

nicht mehr in stat. constr. zu setzen, sondern als stat. absol. zu nehmen und das copulat. ¹ für הָיָה zu ergänzen: "In Bedrängnis und mit Zorn wandte ich mich einen Augenblick von dir ab."

II. שָׁמוֹשׁ = שָׁמַשׁ ursprünglich "anstacheln, anspornen, bezw. das Pferd anspornen, damit es sich in Bewegung setzt," in verstärkter Form שָׁמַשׁ : "das Tier *beständig* anspornen bis es in *wilder Hast* weiter trabt" (Lis. viii. 315, 20 ff.). Daher שָׁמוֹשׁ für ein Tier, welches stets, von einem grossen Schrecken beherrscht, davonläuft wenn es angestachelt wird; ebenso wird es von dem Treiber gesagt, der die Treibtiere (Pferde, Kamele u. s. f.) durch anhaltendes Anstacheln davontreibt¹. Diese Bedeutung wurde nachher übertragen

Auch wird שָׁלַף von einem Baume gesagt, der nicht genug Wasser bekommt und darum *abdorrt*. Diese Annahme scheint insofern berechtigt zu sein, als das neuhebr. שָׁלַף (vgl. Levy) aus dem biblischen שָׁלַף 1 Sam. xv. 33, "spalten," entstanden ist und die Bed. "trocken sein" für arab. شَف sowie auch "trockenes Brod" für شَلَف sich wohl aus der Bed. "spalten" entwickelt haben können. Hat nun die hebr. Sprache die *ursprüngliche* Bed. des שָׁלַף lebendig erhalten, so finden wir im Arab. wenigstens eine Spur davon. Das Wort شَيْف oder شَيْف bezeichnet nämlich "unreife Datteln die zuerst *gespaltet*, bezw. aufgeschnitten werden und dann getrocknet." Hier wird nicht die Thatsache des "Getrocknetseins" der Datteln betont, wie man etwa nach Lis. vermuten könnte, sondern der Umstand dass die Datteln "gespaltet" sind.

¹ Lis. führt auch für שָׁמוֹשׁ und שָׁמַשׁ dieselbe Bedeutung wie für שָׁמַשׁ . Diese haben aber mit שָׁמַשׁ Sonne durchaus nichts zu thun, und sind nur als eine andere Mundart anzusehen, da ש und ס häufig abwechseln. Dieses geht schon aus der Erklärung des Lisân (vii. 419, 5 ff.) selbst hervor. Dort werden auch Belegstellen für eine übertragene Bedeutung des שָׁמוֹשׁ angeführt. Danach wird der Wein שָׁמוֹשׁ genannt, weil er denjenigen, der ihn genießt, erregt und zu einem wilden Gebahren *reist*. Ferner heisst שָׁמוֹשׁ eine Frau, die sich *ablehnend* gegen die Männer verhält und jeden intimeren Verkehr mit ihnen meidet, oder ein empfindlicher, besonders reizbarer Mensch (ibid. Z. 9 f., 20 f.). Die Bemerkung des Lisân, dass für letzteren *nur* שָׁמוֹשׁ aber nicht שָׁמוֹשׁ gesagt werden dürfe, hat keine wesentliche Bedeutung und darf uns nicht zu der Annahme verleiten, dass שָׁמוֹשׁ mit שָׁמוֹשׁ nicht identisch ist. Eine solche Nuancierung, die lediglich auf eine *mundartliche* Abweichung zurückzuführen ist, kommt nicht gerade selten vor. Wir können beispielsweise im Worte גָּלַף "sich irren," welches nach einer anderen Mundart auch גָּלַח heisst, denselben Fall constatieren: Die arab. Philologen benutzten diese Abweichung zu einer Nuancierung in der *Bedeutung* und zwar unterscheiden sie zwischen "sich irren im Sprechen" und "sich irren im Rechnen." Für erstere setzen sie גָּלַח ein, für letztere

auf: "jemand so erschrecken, dass er mit Entsetzen und mit starren Augen auffährt" und *إنشام* oder *إنشام*, heisst einfach: "entsetzlicher Schrecken" (ibid. 315 f.). Danach könnte man *נִשְׁמָה* Ex. xxxii. 25 als Infinit. constr. mit suffigiertem *נ* nehmen und durch "anstacheln, bezw. aufreizen" wiedergeben: "Denn Aron liess das Volk in wilde Zügellosigkeit geraten, damit es die Aufständigen [zur Revolte] aufreizt." Das in Hiob iv. 12 vorkommende *נִשְׁמָה* ist hier in übertragener Bedeutung aufzufassen, durch "Entsetzen" wiederzugeben und als Parallele zu Vers 14 anzusehen: "und zu mir drang ein verstohlenes Wort und mein Ohr empfing *Entsetzen* davon." Der Ausdruck *נִשְׁמָה* bietet keinerlei Schwierigkeit (vgl. Jer. ix. 19). Übrigens wird gerade in Hiob das Hörorgan auf eine Weise personifiziert, wie sonst nirgends, so. z. B. 13, 1: "[Alles] vernahm mein Ohr und *verstand* es wohl," oder 29, 11: "Denn jedes Ohr horchte [auf meine Worte] und *beglückwünschte* mich." Die Stelle Hiob xxvi. 14 scheint mir hinsichtlich des Textes nicht ganz einwandfrei. Jedenfalls deutet der ganze Zusammenhang darauf hin, dass auch hier in *נִשְׁמָה* "Schrecken, Entsetzen" zu vermuten ist. Die Wiedergabe des *נִשְׁמָה* durch "Gezischel, Flüstern, bezw. Spott oder Schadenfreude," sowie die des *נִשְׁמָה* an beiden erwähnten Stellen durch "Geflüster," und zwar vom arab. *شمى* im Sinne von "schnell und undeutlich sprechen" (Ges.-Buhl), ist höchst willkürlich und entbehrt jeglicher Begründung. Wie im Neuhebr. für *נִשְׁמָה*, *נִשְׁמָה* die *spezifische* Bedeutung "übler Ruf" entstanden ist (vgl. Levy) vermag ich im Zusammenhang mit unserem *נִשְׁמָה* nicht nachzuweisen. Ist es daraus zu erklären, dass das bibl. *נִשְׁמָה* später irrig aufgefasst wurde — und Beispiele hierfür sind nicht gerade selten — oder liegt hier eine spätere Entlehnung aus einem andern Idiom vor? Einerlei! Jedenfalls ist die Combination Levy's, wonach *נִשְׁמָה* aus *נִשְׁמָה* "Name" entstanden, und mit angehängtem *נ* etwa *נִשְׁמָה* oder *נִשְׁמָה* "schmutzig, hässlich" zusammengestellt sei, also: "übler Name, bezw. Ruf," ganz sonderbar und *hat nur den Wert eines Curiosums*, ist aber charakteristisch für das Verfahren mancher Lexicographen. Leider haben wir nur einige Belegstellen dafür, sodass es schlechterdings nicht möglich ist, die richtige Bedeutung dieses Wortes in der neuhebr. Litteratur mit absoluter Sicherheit zu bestimmen. *Vermuten* lässt sich jedoch, dass wir es auch hier mit einem Missverständnis seitens der Ausleger zu thun haben, da *נִשְׁמָה* und *נִשְׁמָה* sich sehr gut neben *شمى* setzen

غلط. Aber auch darüber sind die Sprachgelehrten nicht einig, ob *غلط* für "sich irren im Allgemeinen" oder "sich irren im Sprechen allein" gebraucht werden soll (vgl. Lis. ix. 12 ff. und ii. 20 ff. Sujjūti Muzhir باب الابدال).

liessen und danach nichts anderes bedeuten würden als "Ansporn, Anreiz, bezw. in provozierender Weise Anlass zu einem schweren Verdacht geben." Kiddušin, 71^b: "אם ראת שתי משפחות מתגרות זו בזו שכן פסול יש באחת מהן" "Wenn du siehst, dass zwei Familien sich befehden, so liegt ein Anlass zu dem Verdachte eines Makels vor, der an der einen von beiden haftet." Ebenso Pes. 3^b: "Ein Priester sprach sich in unpassender Weise über die Opfergabe aus; man forschte ihm nach, ומצא בו שכן פסול und fand an ihm Anlass zu einem schweren Verdachte in Bezug auf seine Abstammung," d. h. er kam in den Verdacht ein illegitimer Priester zu sein. Levy übersetzt hier פסול mit "Tadel." Dieses kann aber hier dem Zusammenhange nach nur mit "illegitimer Abstammung" übersetzt werden, da sonst die darauf folgende Diskussion keinen rechten Sinn ergeben würde. Die Leseart שחץ statt שכן scheint mir nicht richtig zu sein; das beweist namentlich die Stelle Pes. 3^b. (Man beachte nur die nachstehende Einwendung: ואימא שחץ פסול.) Auf diese Weise lässt sich auch שחץ erklären. Lev. rab. sec. 20, 164^a: "Der König verheiratete seine Tochter, ומצא בשושבינה דבר של שחץ und entdeckte an ihrem Brautführer [Levy: Hochzeitskamaraden?] etwas was zu einem schweren Verdachte Anlass gab." So auch Abod. sara, 31^b: "Rabbi Samuel bar Biana trank in Marguan kein Bier, משום שחץ דשחץ um keinen Anlass zum Verdachte zu geben, dass er auch Wein trinken könnte."

III. شنע = شنس. Das seltene arab. Wort شنس (Lis. viii. 316, 9 f.), "sich an etwas hängen, bezw. sich daran festhalten," ist sicher aus einem im Arab. nicht mehr vorhandenen Nomen شنس denominiert, dessen Bedeutung gewesen sein muss: ein Ding woran etwas befestigt wird, bezw. an das man etwas hängt. Dieses Nomen ist dagegen im Neuhebr. erhalten geblieben; שחץ bedeutet: die Schleife der Sandale oder die durch einen Beutel gezogenen Schnüre, die gleichzeitig zum Aufhängen des Beutels dienen. Damit hängt auch das bibl. שחץ 1 Kön. xviii. 46 zusammen. Dort wird erzählt, dass der Prophet Elias vor dem Wagen des Achab, nach altsemitischer Sitte, gelaufen ist. Wenn man sich nun die im Orient üblichen langen Kleider gegenwärtigt und daran denkt, dass die Orientalen, wenn sie rasch laufen wollen, die Ecken ihrer Kleider an den Gürtel hängen, wird die Stelle וישנא את מתניו l. c. ebenfalls so zu verstehen sein, dass Elias seine Kleider (hier מתניו: Lenden für Kleid) an seinen Gürtel angehängt hatte, damit er nicht durch die langen Ecken derselben am Laufen gehindert würde.

IV. שחע = شيع: eigentlich "getrennt sein" (Lis. x. 46, 18. Die Bed. "fern sein" ist sekundär). Daher شيع für den Riemen der Sandale, der zwischen der mittleren und der vierten Zehe ein-

geschoben wird, damit der Schuh nicht abfällt, weil dieser Riemen die Zehen voneinander trennt (ibid. Z. 4 f.). Damit ist שָׁדַע Lev. ii. 3, 7, 26, Deut. xiv. 6, für "die *getrennte Klaue*" zu vergleichen. Ebenso ist die Stelle 1 Sam. xxiv. 8: $\text{וַיִּשָּׁע רֶגֶל אֶחָד מֵאֲנָשָׁיו}$ wie arab. أَشْع "trennen, entfernen" zu erklären: "Und David trennte seine Leute voneinander und gestattete ihnen nicht, gegen Saul vorzugehen." Vgl. auch Lev. i. 17.

Aus dem Gesagten geht wohl deutlich hervor, dass in den angeführten Beispielen unverkennbar hebr. ש arab. ش entspricht. Dass sich nun dafür eine Regel aufstellen lässt ist weniger wahrscheinlich. Wir müssen uns vorläufig mit der Thatsache begnügen, dass solche Fälle vorkommen. Wie es zu erklären ist und welchen besonderen Einflüssen es zugeschrieben werden soll, dass bei manchen Wörtern mit zwei Zischlauten hebr. ש arab. ش entspricht, bei anderen wiederum nicht, ist eine Frage, die mehr in die vergleichende Lautlehre gehört und der speziellen Forschung über das Verhältnis der Zischlaute in den semitischen Sprachen überhaupt zukommt. Aber nicht nur Wörter mit zwei Zischlauten haben im Hebr. und im Arab. ein gemeinsames ש , sondern wir begegnen auch manchen anderen im Hebr., bei denen das ש einem arab. ش entspricht, ohne dass ein zweiter Zischlaut darauf folgt. So sehr diese Behauptung zum Widerspruch reizen mag, lässt sich doch manches in annehmbarer Weise dadurch erklären. שָׁח ist sicher neben حَش zu stellen, ein Wort, welches bei den alten arab. Dichtern für *kriechende Tiere*, hauptsächlich aber für die *Schlange* belegt ist (Lis. viii. 177. Smith-Stube, *Die Religion der Semiten*, 90 f.). So glaube ich שָׁח Jes. xvi. 8 mit شَاخ Wurzel (Lis. iii. 508, 15) vergleichen zu dürfen (vgl. auch Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 66, zu קִמְאָשׁ "Unkraut," mit قَمَاش "auf dem Boden herumliegender unnützer Krempel?"). In der folgenden Nummer soll nachgewiesen werden, dass auch שָׁפַח Hiob xxxiii. 21 mit شَف identisch ist.

$\text{יָבֵל בְּשָׂרוֹ מֵרָאִי וְשָׁפַח עֲצָמוֹתָיו לֹא רָאִי}$ (Hiob xxxiii. 21).

Der Vergleich von שָׁפַח mit شَف ist in äusserlich *formaler* Beziehung zwar richtig, allein die Deutung "mager werden," die man dem arab. Worte an dieser Stelle gab (cf. Ges.-Buhl), führte zu einer dem hebr. Texte nicht passenden Auffassung. Wir müssen auf die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des شَف "sichtbar machen, bzw. durchsehen lassen",

¹ Davon الشِّف : "ein dünnes Kleid" oder "eine dünne Schürze," weil beide die Körperteile, die sie bedecken, *leise durchschimmern* lassen. Ebenso

zurückgreifen, um unsere Stelle zu erklären. Der Autor, der über die Abmagerung des Leibes spricht, meint, das Fleisch sei so abgemagert, dass es kaum mehr zu sehen sei, und die Knochen, die sonst im kraftvollen Muskelfleische *verborgen* lagen¹, werden nunmehr *sichtbar*. Der Vers ist daher zu übersetzen: "Sein Fleisch schwindet vor dem Sehen, *sichtbar* werden seine Knochen, die (sonst) nicht zu sehen waren."

וְהָיָה יִשְׁקִים וְגַם יִרְשָׁע וְיִכְהֶר פָּנָיו וְגַם יִשְׁוֹרְרָו (Hiob xxxiv. 29).

Hier ist יִשְׁקִים mit اسْقَط "fallen lassen" oder "stürzen" zu vergleichen², also: "und stürzt Er (die רָשָׁעִים vgl. oben v. 26), wer kann Ihn denn verurteilen; und verbirgt Er das Antlitz, wer kann Ihn dann sehen?" Allerdings bleibt der Schluss des Verses auch nach dieser Erklärung von יִשְׁקִים unklar.

wird gesagt: شَفَّ الشُّرْطُ die Schürze ist *durchsichtig* (Lisān xi. 81, 21 f.). Im Hadith wird vor der in Ägypten unter dem Namen قِبَاطِي bekannten Frauen-Kleidung gewarnt, "denn wenn dieselbe auch die Formen des Körpers nicht *sichtbar* macht, lässt sie sie doch in ihren *Umrissen hervor-treten*" (ibid. 82, 3 f.).

¹ וְגַם ist durchaus richtig und bedarf keiner Änderung in וְגַם־וּמָה wie Duham meint; ebenso ist die Schlusswendung וְגַם לֹא nicht zu streichen, da sie nicht als consecutiver Nebensatz aufzufassen ist, sondern als Relativsatz im Sinne der arab. صفة. Der Autor will eben gerade betonen, dass das Fleisch vor dem Blicke verschwindet, während die früher *unsichtbar* gewesenenen Knochen *sichtbar* werden.

² Auch in הִשְׁקָה, wie es bei anderen, namentlich im Hiob-Buche vorkommenden Wörtern, der Fall ist, hat sich noch die ursprüngliche Bedeutung erhalten und beweist, dass שָׁקַט ursprünglich wie سَقَط für "fallen" oder "sich niederlegen" gebraucht wurde. Die Bedeutung "ruhen," "sicher sein," die wohl auf den Zusammenhang zwischen bequemer Ruhe und dem Gefühle der Sicherheit zurückzuführen ist, ist erst secundär entstanden und verdrängte schliesslich die dem Worte eigentlich zu Grunde liegende Anschauung. Ebenso durfte es sich auch mit נָח verhalten und zwar muss es ursprünglich in demselben Sinne wie نָח "sich niederlegen, sich auf dem Boden niederstrecken" (vgl. Tag. und Lisān), gebraucht worden sein. Man beachte nur, dass שָׁקַט und נָח sehr oft neben einander gebraucht werden (Jud. xviii. 7, 27; Jes. xxx. 15, xxxii. 17; Ezech. xxxviii. 11).

³ הִסְדֵּר מֵסִים: Jemandem die Gnade entziehen, ist ein entgegengesetzter Ausdruck zu נָשָׂא מֵסִים und הִסֵּד מֵסִים (Num. vi. 26), wo מֵסִים sich ebenfalls auf das Subjekt des vorhergehenden Verbums bezieht.

כִּי שָׁם שְׂאֵלוֹ שְׂכִיטוֹ דְּכַרִּי שִׁיר וְחוֹלָלִיט שְׂמִחָה (Ps. cxxxvii. 3).

Zu חולליו bemerkt Kautzsch, dass die übliche Ableitung von חולל *höchst gekünstelt* und sprachlich kaum haltbar sei. Duhm übersetzt, mit dem Bemerken, dass חולל ein *unbekanntes* und *unerklärbares* Wort sei, ohne weitere Begründung "Verhöhnner." Es ist befremdlich, dass das sonst so oft gebrauchte arabische Lexicon gerade zur Erklärung dieser Stelle nicht zu Rate gezogen wurde! חולל, das doch wohl ohne besondere Künstelei auf den Stamm חלל zurückzuführen ist, findet sich in dem arab. حَلَّ, dessen Bedeutung "hinstrecken, niederwerfen, zu Boden schleudern" ist¹. Davon نَلَّة "bedrängte Lage, Notlage"². مَثَلٌ heisst "ein starker, gewalthätiger Mann." Ebenso wird تَلْتَلٌ im Sinne von "heftig schütteln, beunruhigen, erschüttern," und نَلْتَلَةٌ in der Bedeutung "Notlage" gebraucht (cf. Lisān xiii. 81, 25; 83, 9 f. und xvii. 84, 3 ff.). Das alles legt die Vermutung nahe, dass חולל hier ebenfalls als *gewalthätiger Bedrucker, Bedränger* zu fassen ist. Dementsprechend dürfte die Lesart חולל vorgezogen werden.

¹ Lisān führt für حَلَّ auch die Bedeutung "jemand aufs Gesicht werfen" an, zieht jedoch die obenangegebene vor. Dafür spricht auch die Stelle im Qorān (سورة الصافات 103) وَتَلَّ لِلْجَبِينِ: "und er warf ihn auf seine Stirne," welche eben durch den Zusatz جبين beweist, dass im blossen تَلَّ die nähere Bestimmung "auf das Gesicht" noch nicht enthalten ist.

² Zwar wird نَلَّة von Lisān nur mit dem Zusatz سَوْمٌ, also سَوْمٌ نَلَّة angeführt, aber, wie schon Bistāni in Muḥit 170, 20 ff. bemerkt, ist سَوْمٌ nicht als *Ergänzung*, sondern als *Verstärkung* aufzufassen: وَأَمَّا أَصِغَتْ إِلَى: سَوْمٌ نَلَّة. Somit bedeutet schon نَلَّة *allein, ohne jeden Zusatz*, "Notlage." Vgl. das hebr. חָדָה Jes. xlvii. 11, Ez. vii. 26, Unfall, Notlage, von חָדָה (oder רָחַת) *fallen*, Hiob xxxvii. 6. Ebenso هَوَىْ von هَوَىْ *fallen*.

PROFESSOR BLAU ON THE BIBLE AS A BOOK¹.

It is not often that a monograph printed in the "Program" of a Seminary attains as much literary merit or is of such fascinating interest as that now under review. Those who, while admiring the plodding industry and formidable statistics displayed by Dr. Christian Ginsburg in his Massoretic labours on the Hebrew Bible, have too often felt that they lacked something in scholarship, will welcome Dr. Blau's new booklet. It is eminently critical and "wissenschaftlich," and though its 200 pages are complete in itself, the monograph is only the first² of a series of studies of the Hebrew Text, which, if they carry out the promise of the "Buchwesen," will be really epoch-making.

In the present volume, the learned Professor treats of the externals of the Hebrew Bible, dispassionately and without bias, as though himself an outsider. The conclusions to which he arrives largely support the authenticity of the traditional text, but it is by the scholar's, not the theologian's road that he travels. Though his subject is ancient Hebrew books in general, the "althebräische Bücher" with which he deals are almost exclusively biblical. The authorities he quotes are hardly less ancient. With some display of self-denial he limits himself to original Talmud literature—Mishna, Midrash, and Gemara. To him even the minor treatises Soferim (or rather, as he points out, "Sefarim") and Sefer Tora seem too modern; they are post-talmudic, and like the corpus of the Massora only to be used where they quote earlier and original authorities which have been lost. The principle is a good one. He will have nothing of hearsay evidence, and only uses secondary evidence where that at first hand is quite unavailable. Accordingly most of the authorities cited are at least 1800 years old. At that date, the author maintains, no new-fangled notions of Hellenism influenced the conservatism applied by Orientals to public copies of the Scriptures. It was only in the twelfth century that R. Jacob Tam, and after him R. Asher b. Jechiel, discussed whether modern methods might not be applied in the preparation of scrolls for the Synagogue.

With mediaeval MSS., of which the earliest dated one is a codex

¹ *Studien zum althebräischen Buchwesen und zur biblischen Literaturgeschichte*, von Prof. Dr. Ludwig Blau, Budapest, 1902. Printed with the twenty-fifth annual report of the Landes-Rabbiner Schule at Budapest.

² The author's *Zur Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift* to some extent covers the same ground as the projected series.

of the Prophets of St. Petersburg of 915 A.D.¹, the author does not concern himself. His task it is to reconstruct the form of a book such as would have been written and used by the ancient Hebrews of Bible times. Such a book would generally be a part of Scripture, but it might also have been a translation, or apocryphal, or a Midrash² and very rarely not Jewish at all or even un-Jewish. The author claims that here he is breaking new ground, and he does not scruple to suggest a hypothesis where facts fail him. Birt and Wattenbach are his chief sources for classical bookmaking in general, though the Hebrews were even more reticent than the Greeks and Romans about the outsides of their books. Their culture was not inferior to that of their classical contemporaries but their conservatism preserved for them a far older archetypal text than even Homer succeeded in retaining.

The following précis of the work was prepared for the writer's personal use, but as the subject, though unfamiliar, is of great importance for Bible criticism, it has been suggested that it might be of service to English readers generally. It is only a précis and, of course, lays no claim to originality.

I.

Blau first deals with the outward form of the books:—

- (a) Their material.
- (b) Shape.
- (c) Length.
- (d) Size ("Format").
- (e) Distribution.
- (f) The archetypal and oldest MSS.

(a) The first MATERIAL used was stone (see Job xix. 24) covered with chalk. The word for writing meant engraving or scratching (קָטַח, חָרַח) and the pen was a graver. Ezek. iv. 1 knew bricks as writing-material, and Jer. xvii. 13 earthenware or pottery; wooden and perhaps metal tablets must also have been used (Num. xvii. 17, Ezek. xxxvii. 15, and 1 Macc. xiv. 26). Such materials, however, though useful for the legislator and recorder, were not applicable to literature, and there must have been some more pliant material for the "Sefer." סֵפֶר occurs 182 times in the Bible, and its writer the סוֹפֵר 48 times. כָּתַב, the common word for writing, occurs 220 times, whereas all its five other synonyms occur but very rarely. What was the writing-material? It was in such general use that it is never

¹ A facsimile of a Hebrew Arabic document of 831 from the Geniza appeared in the *Jewish Chronicle*.

² אגרות אגדה אגדה.

mentioned, but it could only have been leather or papyrus. Skins were common enough among a pastoral folk like the Israelites, and papyrus grew in the neighbourhood of Genesaret. But Dr. Blau rejects Strack's view and unhesitatingly pronounces for leather. Herodotus and Diodorus witness that the Persians and other barbarians wrote on oxhide, and even in Egypt leather preceded papyrus. In the sixth century B.C. the Athenians wrote Homer on wooden tablets and skins. The letter of Aristæas, written 200 B.C., describes the sacred scrolls brought to Egypt for the purposes of the Septuagint Translation as having been upon "*δαφρίπαις*," the Hebrew characters illuminated in gold, and the "leather wondrously prepared and with invisible seams between the skins¹." The earliest post-biblical literature of the Jews frequently mentions papyrus but unanimously condemns its use for ritual purposes. *רפד* originally meant the rubbed surface of the skin from which the hair had been scratched off. Frequent references to the writing-materials of the Greeks in Jewish literature show that papyrus was very cheap, and quite commonly used by the Jews, not only for writing but for domestic utensils and even shoes. Acknowledgements of debt, receipts, bonds, &c., were frequently written on potsherds, but also on papyrus. John ii. 12 speaks of not writing with ink and paper, and the frequent injunctions of the Rabbis not to write Bible texts on papyrus show that in the first century papyrus must have been frequently used.

There were three kinds of writing-skins, generally deer-skin²:—

- (1) *גיל* or *עור* Leather for *ס"ת*, with the hair off but none of the skin peeled off.
- (2) *קלף* parchment of split skin, Aramaic parchment.
- (3) *דוכסוסמון* *ξιστός, ξυστός*, formerly adjective for *קלף*, a Greek parchment.

The Gaon Hai distinguished (2) and (3) thus:—*קלף* was the outer hair side, *דוכסוסמון* the inner flesh side. Both were to be written on the "*Spaltseite*" the side of cleavage. But he is probably wrong, and (2) is the inner skin when cleft from the flesh side, and (3) is the middle skin when cleft from both flesh and hair side.

Jews remained through the Middle Ages adept preparers of parch-

¹ Mr. Thackeray (*J.Q.R.*, XV, 370) translates "the previous parchments, whereon was inscribed the law in gold in the Jewish characters, the material being wonderfully prepared, and the joining of the several leaves being rendered imperceptible." He suggests that *δαφρίπαις* has come into the text through dittography of *δαφρίπαις*.

² *J. Meg.*, 74 d 53, gazelle-skin; *Bab. Bat.*, 14a, calf-skin; *J. Sab.*, 14c 15, fowl-skin; *Kelim*, 10. 1, fish-skin.

ment. Charles IV, in 1349, pawned the Jews to the Frankforters, but reserved to himself and his successors the right to exact parchment from them.

In Bible times the complete book was often sealed (Isa. xxix. 11, 12), perhaps to protect it from being fingered by readers and rubbed [תורה חתומה נתנה] Gittin, 60a].

(b) Its SHAPE was a *Roll*; סֵפֶר סֵפֶר (Jer. xxxvi) is an unwritten scroll. Pa. xl. 8 seems to support the Talmudic tradition that the Psalmist came into the Temple with the Scroll of the Law. On the Arch of Titus a scroll is being carried in the triumphal procession, cf. Josephus, *Bell.* VII, 5. 5. Jerome seems only to have known scrolls, and the Talmud describes a single one containing the whole תִּנָּךְ [Baba Bathra, 13. 6]. Each child had its scroll, and "the Romans, after the capture of Jerusalem, wrapped its school-children in their scrolls and burnt them," J. Taanith, 62 a, וְהָיוּ כְּכִרְכִּים בְּלֹא אֶחָד וְאֶחָד בְּכִסְפָּם וְאֶחָד בְּכִסְפָּם וְאֶחָד בְּכִסְפָּם.

There was usually a stick at the beginning and an unwritten space sufficient to surround it, and at the end an unwritten space sufficient to surround the whole scroll (Baba Bathra, 13 b, 14 a). The סֵפֶר had two sticks. In the fourth century scrolls were still prevalent, and in a sixth-century picture Jeremiah is depicted unrolling a scroll, and Moses receives the law in the shape of a scroll. The codex, or modern book, first appeared in the third century. The Jews of antiquity had Hebrew books in the form of scrolls only. To open and close a book is לָגַל, to roll, in Aramaic כָּנַךְ.

(c) LENGTH. It would seem that each biblical writing originally constituted a scroll for itself. Jeremiah was to write a scroll (xxxvi. 2, 32). The twelve minor poets were originally separate, but *because of their size* they have been regarded as one book ever since the first settlement of the canon. Sirach xlix. 10 talks of שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר סְפָרִים, Josephus, Talmud, and Midrash all treat them as one. But so far as authority went the whole of the Old Testament was as one. The Pentateuch scroll is only secondary to that of the whole Law, though it eventually superseded it by reason of its more manageable size. The division into five was arbitrary, but excellent, and was induced by size. The Massorites, and even Midrash, like the most modern of the Biblical critics, give other divisions.

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Genesis is in 2 parts | (1) The Creation. ס' בְּרִיאַת הָעוֹלָם or ס' יְצִירָה |
| | (2) The Patriarcha, ס' הַיִּשְׂרָאֵל or ס' הַיִּשְׂרָאֵל
Joshua xiii; 2 Sam. i. 18. |
| Exodus is in 3 parts | (3) The Exodus. ס' יְצִיאַת מִצְרַיִם |
| | (4) Laws. |
| | (5) The erection of the Tabernacle. |

- Leviticus is in 2 parts (6) ס' תורת כהנים The Priests.
 (7) ס' הקרבנות The Sacrifices.
 Numbers is in 2 parts (8) ס' הפקודים Numbers.
 (9) ס' חמסעות Journeyings.
 Deuteronomy is in 2 parts (10) ס' משנה תורה Recapitulation.
 (11) ס' פטירת משה Death of Moses.

Dr. Ginsburg (Introduction, p. 461) quotes from a Bible codex of the thirteenth century an evidently early tradition as to the Pentateuch:—

ס' ראשון הוא ס' בריאת העולם והיחם
 ס' שני הוא ס' יציאת מצרים ומתן תורה
 ס' שלישי הוא ס' תורת כהנים וקרבנות
 ס' רביעי הוא ס' הפקודים וחמסעות
 ס' חמישי הוא ס' משנה תורה ופטירת משה

The division of the Pentateuch, then, was introduced out of technical considerations, but it occurs in the Samaritan Bible and is therefore at least as old as Ezra. The size, therefore, of a book about 400 B.C. would vary between that of Leviticus and Genesis. Dr. Blau then ingeniously adopts an edition of the British Bible Society as a pattern, and gives by the number of its pages the relative sizes of the books:—

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Genesis 36.3 | 10. Isaiah . . . 18.5 + 13.5 = 32.5 |
| 2. Exodus 30.5 | Isaiah xl-xlvi is the work of |
| 3. Leviticus 22 | an unknown author, but its |
| 4. Numbers 31 | size, 13.5, was too small for an |
| 5. Deuteronomy 27 | independent scroll and it |
| 6. Joshua 29 | went better with the shortest |
| 7. Judges 19 | of the Great Prophets than |
| Small and so in many Codices | with the Minor Prophets |
| Ruth accompanies it. | which which would have |
| 8. Samuel I and II 24.5 + 20.5 = 45.7 | become too bulky (29.5 + |
| Samuel and Kings are really | 13.5 = 43). |
| one. The LXX calls the | 11. Jeremiah 41 |
| whole Kings, and the division | 12. Ezekiel 37 |
| is purely mechanical, "mit | 13. The Twelve Prophets . 29.5 |
| der Scheere gemacht wor- | 14. Psalms 40 |
| den." Kings now begins | 15. Proverbs 22 |
| with a l. | 16. Job 16 |
| 9. Kings I and II 24.5 + 23 = 47.5 | 17. Chronicles 48 |
| | 18. Ezra (Nehemiah) . . . 18 |

1-9 are in chronological order, and so with the later prophets, 10-13, in most MSS. and the five earliest editions. But with 13 the order is broken, and in Baba Bathra, 14 b, the reason given why the prophecy of Hosea does not head the list is because of its small size. And size seems the true reason—especially having regard to the RECEPTACLES in which the scrolls were kept. Ancient Hebrew books had no title, and the first author who gives his name was Jesus the son of Sirach. The nearest approach to a title was in Ezekiel's vision of a book, ii. 10.

Zechariah ix-xiv is attributed by Bible critics to two anonymous authors, and they with "Malachi," which is not a name, seem to have been appended to the Roll of the twelve prophets as fitting nowhere else. In the prophetic canon no anonymous writing is introduced as an independent work. Both passages begin *NWD*, and the only reason why they are not appended to Malachi would seem to be that they were always regarded as much older.

Dr. Blau, in his criticism of Dr. Ginsburg, in *JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, XII, 223, points out that Ginsburg's subdivision into eight of the orders of the Hagiographa is reducible to three. Six MSS. follow the Talmud and give the order:—

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Ruth. | 7. Lamentations. |
| 2. Psalms. | 8. Daniel. |
| 3. Job. | 9. Esther. |
| 4. Proverbs. | 10. Ezra-Nehemiah. |
| 5. Ecclesiastes. | 11. Chronicles. |
| 6. Canticles. | |

Job is interposed between the Davidian and the Solomonian writings, but the order is otherwise chronological, perhaps David was regarded as the author of Job. But anyhow Job being poetical, had to join the poets. Dr. Blau argues as to the division of Chronicles and Ezra, "Die Chronik füllte eine Rolle, die Genesis und Exodus voll aufnehmen konnte," $36 + 30 = 48 + 18$.

In those MSS. in which Chronicles is the first of the Hagiographa, it is because of its size; size mattered less than chronology at a later date when the canon of the Hagiographa was fixed. The canon of the Prophets had been settled much earlier. Therefore in those MSS., Ezra-Nehemiah, from which Chronicles had been sundered, remains the last. They were sundered because of the great size (66) of the whole, but the division was on a chronological basis—pre-exilic and post-exilic. That they were originally one is proved by the identity of the two first verses of Ezra with the last two of Chronicles. Such catch-verses are found in classical MSS. and even on the tablets of Cuneiform inscriptions.

Psalms. The division of Psalms into five books is much more ancient than R. Chija (200 A. D.) who says (Kiddushin, 33a) that he taught Simon b. Juda the Patriarch two-fifths. And here (p. 59) there is perhaps a little inconsistency on the author's part. He says "Die Fünfteilung ist sehr beliebt geworden auch im Matthäusevangelium und bei Papias"; but a few pages earlier, in discussing the Pentateuch (p. 48), that the number five at least among the Jews was "keine heilige und sonst keine gebräuchliche," and therefore a fivefold division could only be induced by external considerations. Probably, however, the apparent inconsistency would be explained by Dr. Blau as due to the analogy of the Pentateuch, which, once divided into five, established a sacred precedent. But whatever the reason for dividing into five, why was it divided at all? The relative size of Psalms is 40 to the 36 of Genesis, so that on first thoughts it would not be too bulky, but as it was written in stichoi, and as the 147 Psalms had to be interspaced, and as, moreover, it was to be sung, and had therefore to be written in larger characters in order to be easily legible, its relative size would easily exceed 100, and five scrolls would be none too short. That the division was due to chronological considerations, and the first book the oldest and so on, Dr. Blau doubts, though he reserves discussion of the point for a future opportunity.

Ecclesiastes a separate Scroll.—The theory that there was an intermixture of the pages is rejected by Dr. Blau as it was separately written on a scroll. Such separate scrolls were the books Josephus took from the Romans. Luke xx. 42 talks of the *Βιβλος ψαλμῶν*. *ספר תילים* and *תילים* are books, brought to Rabbi Juda I (200 A. D.). *ספר תילים אחד* ו' *איוב וממשלות*—כתובה—From Baba Bathra, 11a and 13b, we see that there were scrolls which contained the whole *תנ"ך* as well as the "eight prophets" and *Hagiographa* separately.

The original division was into two—*תורה* and *קבלה*, *תורה* and *מקרא* *נביאים* and *כתבי הקדש* and *כתובים*.—A third and later division and *נ"ך* seems to have often been on one scroll. A fragment of a book, whether for paedagogic or other purposes, e. g. *סוטה*, is called *מנלה* if independent, and *פרשה* if regarded as part of a whole.

Esther was originally *מנלה* and the only book besides the Pentateuch admitted into the liturgy. Afterwards, besides the five scrolls one had *מנלה תענית*, *מ' סממנין*, *מ' חסידים*, *מ' סתרים* (J. Ber., 14a12), *מ' סתרים* (B. M., 92a). The order of study in Palestine was first *לוחא* (Tablet of Letters), then *מנלה* fragment, then a book, then the Bible. The order in Jelandenu (ed. Grūnhut, *Likkutim*, V, 160) is *בראשית*, *לוחא מנלתא* *ששה סדרים* *תורת כהנים* *מכלתא* *תוספתא* *תלמוד ואגדתא*.

ותולה קורא במי לה ואח"כ בספר, Wilna, fol. 23 And in Deut. R. c. 8, (a) Halacha Midraash, (b) Halacha Mishna, (c) Agada נמסר את חמקרא שונה את התלמוד ואח"כ בהלכות ואח"כ באגדות. Amulets containing Scripture texts were in vogue in the third century.

(d) **FORMAT.** The external size of books was mostly very *small*—the whole scroll could be held in one hand (Ezek. ii. 9). The ancient ס"ת looked like a man's arm and was carried about everywhere—its height equalled its circumference, and as there were 300,000 separate letters in the scroll the letters must have been small, and Jerome, in the fourth century, says that the Hebrew script was almost too small to be legible.

(e) **DISTRIBUTION.** Books were rare in Jehoshaphat's time, and in Ezra's, and in 1 Macc. iii. 48 we see that the Syrians searched for books, and Antiochus Epiphanes was the first confiscator. In the letter of the Jerusalemites to their Egyptian brethren, we read that "Judas gathered all the books which had been scattered during the war (against the Syrians), and they are now with us. If you want any, send for them" (2 Macc. ii. 14, 15). With the Pharisees and their love for the letter the production of copies of the law greatly increased. On the Day of Atonement, after the High Priest's blessing, each man brought his Torah from his house and read it in the Temple to show it off (Joma, 70a) ואח"כ כל אחד ואחד מביא ס"ת מביתו וקורא בו כדי להראות חזות לרבים. Every community had a collection of scrolls always, often private individuals. Even found books were to be tenderly treated and not too often read for fear of being rubbed (J. Baba Metzia, 8 d 8)—each scholar wrote his own scroll. Even heathens possessed them, and sometimes wrote them, and they might be used. Children could use Samaritan bibles, which were like the Jews', except that Deut. xi. 30 adds שכם. One might buy but not sell Torahs. Jerome talks of collections, and cases, and cupboards of books and "Jewish Archives" ("de Archivis Judaeorum"). The text was preserved by the care and reverence in which the Scrolls were held, and if one were burnt the Jew mourned as for a parent.

(f) **THE OLDEST CODICES,** tradition said, were the thirteen written by Moses for each tribe. Levi's was preserved in the Ark; Jeremiah preserved the Scrolls from fire; Ezra restored them. In Mur, near Kahira, is a codex said to have been written by Ezra, but Sirach xlix. 13 sings not of Ezra but of Nehemiah. Sirach xlv mentions all the sacred books of the Temple Archives, and Josephus (Arch. V, i. 17) says that they were preserved in the Temple and carried in Titus's triumph. Aristaeas and Demetrios witness how corrupt Egyptian codices of the Pentateuch were till Ptolemy borrowed the Temple Codices. The

three Temple Codices were: **ס' מעון ס' ועמומי ס' היא**: Sifre, ii. 356 on Deut. iii. 27 and J. Taanith, 68 a 47 **מעוני ס' בעזרה ס' מעוני** **וס' ועמומי וס' היא** באחד מצאו כתוב מעון אלחי קדם ובשנים כתוב מעונה אלחי קדם וקיימו שנים ובטלו אחד. באחד מצאו כתוב וישלח את ועמומי בני ישראל (שמחת כ"ד ה') ובשנים כתוב וישלח את נער' בני ישראל וקיימו שנים ובטלו אחד באחד מצאו כתוב תשע היא ובשנים כתוב אחת עשרה היא ובטלו אחד וקיימו שנים. This explanation is too far-fetched to be acceptable—it is only Volksetymologie. The Scrolls were found after the destruction of the Temple, and then named after the places where they were found. So in Aboth d. R. Nathan, II, v. c. 46, **יוסי זה הוא ספר שנמצא בבית מעון** near Tiberias; **היא** is a proper name; [**בר די הי** (Chagiga, 96); **בן היא היא** (Abot, 523)] **ועמומי** is probably a *small* codex. In Mishna Moed Katan, III, 4 read **עזרה** not **עזרא** **ס' עזרה**. It was the Model Codex. It would seem *pace* Dr. Blau, that each of the ancient synagogues preserved a **עזרה** **ס' עזרה** as a model codex, as a "help" to the scribe; and the confusion between "Ezra" and "Azara" led to a whole mass of synagogue legend throughout the East. The best-known instance is the so-called "Scroll of Ezra" which was the pride of the Synagogue in Old Cairo before the discovery there of its famous *Geniza*.

The writer found in Bokhara a copy of the rare Ixar Pentateuch of 1489, at the end of each part of which was the statement that it had been corrected by the Codex Ezra. Of Tunis D. Cazés, in his *Essai sur l'Histoire des Israélites de Tunisie* (Paris, 1889, p. 85), writes: "Mentionnons ici une tradition assez répandue chez les Juifs de Tunisie, d'après laquelle le Rabbin Abraham ibn Ezra aurait été à Tunis. On conserve dans le grand Temple, dans un placard muré, une Bible qu'on dit avoir appartenu au célèbre commentateur. Cela est peu croyable et il est plus simple de supposer que la tradition n'est venue que plus tard, pour expliquer l'existence du livre qui était un simple **עזרה** **ספר עזרה**, destiné à faire les corrections aux rouleaux de la Loi; plus tard, lorsque les livres imprimés devinrent communs, le **ספר עזרה** devint facilement **ספר עזרא**, et pour expliquer la présence de ce volume au temple, on a imaginé le voyage d'ibn Ezra. Quoi qu'il en soit, on a placé sur la porte murée de ce placard, devant laquelle il y a toujours une lampe allumée, une inscription dont voici la copie:—

ספר הרב רב' אברהם בן עזרא זע"א

כל מי שמדליק נר לפניו אשריו

בעולם הזה וטוב לו לעולם הבא אמן.

Does Dr. Blau by "Mur" near Kahira perhaps mean the "wall" of the Synagogue?

Other Codices were those of the scribe R. Meir and Severus (vide Epstein in Chwolson's *Festschrift*), also the Psalters of R. Chijja and R. Chanin bar Rab, J. Megilla [72 a 7 J. Succa, 53 d]. Papyrus scrolls could last, in Galen's opinion, not more than 300 years, leather was more durable, but not the ink. The book-worm קקק and the mouse were the enemies of the book, but they were protected by their traditional sanctity לפי חבתן היא מומצאן [Jadaim, IV, 6].

II.

THE INNER FORM OF OLD HEBREW BOOKS.

1. COLUMNS AND MARGINS—"Opisthography," i. e. writing on both sides, occurred in private writings but not in the Scriptures. Ezek. ii. 10 is a witness to its rarity. A column was a door דלת or דף. In J. Meg., 71 d and Menachot, 39 a the space to be left between two columns is a thumb-breadth כו"מ כו"מ ; the space between two books of the Pentateuch should be four lines, between two of the minor prophets three. In a scroll of the Prophets one may begin at the beginning of a column and end at the end, but in the minor prophets in the middle (so as to avoid the scroll being afterwards divided). The width of a column should be three times למשפוחתיכם. Of the dilatable letters אהלתם there is of course no trace so early. In *Tosifia Sabb.*, 13. 5 (129 a) אותן מצילין אותן would seem to mean *not* margins but *evangelium*. Further on in the same passage is a reference to Ben Sira and other books. Dr. Blau accounts for the incorporation with Isaiah of the second Isaiah by the fact that the one may have ended and the other begun a new column; but when he similarly accounts for the constituents of Zechariah, "Dasselbe ist auch von den Anhängseln des Zecharia anzunehmen" (p. 120), he seems to overlook the rule on p. 117, "Innerhalb des Zwölfprophetenbuches jedoch ist dies verboten." Apparently a strip contained three columns, *Tosifia Baba Mezia*, 2. 21, says that in a found book one may only open three columns at a time, and when books were made, three columns on the page seemed to be usual, e.g. the earliest Syriac MS. of 411; and St. Lucian at the end of the third century left the Church of Nicomedia a bible γεγραμμένον σελίδι τρισσais. Mediaeval MSS. often have commentary on either side of the text, and our Talmuds are still so printed. What was the number of columns in a ס"פ? From a passage in J. Megilla, 71 c at least twenty columns seem to have been usual.

The normal height of a scroll was 6 hand-breadths, the upper and lower margin 7 finger-breadths, so that the column was 4 hand-breadths and 1 finger-breadth high = 7.5 centimetres $\times 4\frac{1}{2}$ = 31.5 cm.

In Soferim, a post-Talmudic treatise of Palestinian origin, Jose b. Judah of the second century gives the minimum height of a column as 6 to 8 finger-breadths, and the breadth 2 thumb-breadths, and the space between the columns is half that, i. e. 1 thumb-breadth.

The length of a line = width of scroll, was thought by Lambert and Büchler to be 7 or 8 words of 27 to 32 letters, like the Letteris edition of the Bible.

Virgil's hexameters contain 32-42 letters, and average 36 to 9. Homer's average 37.7 letters. Oldest Hebrew verses are the stichoi of אִמָּח, Job, Proverbs, Psalms. The alphabetical acrostics in Psalms ix, xxv, xxxiv, xxxvii, cxix, cxi, cxlv give 26 to 32 letters, and some elegiacs only 20 to 22 letters.

Job is a *written* book, not a book of hymns to be sung. The poems in the first book of Maccabees and Ben Sira were written in stichoi—and the stichoi form of the newly discovered Hebrew text is evidence of its genuineness. The average verse line of Job is 26, exactly the amount required by the Baraita to Menachoth. Poetical passages had to be written אִרְיָהּ עַל נְבִי לִבְנָה, brickwise,—so as to distinguish them from prose? for even prose had not lines of the same length until אִהְלָתָם became dilatable.

MS. Or. 4445 B.M. of the ninth century has 3 cols. of 21 ll. of 10 letters.

MS. Petersburg Prophets of 916 „ 2 „ 21 „ 15 „

Of the eighteen facsimiles of Ginsburg's Hebrew Bible (London, 1898), most have 3 columns, only one of the seventeenth century has 1 column, the line has only once more than 40 and generally less than 30 letters. Evidently the codex or book imitated the scroll.

How many lines had the column? Büchler, from Soferim and Massora, infers 42 as normal, but 60, 72, and 98 occur. The Pentateuch has 304,000 letters, i. e. 10,133 lines of 30 letters, i. e. 241 columns of 42 letters, i. e. 25 yards, which is far too much; therefore the column must have contained 72 lines of 30 to 32 cm. high and less than 4 finger-breadths wide, so the writing must have been very tiny.

2. LINEATION AND LINES.—J. Meg., 71 d 9 הלכה למשה מסיני שיהיו כותבין כעורות וכותבין בריי “It is a Halacha from Moses on Sinai to write on leather with ink (מסרגל) and to rule (regula = סרגל) with a reed.” No “book” is without lineation, not even Adam's. The books of Herculaneum were also ruled, and so the Codex Alexandrinus (fifth century). In gold-writing the lines consisted of silver points or dots. Hai Gaon (1000) says Bible quotations are punctuated. He found this in writings of the Seboraim in 500, and this was usual in the Orient till the sixteenth century. In Schechter's texts, J. Q. R., XIV, 456-474, such quotations are punctuated. The

same punctuation occurs in E. N. Adler's "An Eleventh Century Introduction to the Hebrew Bible" (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 687) and has been remarked upon by Professor David Kaufmann (*ib.*, X, 162). Interlineations were always above and not below the line. כדרלעמער and בתהיענה may each be written as two words and the latter on two lines. R. Eleazar b. Jose (c. 200) saw the priest's mitre and curtain in Rome, and denied that קדש ל was written on one line and the Tetragrammaton above it (*Sab.* 636).

3. CHARACTER AND WRITING.—Archaic nations regarded writing as a miracle. Judges viii. 14 shows how common it was in Bible times. Jeremiah xxxvi. 18 first mentions ink (*Isa.* xxxviii. 9 for מרתב read מרתם). All ancient codices were written over, inked again "aufgefrischt." Gold-writing, χρυσογράφει, is mentioned in Aristæus as having been used in the copies of the Law sent by the High Priest to Ptolemy. Swete denies this, and Abrahams, with Löw, suggests that only the name of God may have been written in gold¹. Canticles v. 14, as interpreted in *Schir Rabba*, I, 11 (226 Wilna) hypothecates gold-writing of texts with silver dots or lines עם נקודות דבסף זה חסרנל. That gold-writing was forbidden seems due to historical rather than religious reasons, the Pharisees objected to the sumptuary extravagances of the aristocratic Sadducees, and Jerome also objects to gold, Sabbath, 103 ב או שכתב שלא בריו או שכתב את האזכרות בזהב הרי אלו יננו. Soferim says that this was usual with the Alexandrian Bible Codices אלכסנדריים. Illiterates had to sign their names as witnesses to a "Get" and so they wrote over their names in red ink or their names were written and cut out of fresh paper and they filled the interstices with black ink. Omissions were "hung" (תולין) over the line—even whole verses could be thus omitted and afterwards replaced, perhaps in the wrong place. The four "hung" letters of the Massora are the earliest traces of this. Only one side of the skin was written on. "Opisthography," i.e. writing on both sides, is only once alluded to in Scripture (*Ezek.* ii. 10).

thin writing is a characteristic of the לבלר = *libellarius* or scribe—and a proof of the minuscular writing of antiquity. Writing-materials were as follows: for the schoolboy a *style* consisting of a כותב on one side and מחוק (eraser) on the other; for the scribe קולמוס or קלמס = *calamus*. The inkstand was קסת הכופר = *καλαμάριον* once בית דיו פאלטרין.

¹ Dr. Gaster, in his sumptuous *Hebrew Illuminated Bibles* (London, Harrison, 1901), also discusses the question.

III.

PRESERVATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF OLD HEBREW BOOKS.

1. MANTLES AND DEPOSITORIES.—The scroll was generally wrapped in silk. It might not be touched with the naked hand. In a bedroom it had to be kept under cover, or behind a curtain, or in the window. The curtain of an ark might be used to cover a ס"ת. The mantle was called מטפחת (which is also the Biblical word for a lady's cloak). It was of silk, wool, linen, leather, or paper. חֵיק הַסְּפָרִים (Tos. Jadaġim, II, 11) seems to have been a leather case, in which scroll with mantle was placed.

In the second Temple there was no ark. The אָרֶן or תִּיבָה, in which the scroll was kept, is inferred to have been about a man's size, from a Talmudic quotation (Berachot, 47 b ?) חֲשֵׁעָה וְאָרֶן מִצֵּמְרָפִים But the inference seems far-fetched. There were three kinds of ark, מִנְרָל, תִּיבָה, שִׁירָה, made of brass, bone, leather, glass or wool, and on a stand. The case with rollers occurs on Christian monuments (Schultze, *Rolle und Codex*). On cemeterial frescoes of the third century Jesus sits with a case containing scrolls at his feet, or with a scroll in his left hand, and on Jewish gilt glass (Goldgläsern) of the third century we frequently find pictures of the "armarium judaicum" or κιβωτός, the ark or receptacle for generally six recumbent scrolls. Pictures of these have lately appeared in the Jewish Encyclopædia (*sub voce* Ark), and Jacobs [*J. Q. R.*, XIV, 737], has pointed out that this was the usual form of a Roman bookcase.

2. SCRIBES AND CORRECTORS.—The first biblical scribe was Jeremiah's Baruch, but Ezra was the first copyist who supplied many copies. In Talmud times there was no longer a priestly caste of scribes—though the earliest were priests. Pesachim, 57 a לִי מִבֵּית קִרְרוֹם אִי לִי אָמַי לִי מִקְלָמוֹס; cf. Luke i. 62, shows discouragement of an attempt on the priest's part to keep caligraphy a family secret. But סוֹפְרִים were a profession like notaries; R. Meir was the greatest. Huna wrote 70 ס"ת, R. Ammi 400. The סוֹפֵר was also a לְבָלֵר but the לְבָלֵר was not necessarily an official. To write and lend books was meritorious. The corrector had to read aloud, and the scribe had to read the original also—hence many of the textual errors through similarity of sound. The לְבָלֵר like the libellio, was despised.

In order to preserve the original text the correctors were paid by the Temple treasury and had to correct all copies by the Model Codex. The king's copy was corrected by the highest three tribunals. Nobody might keep an uncorrected book in his house

more than thirty days. If a verse of four lines was omitted, the page or skin was spoilt and had to be replaced by another.

3. BOOKSELLING AND PRICES OF BOOKS.—Prophets, and even Sirach (xxxix. 9; xxxviii. 33), were orators not writers. The oral law was forbidden to be written. But in the letter of the Palestine to the Egyptian Jews (2 Macc. ii. 15) of the books which Judas Maccabeus collected they say, "if you want any books send for them and have copies made."

The first bookseller must have been the copyist. The scribe in Talmud times made books to order. A heathen, in J. A. z., 41 a 14, is said to have had books in stock for sale. A wise man might buy them of him, but not a layman. Heirloom מ"ד should not be sold. Apocrypha and Agada could not have been frequent or the Hebrew originals would not have been lost. (For the literature as to book-selling in Greece and Rome, vide Wattenbach, 535, and Dziatko in *Pauly Wissouk*, III, 939, and Birt, 103, 357, 433, 504. Rome was the chief emporium of MSS., as Italy still is of Hebrew MSS.) Old books went to the Geniza, not to the second-hand bookseller. The grave is not likely to give up its literary Hebrew treasures like a papyrus buried in a necropolis. Why not?

As to prices, a מ"ד bought for 80 was sold for 120 zuz in the year 330. An ordinary מ"ד cost about 70s. מ"דן in 250 fetched 5 mana = 300s. Esther in 337 1 zuz.

Babylonian parchment was dear. For Jewish dealers in parchment in Spain vide Jacobs, *J. Q. R.*, VI, 600. For a tax on parchment of Jews, vide Steinschneider, *Kunde der hebr. HSS.* 17. A small house cost 6s., a labourer in a vineyard was paid 1 denar = 6 of a shilling. A מ"ד was thought worth about 3 or 4 hectares of a field, and Esther cost a day's wages of a vineyard labourer, vide Herzfeld, *Handels-geschichte der Juden des Alterthums*.

ELKAN N. ADLER.

MACMILLAN & CO.'S PUBLICATIONS.

LIBERAL JUDAISM. An Essay. By CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE.

Crown 8vo, 3s. net.

Jewish Chronicle.—"Mr. Montefiore has written so attractive and forcible a book that it must arrest general attention. . . . The book is at once timely and well conceived."

Times.—"A work of extraordinary interest. . . . It must be regarded mainly as a personal confession of faith; and we do not know where it would be possible to point to a better statement of what religious theism means to a liberal believer in it."

MANUAL OF JEWISH HISTORY AND LITERATURE.

Preceded by a brief Summary of Bible History. By Dr. D. CASSEL. Translated by Mrs. HENRY LUCAS. Second Impression. Pott 8vo, 1s. 6d. net.

Jewish World.—"Before Mrs. Lucas's excellent translation there was no good text-book which, in a moderate compass, presented the main facts of later history with clearness and precision. . . . As regards the book's accuracy and value, the many editions that have been printed in Germany, and the well-known name of the author, are a sufficient guarantee."

JEWISH LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By ISRAEL ABRAHAMS.

Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

Jewish Chronicle.—"With a full equipment of modern scholarship, he has reconstructed for us and for posterity every aspect of mediæval Jewish life, and his results are indispensable to every future historian of the Middle Ages."

LES JUIFS EN ROUMANIE DEPUIS LE TRAITÉ DE BERLIN (1878) jusqu'à ce jour. Les Lois et leurs Conséquences. Par EDMOND SINCERUS. 8vo, 5s. net.

Jewish World.—"A book that ought to command much attention, and which has evidently been written with much authority."

ASPECTS OF JUDAISM: being Eighteen Sermons by ISRAEL ABRAHAMS and CLAUDE MONTEFIORE. Second Edition, including two additional Sermons. Fcap. 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

Jewish Chronicle.—"The study of a work by these two authors is like an intimate acquaintance with a charming and cultured person—it is a liberal education in itself, a study fertile in interest, and fruitful of good. . . . There are not many books published in the present day of which it can be said that they will do no harm, and unlimited good. But of this book it is possible to say so, and higher praise cannot be given."

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS FROM FRENCH HISTORY.

By Baron FERDINAND ROTHSCHILD. With Seventeen Photogravure Portraits. 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

Times.—"Baron Ferdinand Rothschild has made a study of the leading personages in French History, and he has produced in *Personal Characteristics from French History* an extremely entertaining collection of their more famous utterances and *bon mots*; or, as he prefers to call them, their 'replies.' . . . There is not a dull paragraph in the entire book."

THE JEWISH YEAR. A Collection of Devotional Poems for Sabbaths and Holidays throughout the Year. Translated and Composed by ALICE LUCAS. Fcap. 8vo, gilt top, 2s. 6d. net.

Jewish World.—"Of the book as a whole, it is almost impossible to speak too highly, within the bounds of moderation. . . . It should find a place in every Jewish home. . . . One of the best volumes of its class ever given to the community."

MACMILLAN & Co., Ltd., LONDON.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE
Jewish Historical Society
of England.

JEWISH HISTORY. An Essay in the Philosophy of History.
By S. M. DUBNOW. From the Authorized German Translation.
Globe 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.

Jewish World.—"In a small book of 160 pages, which can be read through in two or three hours, there is enough food for thought to last as many years. And the whole is presented in so attractive a manner, with a felicity of diction and incisiveness of phrase which one rarely sees in translations from the German, that the reader finds himself borne along with delightful ease, and almost forgets that he is engaged in the difficult study of historical philosophy."

JEWISH WORTHIES SERIES. Vol. I.

MAIMONIDES. By DAVID YELLIN and ISRAEL ABRAHAMS.
Illustrated. Globe 8vo, gilt top, 2s. 6d. net.

Jewish Chronicle.—"Doubtless destined to take rank at once as the classical biography of Maimonides. . . . A model biography."

MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL'S MISSION TO OLIVER CROMWELL. Being a Reprint of the Pamphlets published by Menasseh Ben Israel to promote the Readmission of the Jews to England, 1649-1656. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by LUCIEN WOLF, Past-President and Vice-President of the Jewish Historical Society of England. With Portrait. Super Royal 8vo, 21s. net.

Jewish Chronicle.—"Mr. Wolf's introduction is a fascinating piece of work, and is unquestionably the most important contribution to Anglo-Jewish history that has yet appeared in any language. . . . Is fact, the first thought suggested by Mr. Wolf's work is that it is beyond criticism. Owing to his careful preparation, Mr. Wolf is entitled to speak with almost undisputed authority on a subject which he has practically made his own. . . . From every point of view, then, this interesting volume should command the attention of scholars and the votes of the public. It is a book deserving of the highest praise, both for the freshness of its materials and for the vividness with which they are presented. Mr. Wolf is gifted with historic imagination and a splendid nervous style, and his work, which every student of the seventeenth century will have to read, is an admirable example of critical research combined with literary skill."

THE ETHICS OF JUDAISM. By M. LAZARUS, Ph.D.
Translated from the German by HENRIETTA SZOLD. In Four Parts.
Part I, Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net. Part II, Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

Jewish Chronicle.—"The first two volumes issued by the Jewish Historical Society under its new and wider powers deserve a very cordial reception. . . . Miss Davis's translation of some of the best poems of Mediaeval Jewish writers, and Professor Lazarus's interesting presentation of the principles of Jewish ethics, are equally admirable."

SONGS OF EXILE. By Hebrew Poets. Translated by NINA DAVIS. Royal 16mo. Gilt top. 2s. 6d.

Pilot.—"Very tuneful translations. . . . There is enough character here to persuade us that we are listening not only to Miss Davis but to the poet himself, and there are not many translations that give this impression."

MACMILLAN & Co., Ltd., LONDON.

Printed at the CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD, by HORACE HART, Printer to the University.

THE BORROWER WILL BE CHARGED
THE COST OF OVERDUE NOTIFICATION
IF THIS BOOK IS NOT RETURNED TO
THE LIBRARY ON OR BEFORE THE LAST
DATE STAMPED BELOW.

BOOK DUE - WID
6902369
SEP 29 1980
CANCEL
SEP 30

3 2044 105 344 923

